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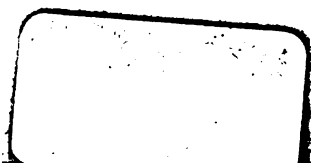
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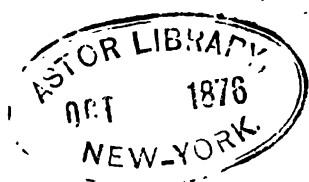
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THE
ANNUAL REVIEW;
AND
HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS;

NARRATIVES of voyages and travels, and foreign topography, are of all books, perhaps, the best calculated to excite a strong and general interest in the reading part of the community; every class of which, from the mere lounge, with whom reading is only a creditable kind of idleness, to the philosopher, who derives from books the materials of useful contemplation, is almost equally interested in the faithful narrative of the traveller. Nor is there any reason to fear that this department of literature should ever become exhausted; accidental causes may superinduce a temporary dearth, but the curiosity of the public will never fail to encourage and recompense those adventurous spirits, who, after penetrating into foreign countries, to gratify their own love of novelty, will allow their fellow countrymen to indulge theirs from the same source. The navigator, it is true, must ere long find his employment, as far as regards the discovery of new lands, almost entirely concluded, and with much more reason than Alexander may complain of the diminutiveness of the globe that he is destined to inhabit; but this very circumstance will probably conduce to the public benefit, by withdrawing the researches of science from the barren ocean and the sea-beat shore, and encouraging them to penetrate the vast tracts of land, as yet, almost wholly unknown to Europeans, though inhabited by man in various stages of civilization, and presenting, to the lover of nature, an inexhaustible store of the wonderful, the beautiful, and the new.

Of America, though under the dominion of Europe, and colonies from Europe, we know less than even of Africa; it is therefore with peculiar satisfaction, that we perceive an increasing curiosity concerning the transatlantic Continent, and that it begins to attract the attention of travellers: no less than six of the books noticed in the present chapter, refer to this quarter of the world, and although the information

which they contain is imperfect, and probably, in many respects inaccurate, yet we are inclined to welcome them perhaps more than they deserve, as good omens, and the harbingers of better and more accurate researches.

Political circumstances have excluded British travellers from the territories of France and her allies; and the other parts of the continent being but little attractive, Mr. Carr's northern summer, being a tour through Norway and Sweden to Petersburg, is the only account worth mentioning of any part of Europe that has issued, during the last year, from the English press.

The discussions in parliament respecting Pulo-Penang (Prince of Wales's Island), have given birth to two small topographical descriptions of this little island. The solitary rock of St. Helena has also found a sensible and able historian.

Captain Beaver's African memoranda merit the serious study of all future leaders of colonies to the western coast of that continent; and Mr. Turnbull's voyage round the world deserves mention, as being the latest account of the singular political changes that are going on in the Sandwich Islands, and some other of the Polynesian groups.

ART. I. *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773.* By JAMES BRUCE of Kinnaird, Esq. F. R. S. 7 Vols. 8vo. and 1 4to. Vol. of Plates. The Second Edition, corrected and enlarged; to which is prefixed a Life of the Author.

WAS Bruce ever in Abyssinia, and are the sources which he describes, the real sources of the Nile? These facts have been questioned with little urbanity, little candour, and much malevolence.

The first fact will now no longer be contradicted. After the positive testimony which sir William Jones accidentally found in India, he who denies that Bruce was in Abyssinia, and as he himself states, in high favour at Gondar, must be a wilful calumniator. But did he visit the sources of the Nile? "The Bahr el Azrek, or Blue River, says Mr. Pinkerton, was mistaken for the real Nile by the Portuguese writers Alvarez, Tellez, &c. probably misled by the vain glory of the Abyssinians; though it was well known to the ancients as quite a distinct river, the Astapus, flowing into the Nile, from the Coloe Palus, now the lake of Dembea. Mr. Bruce's vanity led him to adopt the same mistake."

That the Abyssinian branch is the Astapus of the ancients is sufficiently clear, and also that Herodotus and Ptolemy considered the Bahar el Abiad as the Nile. But it is equally certain that the Abyssinians themselves consider their branch to be the Nile; as such it is described by the Jesuits and laid down in the map of Balthazar Tellez; this was the opinion of Ludolphus, this was the

general opinion in Europe when Bruce set out upon his travels, and this opinion he found in Abyssinia, in Atbara, and in Nubia, not only in the country where the Bahar el Asrak rises, but also where it joins the other stream. There is decisive proof that this is not a mere boast of national vanity among the Abyssinians, but actually and *bona fide* their belief, a received opinion upon which they have formed a great, though visionary, political project, which they once proceeded to put in practice. Lalibala began to divert the course of his Nile for the purpose of famishing Egypt: in the first intercourse which took place between the Portuguese and the Abyssinians this project was renewed, and had Albuquerque lived, there can be no doubt but that the execution would have been again attempted.

If Bruce, therefore, has mistaken the Astapus for the Nile, it is a very pardonable mistake, for if there be not authority sufficient to establish his opinion, there is surely enough to excuse his error.

The question itself, however, is *infinitesimally* insignificant. The Bahar el Asrak, and the Bahar el Abiad, meet and form the Nile; which is to be called the Nile before the junction? The dispute is not concerning the course of the water, but concerning the name. If indeed the

the Nile had been regularly christened, and a certificate from the church register could be produced, the point might be decided. But to whom does the right of godfatherhood belong in this case? Why to the Donga and Tuclawi, the people of the Deir and Tuggula, more than to the Abyssinians and the Agows of Geesh? They who reside about the junction, call the united stream by the name of the Abyssinian branch: if authority is to determine the point, where can we go for a better jury than to the place itself? The Bahar el Abiad is the larger branch: Bruce expressly says that it is so, but his editor very properly observes, if they who dwell by the junction continue the name of Bahar el Asrak after it has joined a larger branch, it is plain that they consider the larger branch as received into the smaller, not the smaller as received into the larger. It is the straight course which determines these unlettered surveyors. Striking instances, he says, occur in our own country, of rivers being named from the inferior source, and he adduces a case in point. The largest river in Scotland is formed by the Teith and the Forth, the latter of which is a stream as much inferior to the former as the Bahar el Asrak to the Bahar el Abiad. The inferior stream, however, in spite of the decision of several respectable writers in favour of the Teith, obtains the name of the great river, because it runs in the same* line. A river must have as many sources as a man has grandfathers in the fiftieth degree, and in the one case as well as in the other we trace to the straightest line.

True it is that Bruce himself considered the discovery of the sources of the Nile as a thing of great importance; honourable not only to himself but to his age and country, and to the king under whose reign it was accomplished. In this respect he was as absurd as his critics. But this folly does not in the slightest degree detract from the value of his work. The journey was not the less important because the object was ridiculous, as the value of an action is not to be estimated by the motive of the agent, though the merit of the agent is. Whatever be the name of a rivulet in Geesh,

we are equally interested by the picture of society in Abyssinia. A gap in history has been filled up.

There remains yet a third question—did Bruce actually visit these sources in Geesh, or has he merely copied the Jesuits accounts, and the Jesuits map? for whoever has inspected both can have not the smallest doubt, that in the map of Balthezar Tellez, these sources, and the course of the river, through the lake Dembea, are laid down precisely as they are by the English traveller. This question has been for ever settled by Mr. Murray, the editor of the present edition, whose undeviating candour and indefatigable industry, cannot be too highly commended. Of the journey to the sources, he tells us, there exist, besides the narrative in Mr. Bruce's own words, written as he went along, the complete journal by Balugani in Italian, and many of the strips of paper which he carried in his hand, *on which he wrote with a pencil the history of each day, before he entered it in the journal at night.* We will transcribe that part of Balugani's journal which describes the springs, because it sets the question for ever at rest.

"At three o'clock we have arrived at the church of St. Michael, above the sources; and at an eighth of a mile, descending from this into the plain, are found the *fountains of the Nile*. We have halted in the valley (or plain) called Assua, half a mile to the S. S. E. of these fountains. Our journey to day has been six hours, computed at twelve miles.

"The sum of the whole way, from Gondar to the fountains of the Nile is about one hundred and eleven miles.

"The fountains of the Nile are three. One of them† will be four palms in diameter; but it is all full of rushes, and shews neither its depth nor true extent, it not being possible to introduce into it any sounding instrument.

"The second will be five paces distant from the first to the south, a little west; and will be about twelve inches diameter at the mouth, but within about four palms, and it is eight feet three inches deep.

"The third will be twelve paces distant from the first, to S. S. W.; its mouth is somewhat larger than that of the second, but it is only five feet eight inches deep. The first being the lowest, the water is seen at the level of the earth; but in the other two, the

* It is curious that the river should resemble the Abyssinian Nile in another very remarkable circumstance. The stream of the Teith is distinctly visible in its passage through Lochlubnaig, which indeed signifies *the Lake of the Winding Stream*.

† This expression is literal, and might be exchanged for *is*; though computation be in some cases understood,

ground being a little raised, the water remains about eight inches lower than the level of the mouth. All the three may be observed to spring (the word *bolliire* signifies to boil or bubble), but so imperceptibly that it can scarcely be discerned by great attention; and it is false what is said by some, that they spring with a noise out of the ground, rising above it.

"All this place near the fountains produces only grass and rushes; trees are not found, to the distance at least of half a mile on every side.

The latitude of the fountains is 10 degrees 58 min. and 58 sec. The sources of the Nile are found in the Agow country, in a province called Sacchala.— They are situated in a little valley at the foot of the

mountain of Gheesh, by E. N. E. From the fountains to the top of the mountain will be two miles and a half, nearly three. Above the fountains, about one-eighth of a mile distant from them, by N. E. by N. is a church, on the top of a hill, called Kedus Michael, over the fountains. The Nile, rising out of its springs, takes a direction east for a quarter of a mile. Then it turns about to north-east for another half-mile, always in the middle of a plain (vallone), without trees or shrubs, excepting grass and rushes; and in all that space it does not appear to run; but as the earth is very flat, it spreads, and leaves the ground about, marshy, and (in) stagnant (water). From this it begins to run north, and in a short time becomes very rapid, and continues to flow by north-east and north, under the mountain, on which is the church of Mariam Nett, for the space of a mile. Thence it runs north-west about a mile. About that part is the place where they pass the Abay, to go to Gondar, coming from the fountains, and the church will be a quarter of a mile to the east distant from this passage. After having run the forementioned mile north-west, it turns about west, and a little after south-west, then south south-west, then south, always retreating backwards towards its sources in all that course. From the place where it begins to go west till it runs south will be about four miles and a half. In this last place it passes between two mountains, and begins to retreat, by going down by the way of west, north-west, north, &c. until it comes to cross the lake in an angle of it; it (then) passes near to Dara, and returning south makes the circle of Gojam, after which it descends (towards the north).

"Two miles before arriving at the place where it changes its course reverting towards its sources, are seen three small streams, one of which comes from the east, another from the south-east, and another from the south south-east; the two first of these arise to the north-east of the church of St. Michael Gheesh, about somewhat less than one-eighth

of a mile's distance. The first of these runs nearly parallel to the Nile, receiving about half a mile from its source the second, and then about three miles after the third; and about a mile and a half after that discharges itself into the Nile. The Nile in that place begins to grow large; because it receives there other small streams which come from the north and west."

A minute account follows of the bearings of the adjoining places, as marked from the top of the mountain of Gheesh. The manuscript from which this is printed is in Italian, in Balugani's hand-writing, on the smooth cream-coloured cotton paper of the east. It contains a complete detail of the hours and days in which they travelled; of the villages, rivers, mountains, and in short, of every remarkable object they met with from their leaving Gondar, Sunday twenty-eighth October, 1770, at half after nine A. M. till their return, Sunday eighteenth Nov. one o'clock P. M. in the same year.

Such evidence is unanswerable. But could any thing be more absurd than to admit that Bruce was in Abyssinia, and yet to deny that he visited the sources of the Abyssinian Nile? These sources, says Mr. Pinkerton, were in the seventeenth century accurately described by Payz, a Portuguese missionary, whose account was published by Kircher and Isaac Vossius, and has in our times been very minutely copied by Bruce, as Hartman has explained by printing the two accounts in parallel columns. Mr. Murray has confuted the charge in the best possible manner, without condescending to notice it. He has printed the passage as it stands in Kircher, and added a literal translation. In justice to him and to Bruce, we shall copy the two accounts.

"The source of the Nile is situated in the western part of the kingdom of Goyam, in the upper (or highest) part of a valley, which resembles a large plain, surrounded on every side with ridges of hills. A. D. 1618, April 21st. when I was living in this kingdom along with the emperor and his army, I ascended this place, viewed every thing diligently, and found at first two round fountains there, both above four palms in diameter, and with the greatest pleasure of mind saw what Cyrus, king of the Persians, Cambyse, Alexander the Great, and the famous Julius Caesar, could obtain by no wishes. The water of the source is very clear and light, and agreeable to the taste; yet it must be known that these two fountains of the source have no outlet in the uppermost part of the plain of the mountain, but at the foot of the

mountain*. We tried also the depth of the fountains, and put a lance into the first, which, entering eleven palms, seemed to touch, as it were, some roots of the neighbouring trees entangled with one-another.

"The second fountain bears from the first east about a stone's cast; trying the depth of this, by putting in a lance of twelve palms, we found no bottom, but having tied two lances together, in length twenty palms, we tried the thing again; but not even then could we find bottom, and the inhabitants say that the whole mountain is full of water, of which they gave this sign, that all the plain about the fountain shook and bubbled, a plain mark of concealed water, and that, for the same reason, the water did not overflow at the sources, but threw itself out with very great force at the foot of them; and the inhabitants affirmed, as well as the emperor himself, who was present along with his army, that the ground had trembled little that year, on account of the great dryness of the season, but in other years it shook and bubbled so, that it could scarcely be approached without danger. The circumference of the plain is like a round lake, the breadth of which may be a sling's cast."

"Further, the plain of the fountains of the Nile is difficult of ascent, on every side but on the north, where it is easily ascended. Below the mountain about a league, in a very deep valley, rises another river from the bowels of the earth, which however joins itself a little after to the Nile; they believe it has the same source with the Nile, but that, conducted under ground by secret channels, it rises first here. But the rivulet from the source, which breaks out below the mountain, runs a gun-shot to the east, then, winding suddenly, flows to the north, then, about the fourth-part of a league afterwards, a new river presents itself, dashing from the stones and rocks, to which two other rivers a little after join themselves, breaking from the east quarter; and so on, by receiving constantly one stream after another, the Nile increases remarkably. After a day's journey, it meets with a large river, that is called Jama (Jemna); then turning towards the west for twenty-five leagues, or thirty-five leagues from its sources, it next reflects its course to the east, winding into a large lake (situated in the province called Bed, and partly adjacent to the kingdom of Goyam, partly to that of Dambia), which it passes through in such a manner, as that the waters of the Nile shew a remarkable difference from the waters of the lake; and the whole stream, unmixed with the lake waters, holds on its course."

It is to be remembered also that Bruce has himself given in the text of his book the whole sum and substance of the very account by Pedro Paez (who was a Cas-

tillian and not a Portuguese) which he is accused of having stolen; omitting only a few trifling parts of no importance whatever, for the sake of brevity. Let his own account be now examined.

"In the middle of this marsh (that is, about forty yards from each side of it), and something less from the bottom of the mountain of Geesh, arises a hillock of a circular form, about three feet from the surface of the marsh itself, though apparently founded much deeper in it. The diameter of this is something short of twelve feet; it is surrounded by a shallow trench, which collects the water and voids it eastward; it is firmly built with sod or earthen turf, brought from the sides, and constantly kept in repair; and this is the altar upon which all their religious ceremonies are performed. In the middle of this altar is a hole, obviously made, or at least enlarged, by the hand of man. It is kept clear of grass, or other aquatic plants; and the water in it is perfectly pure and limpid, but has no ebullition or motion of any kind discernible upon its surface. This mouth, or opening of the source, is some parts of an inch less than three feet diameter; and the water stood at that time, the 5th of November, about two inches from the lip or brim, nor did it either increase or diminish during all the time of my stay at Geesh, though we made plentiful use of it.

"Upon putting down the shaft of my lance at six feet four inches, I found a very feeble resistance, as if from weak rushes or grass; and about six inches deeper I found my lance had entered into soft earth, but met with no stones or gravel. This was confirmed by another experiment made on the 9th with a heavy plummet and line besmeared with soap, the bottom of which brought up at the above depth only black earth, such as the marsh itself and its sides are composed of.

"Ten feet distant from the first of these springs, a little to the west of south, is the second fountain, about eleven inches in diameter; but this is eight feet three inches deep. And about twenty feet distant from the first, to the S. S. W. is the third source, its mouth being something more than two feet large, and it is five feet eight inches deep. Both these last fountains stand in the middle of small altars, made, like the former, of firm sod, but neither of them above three feet diameter, and having a foot of less elevation than the first. The altar in this third source seemed almost dissolved by the water, which in both stood nearly up to the brim; at the foot of each appeared a clear and brisk running rill; these uniting joined the water in the trench of the first altar, and then proceeded directly out, I suppose, at the point of the triangle, pointing eastward, in a quantity that would have filled a pipe of about two inches diameter."

* This is unintelligible; Kircher having misunderstood, or obtained an incorrect copy of the original.

"The Nile, keeping nearly in the middle of the marsh, runs east for thirty yards, with a very little increase of stream, but perfectly visible, till met by the grassy brink of the land declining from Sacala. This turns it round gradually to the N. E. and then due north; and, in the two miles it flows in that direction, the river receives many small contributions from springs that rise in the banks on each side of it: there are two, particularly one on the hill at the back of St Michael Geesh, the other a little lower than it on the other side, on the ground declining from Sacala. These last-mentioned springs are more than double its quantity; and being arrived under the hill whereon stands the church of St Michael Sacala, about two miles from its source, it there becomes a stream that would turn a common mill, shallow, clear, and running over a rocky bottom about three yards wide: this must be understood to be variable according to the season; and the present observations are applicable to the 5th of November, when the rains had ceased for several weeks. There is the ford which we passed going to Geesh, and we crossed it the day of our arrival, in the time of my conversation with Woldo about the sash.

"Nothing can be more beautiful than this spot; the small rising hills about us were all thick-covered with verdure, especially with clover, the largest and finest I ever saw; the tops of the heights crowned with trees of a prodigious size; the stream, at the banks of which we were sitting, was limpid and pure as the finest crystal; the ford, covered thick with a bushy kind of tree, that seemed to affect to grow to no height, but thick with foliage and young branches, rather to court the surface of the water, whilst it bore, in prodigious quantities, a beautiful yellow flower, not unlike a single wild rose of that colour, but without thorns; and, indeed, upon examination, we found that it was not a species of the rose, but of *hypericum*."

"Here, at the ford, after having stepped over it fifty times, I observed it no larger than a common mill stream. The Nile, from this ford, turns to the westward, and, after running over loose stones occasionally, in that direction, about four miles farther, the angle of inclination increasing greatly, broken water, and a fall commences of about six feet, and thus it gets rid of the mountainous place of its nativity, and issues into the plain of Goutto, where is its first cataract; for, as I have said before, I don't account the broken water, or little falls, cataracts, which are not at all visible in the height of the rains.

"Arrived in the plain of Goutto, the river seems to have lost all its violence, and scarcely is seen to flow; but, at the same time, it there makes so many sharp, unnatural windings, that it differs from any other river I

ever saw*, making above twenty sharp angular peninsulas in the course of five miles, through a bare marshy plain of clay, quite destitute of trees, and exceedingly inconvenient and unpleasant to travel. After passing this plain, it turns due north, receives the tribute of many small streams, the Gometti, the Gougueri, and the Kebezza, which descend from the mountains of Aformasha; and, united, fall into the Nile about twenty miles below its source; it begins here to run rapidly, and again receives a number of beautiful rivulets, which have their rise in the heights of Litchanbara, the semi-circular range of mountains that pass behind, and seem to inclose Aformasha: These are the Caccho, the Carnachiuli, the Gougueri, the Iworra, the Jeddelli, and the Minch; all which, running into the Davola, join the Nile something less than a mile west of the church of Abbo.

"It is now become a considerable stream; its banks high and broken, covered with old trees for the space of about three miles; it inclines to the north-east, and winds exceedingly, and is then joined by the small river Diwa from the east. It then makes a semi-circle, and receives Dee-ohha, turns sharply to the east, and falls down its second cataract at Kerr. About three miles below this cataract, the large, pleasant, and limpid Jemna, pays its tribute to the Nile. Though its course is now mostly north, through Maitsha on the east, and Aroossi and Sankraber on the west, it still is inclining toward the lake Tzana, and, after receiving the rivers Boha and Amalac Ohha, small streams from the west, and the Assar, Aroossi, and Kelti, large rivers from the east, it crosses the south end of the lake Tzana, for about seven leagues, preserving the colour of its stream distinct from that of the lake, till it issues out at the west side of it, in the territory of Dara, where there is a ford, though very deep and dangerous, immediately where it first resumes the appearance of a river."

Is there any greater resemblance between these descriptions than there necessarily must be between two descriptions of the same place, made at different times by different persons? if any thing remarkable is to be discovered in them, it is in the points of difference, not of agreement. But what motive for plagiarism can now be assigned? It is not pretended that the whole story of these travels is the impudent forgery of a man who was never in Abyssinia; what then was to prevent him from proceeding to Geesh? The difficulties and dangers of the journey were not likely to intimidate

* A plan of the windings of the Nile in the plain of Goutta is inserted by Balugani in the Journal. These are singularly numerous, and very much resemble, though on a different scale, what are called "the links of the river Forth," near Stirling, in Scotland.

man who had reached Gondar. And that he did visit Geesh is proved, as far as any such fact is capable of proof, by his own journal taken on the spot, and by the journal of Balugani. As for the resemblance between his account and that of Pedro Paez, both are alike because both are true; so also his map agrees with that in Balthezar Tellez, because both are made from authentic documents, not because one is copied from the other. Bruce has sinned against the jesuits, but not as a plagiarist.

That we are not disposed to depreciate the merit of this traveller must already have been apparent, and how highly we value his labours will presently be seen; but it must be confessed that the object of his journey was an unworthy one. It was the search after what was curious, not what was useful; a-kin to the pursuits of the collector and virtuoso, rather than of the philosopher. However great the effort, however valuable the result, vanity was the motive. Attributing undue importance to the discovery of these sources, he unduly attempted to appropriate the whole merit of the discovery to himself. No passion so easily tempts to falsehood as vanity. He could not be content with being the partner of Pedro Paez, to use his own expression, and has therefore laboured with much disingenuity to prove that neither he, nor any of the jesuits had visited the sacred spot, the *Kebba* to which all his ambitious aspirations were directed. The extract from Pedro Paez published by Kircher, he says, was not in three manuscripts of that father's history which he examined at Milan, at Bologna and at Rome. He does not pretend to have read through these manuscripts, but only to have examined the place where this description ought to have been. Mr. Murray, however, is so well satisfied with the account in Kircher, as fairly to concede the point, and to declare it cannot be doubted but that Pedro Paez had visited the sources. On this head we are not so fully satisfied as the editor; whoever wrote the description in Kircher, certainly had seen the place which he describes; but if the passage is not to be found in the three manuscripts which Bruce consulted, it may very possibly have been inserted in that which Kircher used, by the transcriber, from the account of some other jesuit. This we suspect to have been the case, because Tellez, though he had the writings of Pedro Paez before him, does

not enumerate him among his authorities for the description of the springs. Our traveller may be right here: but on the other hand Tellez expressly mentions the patriarch Affonso Mendez, of whom Bruce as expressly says, that he never saw, nor indeed ever pretended to have seen the sources of the Nile. Bruce even hazards a hardier mistatement, asserting boldly that Tellez makes no mention of such a discovery. The work of Balthezar Tellez lies before us; he gives a description of the springs "as they are described in many annual letters, and many treatises by many jesuits who saw these secrets closely,"—*como em muytas annuaes e muytos tratados, escrevem muytos nossos religiosos que viram muy de perto estes segredos*. "The best witnesses among them, he adds, are our patriarch of Ethiopia, Dom Affonso Mendez, a man of the highest credit, and father Mansel d'Almeyda who relates it much at length, and father Jeronymo Lobo, all of whom curiously beheld it with their own eyes." Bruce has certainly been guilty of wilful misrepresentation here; and his critics have only dealt by him as he has dealt by the jesuits, with the same measure wherewith he meted, it hath been measured to him again.

A similar jealousy lest any person should share the imaginary honour of this discovery is discernible in his whole management respecting Balugani the Italian, who assisted him in his drawings, and kept a daily journal of their route, like himself. We suspect that the mention of his death (Vol. iv. p. 426) is purposely antedated, and introduced before the journey to the springs, least it should be known that he also had seen them, and been the partner of Bruce: for it is mentioned as having taken place before the journey, and as one motive which almost induced him to return without accomplishing it. This was not oversight. In the journal of the journey a servant is spoken of, who the editor tells us in a note was Balugani. In this proud and unfeeling language does he speak of his only literary companion, of the artist who shared all his dangers, and died in his service. Not one expression of respect, or kindness, or endearment towards this young man ever escapes him, —though the death of a dog whom one had taken from Europe into such a country should have made an Englishman shed tears. In no other instance does Bruce appear like a proud and hard-

hearted man, but it is the tendency of that mean passion which was in him so predominant, to warp the understanding and to deaden the heart.

So far then as regards Luigi Balugani, and the claim of the jesuits to the discovery of these sources, the errors in Bruce are misrepresentations, not mistakes; falsehoods, not inaccuracies. He was not ignorant of the truth, and he had obvious motives for concealing it. Many other errors occur in his work, which can only be called inaccuracies or blunders, and which must have proceeded from an undue reliance upon his own memory. Some of these we shall notice.

Bruce is speaking of the conquest of Spain by the Moors: he says—

“A great influx of trade followed the conquest; and the religion, that contained little restraint and great indulgence, was every where embraced by the vanquished, who long had been Christians in name only. On the other side, the Arabs were now no longer that brutish set of madmen they were under the Khalifat of Omar. They were now eminent for their rank and attainments in every species of learning. This was a dangerous crisis for Christianity, which threatened nothing else than its total subversion. The whole world, without the help of England, had not virtue enough to withstand this torrent. That nation, the favourite weapon in the hand of Heaven for chastising tyranny and extirpating false religion, now lent its assistance, and the scale was quickly turned.”

It is impossible to explain the gross ignorance of this paragraph. Charles Martel was the man who preserved christendom. As for England, it had not the slightest influence upon the continent of Europe till the Norman conquest.

“John I. king of Portugal, he tells us, after many successful battles with the Moors, had at last forced them to cross the sea and return vanquished to their native country. By this he had changed his former dishonourable name of Bastard, to the more noble and more popular one of John the Avenger.” John the First never fought a battle with the Moors in his life, till he crossed to Ceuta. They had been completely subdued in Portugal a hundred years before he came to the crown. The whole of this chapter is full of such errors. We know not whether they are his own, or taken from some French blunderer,—for the orthography

or rather kakography of many of the names is French.

Covillan, he says, (it should be Covilham) sent frequent dispatches from Abyssinia to the king of Portugal, who on his part spared no expence to keep open the correspondence. Of course it must have been carried on by the regular post-offices. He even describes the contents of Covilham's journal, and adds, that he sent a map with it. All this Bruce has dreamt by his own fire-side. The contemporary chroniclers of Joam II. all say that Covilham was lost, and the contemporary historians of Emanuel all say when he was found.

He wonders why no mention is made by Tellez of the three capuchins who were stoned to death at Gondar in 1714. The wonder would have been if Tellez had mentioned them, for he died in 1675 himself. One might almost suspect that Bruce never revised his own writings; he tells you that he has a Coptic MSS. three times as old as the books of Numa were in Pliny's days, that is, above two thousand five hundred years; and a few pages on he adds, that it is a Gnostic treatise. It would be tedious to proceed with instances which might be enumerated to great length. Enough has been adduced to show that he wrote often carelessly, and sometimes presumptuously, but such blunders do not affect the main value of his work.

Whichever be the source of the Nile, whoever may be the first European who beheld it, and whatever be the historical inaccuracies and trifling blunders of the traveller, the main value of his travels remains unaffected. This consists in the state of society which he has most admirably delineated, a state the most extraordinary in which any people upon the face of the globe exist. It has fallen to his lot to reside among a people half Jews, half Christians; half savages, half civilized; half black, half white, half cannibals;—a people standing in so little fear of God, that oaths and sacraments go even for less among them than they do at an election or a custom-house; yet in such dread of the devil that they will not spill water upon the ground lest it should splash some of his imps, and dare not travel in the night for fear of meeting him upon the road: so ignorant that they believe hyenas to be Jews in disguise, and oblige their blacksmiths * to live

* This is not mentioned by Bruce, but we give it on the authority of Francisco Alvarez, the first traveller into the country.

part from the rest of the community, as men who can have acquired such extraordinary skill from none but from the devil; and it must be confessed that certainly these artificers do practise the black art: a people, who, in direct violation of that hospitality which all savages practise, detain every stranger who is unhappy enough to venture among them, and who send for their patriarch from Cairo, lest the little learning and miserable remains of christianity among them should be utterly extinguished. Such is their known barbarity, that the unfortunate Copt who is condemned to be their primate, must be put in chains and sent into the country under a guard of janizaries, lest he should run away. This country Bruce describes, where the inhabitants live in such a state of insecurity that the saddle and bridle can never be taken off, nor the bit slipped from the horse's mouth while the roads are passable, nor the shield and lance hung up in the hall till the rainy season sets in, and brings with it what may there truly be called the truce of God;—a country where dead bodies are left in the streets of the metropolis for the hyenas;—where if the small-pox make its appearance, the neighbours surround the house and consume it, with all its inhabitants, by fire, —where they eat animals alive, and men and women intoxicating themselves together at these bloody feasts, satisfy their lusts publicly, like dogs, in open daylight!

There is not the slightest reason for disbelieving or distrusting any part of this description. It is authenticated by other accounts, as far as they go, coherent with itself, probable in all its parts. There is nothing which could have warped the veracity of the traveller here; nothing which could be affected by neglect of documents or failure of memory. It depends not upon single facts, but upon accumulation; the whole history of Abyssinia agrees with the representation, and every circumstance in their laws and manners, their forms, ceremonies, and customs, public and private, is in keeping.

No traveller ever left Europe better qualified to travel in safety, and to keep up the honour of his country. Well acquainted with the language of the people among whom he was adventuring, he took with him recommendations and safe conducts from the chiefs of their religion, and the different powers whom they most respected, or with whom they

were most connected. Without incurring the dangerous suspicion of being wealthy, he appeared as a noble, and was accordingly valued by others as he valued himself. His person and his personal qualities were such as to obtain and to secure respect; tall and powerful beyond the ordinary strength and stature of man, he excelled the barbarians of Abyssinia in their own accomplishments: his excellence in horsemanship delighted them, and his skill in the management of a double-barrelled rifle astonished people who did not fire the clumsy muskets of the Arabians without fear and trembling. Wherever human courage or human prudence can be of any avail, Bruce might have travelled safely; never offering an insult, never submitting to one,—not ambitiously exalting himself, not meanly self-abased, conferring favours instead of soliciting them,—fearless in times of danger, yet never losing sight of caution when in most security,—a soldier in the camp and courtier in the city—the friend of the great, the healer of the sick, the favourite of the woman. Long will it be before another so qualified shall undertake such a journey,—and any one less qualified would have perished in the attempt.

The historical portion of his work is valuable to collate with the jesuits' accounts, and to supply the chasm from the time of their expulsion to our own days; that part in which he himself bore a share is particularly interesting. When the intercourse between Abyssinia and Europe shall again be opened, and the nation humanized by future missionaries more fortunate than Pedro Paez (more able and more deserving they need not be; and unless, like the jesuits, they unite policy and religion they must fail)—whenever that happy age for Africa shall arrive, the inhabitants will read their own history in the writings of Yagoube the Englishman.

We have better books of travels in the English language; that is, books more uniformly good, and without the faults of this; but none that contains so much interesting matter. Encumbered as it is with theoretical dissertations, it excites a livelier and more abiding interest than any traveller of our own, or of any other country. This is partly because he was a witness of great events, and an actor in them; still more, because he knew so intimately the most important persons in the drama, and has so admirably delineated them. It has been said that Mi-

chael Sukul, the Ras, is such a character as Shakespeare would have conceived; nor is this commendation, high as it is, exaggerated. Other books may be better written, but there is none from which finer passages can be produced; and in these there are no tricks of composition, nothing that the Birmingham-manufacturers of plated style can counterfeit; it is the plain tale plainly told, the strong feeling naturally expressed. In the whole course of our reading, we remember nothing more deeply and lastingly impressive than the journey of Bruce across the desert.

It now remains to state what has been added to the present edition, either from the papers of Bruce, or by the labours of the editor. An account of the life and writings of Bruce precedes the work. It appears that the conclusive act, by which presbytery was established as the national religion of Scotland, was obtained chiefly by the address and policy of the founder of his family. Whoever has seen presbyterianism north of the Tweed, will understand what reason Scotland and religion have to be obliged to him. In his youth, Bruce was considered as of a consumptive habit, which there was the more reason to apprehend, as his mother and sister had both been cut off by that curse of our country. He had the happiness to be educated in England, because his father was attached to the house of Hanover, and feared lest he might be infected by the prevalent spirit of jacobinism in his own country. Accordingly he was placed at Harrow, where he distinguished himself. As he advanced towards manhood, the symptoms of disease became more threatening: he was tall beyond the measure of his years, his joints feeble, his breast weak, and subject to violent coughs on catching the slightest degree of cold. Care and exercise saved him. For his profession he would have preferred theology himself, and wished to have entered the English church. This predilection did not meet with the approbation of his father, and, in obedience to his advice, he entered at Edinburgh and commenced the study of Scotch law: but neither health nor inclination permitted him to proceed with this. India was the next object: he was advised to petition the court of directors, for the liberty of settling as a free-trader under its patronage. To forward this scheme, he went to London in

1753, the twenty-second year of his age; there he became intimate with the family of Mrs. Allan, the widow of an eminent wine-merchant, married the daughter, and entered into the business with the son. In his own opinion this marriage, which prevented him from adventuring to India, saved him from the dreadful imprisonment in the black hole. He was now settled in a prosperous business, and happy with a wife; but, before the end of the year, manifest symptoms of consumption appeared in Mrs. Bruce. Bristol hot-wells proved, as they always must prove in such cases, inefficacious: the south of France was then recommended, which was her native country; but she only lived to reach Paris, where her last moments were persecuted by the catholic clergy, according to their detestable custom. We copy a very affecting letter written shortly afterwards.

"Letter of Mr. Bruce to his Father.

"Dear sir, Marklane, Nov. 12, 1754.

"I received yours of the 28th ult. If I could be susceptible of more grief, I should have been much concerned for my good friend Mr. Hay; but my distress at present does not admit of augmentation. Death has been very busy amongst my relations of late. My poor wife, my kind uncle, * who had been always a tender father to me, both gone in eight months! God Almighty do with me as he sees best! When I reflect upon what I have suffered these three years past, I am much more inclined to pray for my life being shortened than for a prolongation of it, if my afflictions must have no end but with my being. My mind is so shocked, and the impressions of that dreadful scene at Paris so strongly fixed, that I have it every minute before my eyes as distinctly as it was then happening. Myself a stranger in the country; my servants unacquainted with the language and country, my presence so necessary among them, and indispensibly so with my dear wife; my poor girl dying before my eyes, three months gone with child, full of that affection and tenderness which marriage produces when people feel the happiness, but not the cares of it; many of the Roman catholic clergy hovering about the doors; myself unable to find any expedient to keep them from disturbing her in her last moments—Don't you feel for your son, dear sir, in these circumstances? But I will write no more; my afflicting you cannot alleviate my distress. I cannot, however, omit telling you an instance of lord Albemarle's very great humanity; he has been always a warm-protector of this house. The morning before my wife died, he sent his chaplain down to

offer his services in our distress. After hearing the service of the sick read, and receiving the sacrament together, he told me, in case I received any trouble from the priests, my lord desired I would tell them I belonged to the English ambassador. When my wife died, the chaplain came again to me, desired me to go home with him, and assured me, that my lord had given him orders to see my wife buried in the ambassador's burying-ground, which was accordingly done; and had it not been for this piece of humanity, she must have been buried in the common yard, where the wood is piled that serves the town for firing. I could not, however, leave her as soon as dead, as is the custom in England, but having ordered the mournful solemnity, with as much decency as is allowed in that country to heretics, at midnight, between the 10th and 11th ult. accompanied only by the chaplain, a brother of my lord Foley's, and our own servants, we carried her body to the burying-ground, at the Porte St. Martin, where I saw all my comfort and happiness laid with her in the grave. From thence, almost frantic, against the advice of every body, I got on horseback, having ordered the servant to have post horses ready, and set out in the most tempestuous night I ever saw, for Boulogne, where I arrived next day without stopping. There the riding, without a great coat, in the night time, in the rain, want of food, which, for a long time, I had not tasted, want of rest, fatigue, and excessive concern, threw me into a fever; but, after repeated bleedings, and the great care taken of me by Mr. Hay, I recovered well enough to set out for London on the Wednesday. I arrived at home on the Thursday, when my fever again returned, and a violent pain in my breast. The former is so far abated, that I am endeavouring to do a little business, hoping, from the variety of that, to find some ease from reflections that at present are too heavy for me. Thus ended my unfortunate journey, and with it my present prospect of happiness in this life."

He continued in the trade several years, and, in the course of business visited Spain, and Portugal, and France. Before this journey he had studied the languages of these countries, and improved himself in drawing. As his journals remain, we cannot but wish that all which is interesting in them had been inserted in this memoir: it might well have supplied the account of his writings, which, however fit for a biographical dictionary, is surely out of place when prefixed to the writings themselves. The following passage is given by the editor as a specimen of these journals.

"There are many particular customs in Portugal, all of which may be known by this rule, that whatever is done in the rest of the

world in one way, is in Portugal done by the contrary, even to the rocking of the cradle, which I believe in all the rest of the world is from side to side, but in Portugal is from head to foot. I fancy it is owing to this early contrariety that their brains work in so different a manner all their lives after. A Portuguese boatman always rows standing, not with his face, but his back to the stern of the boat, and pushes his oar from him. When he lands you, he turns the stern of the boat to the shore, and not the head. If a man and woman ride on the same mule, the woman sits before the man, with her face the contrary way to what they do in England. When you take leave of any person to whom you have been paying a visit, the master of the house always goes out of the room, down stairs, and out of the house, before you, to leave you, as he says, in possession of his house, and to shew you how much he, and all that are in it, are devoted to you. They are, indeed, very attentive to the smallest punctilio, knowing well one another's temper. The smallest affront is never forgiven. This is the occasion of the many murders which are continually committed here. It is, indeed, the only country where it can be said that murder is tolerated. Every family has a son, a brother, or a nephew, who is priest, or friar. These are the instruments. As soon as the friar has committed the crime, he flies to his convent; and in six months the thing is no more talked off."

Much of this is prejudice, and the latter part is false. A curious anecdote occurs in another note. On arriving at Coimbra they visited the principal library, but none of the friars could tell where the Greek books were kept. Mr. Bruce's friend having been there on a former occasion, accidentally found one; and, on asking the friars in what language it was written, they answered, *He alguma das linguas muertas*, it is one of the dead languages.

In Spain he made some effort to obtain access to the Arabic MSS. in the Escorial. Don Ricardo Wall, the then minister, wished to engage him in the service of Spain, but did not, or could not, assist him in this plan. It seems that the observations which he had made in Spain were new and considerably numerous; but in consequence of an early resolution, which he never violated, he had determined to publish nothing on any subject which others had exhausted, or might easily illustrate—a resolution springing from that vanity which was his predominant fault.

During this journey his father died and he succeeded to a respectable inheritance, though not equal to his growing

ambition. In 1761 he left the wine business. He had seen a battle at Crevelt without being engaged in it, and had conceived a passion for military enterprize. Having procured a plan of the harbour and works at Ferrol from some person in the Spanish service, he projected a scheme for attacking it, a Spanish war being then expected, and through his friend Mr. Wood, then under secretary of state, laid it before the ministry, adding, that if the king would entrust him with the command of the forlorn hope, and a pair of colours, he would not desire the assistance of another boat except that in which he landed, till he had planted them with his own hand on the beach of Ferrol. He conceived himself justified in this, because models of the newest British ships of war had been secretly procured by the Spaniards. The justification is not admissible; nothing can justify a man of honour for performing the work of a spy.

The plan was approved, but laid aside for the sake of sending nearer relief to Portugal. He was preparing to return to Scotland, when lord Halifax requested to see him.

"On meeting with him, his lordship laughed at Mr. Bruce's design of retiring to the country at his time of life; suggested to him, that the way to rise in the present reign, was by enterprize and discovery; and that his majesty's love of the arts was a sure and effectual introduction to patronage. He observed, that Africa, though almost at our very door, was yet unexplored; that Dr. Shaw, a writer of undoubted credit, had spoken of magnificent remains of architecture existing in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers; and that something should now be done to preserve them, by drawing, and add them to the king's collection. As a further inducement, he informed him, that Mr. Aspenwall, his majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers, had been recalled; that a merchant, of the name of Ford, who had been appointed to succeed him, was since dead; in consequence of which the place was vacant. He warmly advised Mr. Bruce to accept this opportunity of visiting Africa, under the protection of a public character; promised that he should have leave to appoint a vice-consul for the dispatch of business in his absence; and that, if he made wide excursions into the country, and large additions to the king's collection, he should be recompensed with the rewards stipulated in the affair of Ferrol, or advanced to a higher situation in the diplomatic department. To these proposals Mr. Bruce acceded. He afterwards had several conversations with lord Halifax and Mr. Wood on the subject of Africa. In the course of the conversation was frequently made of the sources

of the Nile, and of the obscurity in which they had ever been concealed. The fountains of the river of Egypt were spoken of as likely to remain wholly unknown to the moderns, until some undaunted adventurer should trace it to its origin. Hints were obliquely thrown out, that the discovery of these "coy sources" could not be expected from an ordinary traveller, much less from one who had no experience in those difficulties which must accompany an enterprize of such magnitude and glory; and it was insinuated, that if any Briton should fulfil the wishes of every age, in this particular, he ought not, under such a monarch, and in a period so auspicious to discovery and learning, to despair of a high reward."

The consulship at Algiers accordingly was given him. It appears from his own letters in the appendix, but not from the memoir, that he had accepted it because an attack upon Oran was projected, in which he hoped to have been of service. The fair promises of lord Halifax ended—as the promises of great men usually end. Not only was the promise which had been given him of a few months absence to visit the interior of the country never performed; but pressing dispatches upon the most urgent business, in which the property, and liberty, and life of British subjects were at stake, were neglected. As far as it was possible for an individual, Bruce defended the rights of his countrymen, and supported the honour of his country. If British property was confiscated, and British subjects dragged into slavery and scourged like slaves, the infamy does not lie at his door.

It was the plan of the Algerines to make the English pay them an annual tribute; for the many favours which they received from England, these ignorant barbarians attributed to fear—though not the true motive, quite as worthy and as wise as the true one. Bruce's advice, if followed, would have humbled their insolence for ever, and have preserved us a station in the Mediterranean. It is thus detailed in one of the letters to lord Halifax:

"My lord, affairs are come to this crisis: the Algerines have formed their plan, pursue it steadily, and have made all further expostulation impossible; and I humbly apprehend no alternative remains, but either by appearance of force, to shew them this scheme is impracticable, or put ourselves upon the footing of other nations.

"Nor is it the arrival of a fleet only that will have the effect to put his majesty's affairs upon a lasting footing of quiet. They will,

It is true, immediately make restitution, and desire a renewal of friendship, and if we are contented with that, the fleet will scarcely be disarmed, until they anew begin acts of violence, till constant equipments on our part, without any product but constant verbal submissions on theirs, will, they hope, in time, make us prefer a moderate annual expence to an excessive one so often as they please to provoke us to it. Therefore, my lord, I should humbly hope, besides restitution and reparation, that the expence of the armament might be insisted upon. They really are not in a condition for refusals. This, on our part, would be such a lasting mark of superiority, and, on theirs, so distinct a one of mal-administration, that no Dey, for the future, would hazard measures that might bring such serious consequences on his country. They are, my lord, very capable of affording this: in the treasury in Algiers only, there are said to be contained thirty-five millions sterling in specie, besides an immense amount in jewels and plate.

"But if it were his majesty's pleasure his royal highness should come hither with a fleet, there is a much more proper species of indemnification than that above mentioned, of more consequence to the nation in peace or war, which will much more readily be complied with by Algiers, and which is attended with certain circumstances in favour of liberty, that make it perfectly proper for the first expedition of a prince.

"This is the cession of the island of Tabarca to Britain, the subject of the memorial inclosed, wherein I have set down imperfectly the advantages attending the possession of it. It has been offered, by Algiers, to several powers, and they have differed upon small sums. It is of no sort of profit to the Algerines at present. The above your lordship may depend upon, as it is the result of many conversations with the commissary of Tabarca, now a slave here, and who is under obligations to me, though he knows not what use is to be made of his information.

Bruce had seen this island in a coasting voyage. It is famous for a coral fishery; and, along the coast, he says, are immense forests of large beautiful oaks, more than sufficient to supply the necessities of all the maritime powers in the Levant, if the quality of the wood be but equal to the size and beauty of the tree.

The whole correspondence is in the highest degree honourable to Bruce. He concludes one of his letters thus: 'My lord, in this country of murder, chains, and torture, your lordship will not expect me to be more explicit than I am as to measures.'

"I was just finishing the letter to your lordship, when word is brought me, that this morning early, the master of the above-mentioned vessel, and the supercargo, were car-

ried before the Dey, and in order to extort a confession if they had secreted any effects, were bastinadoed over the feet and loins in such a manner as the blood gushed out, and then loaded with heavy chains: the captain, it is thought, cannot recover. I have likewise received from a friend some insinuations, that I am in danger, and advice to fly; but as it was not the prospect of pay, or want of fortune, that induced me to accept of this employment, so I will not abandon it from fears or any motives unworthy a gentleman. One brother has this war already had the honour of dying in his majesty's service, two more are still in it, and all I hope is, if any accident befall me, as is hourly probable, his majesty will be favourable to the survivors of a family that has always served him faithfully."

It is impossible to read the correspondence without wishing the two men to change situations. Bruce would have taught the pirates a good lesson had he been in the ministry, and Lord Halifax should have been sent to Algiers to teach him English feelings under Algerine discipline. Bruce was neglected in his public capacity, and ill-used as to his private concerns. The leave of absence was never granted him, and he was at last obliged either to make his excursion as a private individual, or to abandon the principal design of his residence in Barbary.

The history of this journey is given by himself in the introduction to his travels. From this time, therefore, till his return from Abyssinia to Europe, we may pass over the occurrences of his life. The first business in which he engaged after his complete recovery was of a very singular nature. Before he went to Algiers he had received a promise of marriage from a Scotch lady, settled, as we suppose, in Italy. As Bruce, however, thought proper to make an excursion to the sources of the Nile before he claimed the performance of this promise, the lady married an Italian nobleman, while he was drinking her health at Geesh. He thought himself injured, apparently with less reason than she had thought herself undervalued; and, in spite of the advice of his friends, he went to Rome to challenge the marquis. The affair terminated in the following correspondence:

"1. *Mr. Bruce to Sig. Accoramboni.*

"Sir,

"Not my heart, but the entreaties of my friends, made me offer you the alternative by the abbe Grant. It was not for such satisfaction, that sick, and covered with wounds, I have traversed so much land and sea to find you.

"An innocent man, employed in the service of my country—without provocation or injury from me, you have deprived me of my honour, by violating all the most sacred rights before God and man; and you now refuse to commit to writing what you willingly confess in words. A man of honour and innocence, marquis, knows no such shifts as these; and it will be well for one of us to-day, if you had been as scrupulous in doing an injury as you are in repairing it.

"I am your equal, marquis, in every respect; and God alone can do me justice for the injury which you have done me. Full of innocence, and with a clear conscience, I commit my revenge to him, and draw my sword against you with confidence inspired by the reflection of having done my duty, and by a sense of the injustice and violence which I have suffered from you without any reason.

"At half past nine (French reckoning) I come to your gate in my carriage; if it does not please you, let your own be ready; and let us go together to determine which is the more easy, to injure a man in his absence, or to defend it when he is present."

"2. *Sign. Accoramboni to Mr. Bruce.*

"Sir, *Rome, Nov. 30, 1773.*

"When the marriage with Miss M., at present my wife, was arranged, it was never mentioned to me that there was a promise made to you, otherwise that connection should not have taken place.

"With regard to yourself, on my honour, I have never spoken of you in any manner, as you were entirely unknown to me. On which account, if I can serve you, command me. With the profoundest respect, I sign myself, your most obedient humble servant,

"FILIPPO ACCORAMBONI."

"To James Bruce, Esq.

On his return to England he presented his drawings to the king, for which, it is added in a note, he received a gratuity: we wish it had been specified what. The high reward, which had been held out to him by lord Halifax, was certainly never bestowed, though assuredly the services which he had rendered to literature deserved some marks of public honour, and public remuneration. In 1776 he married a second time: having been so long a widower, that the year of his first wife's death was that in which his second was born. With this lady he lived happily; but only for nine years, when he was again left single. He survived her nine years: his own death was remarkable. After having escaped from the barbarians of Abyssinia and Nubia, and the perils of

the desert, he fell down his own stairs and died; but it is probable that his fall was in consequence of a fit. He was in his 64th year.

The present edition contains his last corrections and emendations. As these are not pointed out, it cannot be expected that we should have collated so extensive a work; and had they been of any great importance, they would have been specified. Mr. Murray has added various appendices and notes. To the first book he has appended Balugani's description of the *canya*, or boat of the Nile, and general observations on the early history of Arabia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, which tend to identify Sesostria with Shishak, and to prove that the Egyptians had made no conquests in Asia prior to the age of Solomon. The dissertation is erudite and ingenious, but the arguments would have been more forcible if more condensed. Here also he has inserted Bruce's letter to Dr. Burney on Egyptian and Abyssinian music, adding certain remarks of his own; a part of which we shall quote, relating to the drawings of the harpers from the caverns of Thebes.

"Mr. Brown, who lately travelled into Egypt, and Dar Fur, and visited the cavern in the Biban al Moluc, where Mr. Bruce drew these figures, has insinuated that he seemed to have drawn them from memory. This report has gained credit, and been repeated to the prejudice of Mr. Bruce's character, both in Britain and on the continent.* The facts, that may be brought to vindicate him, are the following:

"The penciled sketches of the two harps are still preserved among Mr. Bruce's papers, and one of them, at least, is clearly the work of Luigi Balugani. On one of them is a direction to the engraver, in Mr. Bruce's handwriting, giving him a slight liberty to finish the sketch, but not to change the costume of the player. This was written a short time before the publication of the travels; but it is quite evident to any eye that the difference between the engraving and the sketch is very trifling.

"From the known custom of Mr. Bruce and his assistant, it is next to certain that the sketches were taken on the spot. However careless Mr. Browne may suppose these gentlemen to have been at other times, it is not likely that they would have sitten down, after an excursion through the tombs of ancient Thebes, to draw, *from memory*, the sculptures they had seen in the course of the day. Mr. Browne does not pretend that he can draw; we may, therefore, ask him, if he had Mr. Bruce's drawings in the cave to compare

* Vide Larcher, Traduct. d'Herodote, vol. i. pref. p. xlv.

them with the originals? If he had not, his criticism is that of a man who is no artist, *making a remark from memory*. Whether Mr. Bruce could draw or not, is of little importance in deciding on the truth of these representations; for he had in his company an excellent draughtsman, whose works remain to speak for his pretensions."

M. Denon, who gives us a more perfect view of Egyptian antiquities than any work as yet in existence, confirms what Mr. Bruce has said on the subject of Egyptian music. That accomplished artist sketched seven figures, playing on instruments, from the walls of the royal sepulchres, west of Thebes, and from the temple of Tentyra.

The most important of these sculptures is that of a musician playing on a harp, having, according to M. Denon, twenty-one strings. The sketch which he gives nearly inclines us, at first, to believe, that it is one of those given by Mr. Bruce; yet, on examination, it differs in so many particulars as to leave no doubt that it is none of them. M. Denon's sketch is evidently hasty, but probably a good resemblance.

Denon has now confirmed the veracity of Bruce, who seems to have made no other alteration than that of improving the figures, a liberty to which a zealous artist might easily be seduced.

To the second book the editor has added a summary view of the Egyptian theology, as collected from the Hebrew and Greek writers, with the names of the gods in the antient native language, intended to illustrate the remains of Egyptian antiquity mentioned in the two preceding books. A dissertation, containing additional proofs in support of Bruce's hypothesis, that Egypt was peopled from the south, and the confines of Ethiopia; and a vocabulary of the Amharic, Falashan, Gafat, Agow, and Tcheretch Agow languages. To the third, he has prefixed a geographical account of the Abyssinian provinces, and a preface to the history of Abyssinia, containing a short view of the Abyssinian constitution, such as it appears to have been in the better days of the empire; an account of the ceremonies used at the coronation of the king, or neguz, as he should more properly be called; of the principal officers of state, and those peculiar customs of the court and camp, which should be understood before the history is perused. These very learned dissertations are compiled from Bruce's Ethiopic MSS. To this same

book he has appended miscellaneous notes and remarks on the MS. Abyssinian history, brought by Bruce from Gondar; and a vocabulary of the Galla language. The fourth book has neither preliminary matter nor appendix; but, in the course of this book, Mr. Murray has exercised a very unwarrantable exertion of editorial authority, having omitted the whole life of Bacuffa, as it stands in the former edition, and inserted one written by himself in a note. He says, indeed, that the life, as written by Bruce, may be found in a succeeding volume: we have not found it there. This total omission must be imputed to oversight; but the chapter ought not to have been displaced; it is highly curious, and the most curious anecdotes rest upon the authority of the wife of Bacuffa, the Iteghé, who herself communicated them to Bruce. Mr. Murray's additional matter might have appeared, as it now does, in a smaller type, and this have been retained. The work is imperfect without it, and indeed contains some allusions which are left absolutely unintelligible by the omission.

The fifth book also is without additions; but, after the sixth, we find additional accounts of the transactions at Gondar, and journey to the sources, containing a sketch of Michael Sukul's life, till the time when Bruce entered Abyssinia; extracts from Bruce's common-place book concerning his first introduction to the Ras, and from Balugani's journal; part of these last we have previously extracted. Here also he has inserted the descriptions of the sources by Pedro Paez and Jeronymo Lobo; the first as it stands in Kircher, part Latin, part unintelligible Portuguese; the latter in Le Grande's French, with translations of both, and remarks upon them. It is his opinion that Paez had visited the springs, but that Lobo only copied his account. After the last book, detached articles are added from the several journals and common-place books, containing additional information respecting Abyssinia, and extracts from the journals of the route homeward. The appendix is increased with eleven additional articles of natural history; an account of the antidotes used by the Nubæ against serpents. Observations of latitude and longitude made by Bruce in Africa; dissertation on the progressive geography of the Bahar el Abiad, and the other branches of the Nile; account of the Ethiopic MSS. from which Bruce composed the history of Abyssinia; ac-

count of the price of writing-books at Gondar, and a description of some of the most valuable works in Bruce's collection of Arabic MSS. The volume of prints contains all the additional articles of natural history, and portraits of Ozoro Esther, Tecla Mariam, Kefla Yasous, and Woodage Asahel.

It would be poor and inadequate praise to say, that it has seldom or never fallen to our lot to notice a book so ably edited. We believe no editor ever before so laboriously qualified himself for his undertaking. It is to be hoped that Mr. Murray will make farther and greater use of

the very rare, and very difficult erudition which he has acquired. We wish for the book of Enoch, however extravagant it may be; and for a literal version of the Abyssinian chronicles, however opposite to our notions of historical composition. Bruce says that he has made his narration from these, more conformable to the manner of writing English history; this is precisely the very thing which he should not have done. If I am to feed upon lion's flesh, don't let it be drest like roast mutton; I would have it in the genuine cookery of the Welled Sidi Booggannim.

ART. II. *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804: in which the Author visited the principal Islands in the Pacific Ocean, and the English Settlements of Port Jackson, and Norfolk Island.* By JOHN TURNBULL. 3 Vols. foolscap 8vo.

IF every man whose business or amusement leads him into Wales or Scotland flatters himself that he is qualified to impart some interesting information to the public, to present some novel view of human society, some unnoticed trait of character, it can excite no surprise that he whose enterprising spirit has led him to circumnavigate the globe, should, on his return, feel so fully fraught with matter of high import and curiosity as to seize with avidity on the press, as the only sufficient conductor for discharging the contents of his o'erburdened brain. Repeated experience, indeed, has evinced, that it is not absolutely necessary to freight a vessel with *savans* in order to have such an account of a voyage as may repay the time and task of perusal: the plain and unassuming journal of a man of sense and observation, faithfully kept, will hardly fail to interest and inform. For many of our best books in this department of literature we are indebted to merchants and missionaries. Among the number of our *best books*, indeed, the present narrative has no chance or claim to be ranked; such as it is, we owe it to an adventurer whose voyage was undertaken for the advancement of trade, not of science, and, like most others, for purposes of private emolument rather than of public advantage.

Whilst second officer in the *Barwell*, in her last voyage to China, in the year 1799, Mr. Turnbull and the first officer of that ship had reason to believe that the Americans carried on a very lucrative trade to the north-west of that continent.

On their return to England they communicated the result of their observation to some merchants of an enterprising spirit, who approved of the proposed speculation, and immediately prepared for its execution. The command of the vessel was given to the captain of the *Barwell*, and the cargo and trading part were entrusted to Mr. Turnbull; both these gentlemen were interested in the success of the voyage, as they held shares of considerable value.

From Portsmouth we sail to St. Salvador in about six pages. It is perhaps a memorandum worth preserving, that whilst the Spaniards in the harbour were lading and unlading as deliberately, and as much at their ease, according to Mr. Turnbull, as if they had been in Cadiz itself, the most minute and jealous examination of the English vessel was insisted on by the viceroy; various circumstances indicated that the Spaniards were on very favoured terms with the Portuguese, and indeed that a clandestine intercourse between the two powers existed at that time, prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, and consequently unsanctioned by the terms of a fair neutrality. Mr. T., however, gives the Portuguese a Rowland for their Oliver; he suggests the impossibility that a nation fallen so low in the scale of European powers should long possess the Brazils, and monopolize an extent of country which she is as little able to use as to defend; of course, if it falls into any hands, it had better be enjoyed by us than the French, who would be likely enough to seize upon them if an

opportunity occurred, and console themselves in South America for the loss of Malta.

From the Brasils our adventurers steered their course to the Cape of Good Hope, where they stayed a fortnight, and thence proceeded to Port Jackson in New South Wales, where Mr. Turnbull remained, in order to dispose of his cargo, whilst the captain proceeded on his north-west speculation. The admirable account of New South Wales, by captain Collins, has anticipated, in all its particulars, the information concerning it in this meagre narrative. Mr. Turnbull paid two visits to the colony, and laments, not without reason, the disinclination which at both times he found prevailing among the officers of government. Numerous indeed are the obstacles which seem to oppose themselves against the improvement of the colony; nor, perhaps, is it a matter of much consequence, so far as the interests of the mother country are concerned. The vast expence with which the establishment of it has been attended, ought, no doubt, to ensure a compensation at some distant period: a parent never expends his money with less reluctance than in the education of his son: he hopes to qualify him for earning his own subsistence, and for adding to the wealth or honour of his family. But a colony—a colony too of convicts! is it likely to thrive? And if it should, is the thrift of the offspring connected with the interests of the sire? where is the bond of unity and concord? Whenever the colony is able to support itself it will, in all probability, assert its independence: the aid of other countries in support of its exertions will be called for without scruple, and granted without reluctance. This, no doubt, is a remote period to contemplate: the climate, indeed, notwithstanding its severe heat, is salubrious, and when the country is cleared of its woods there will be a large extent of fertile soil. The character, however, of the persons who are transplanted thither leaves but little hope that they will advance the interests of the colony by their industry, their morals, or their understanding; and some of the regulations which, with the best intentions, the government has adopted, appear to be in the highest degree impolitic and prejudicial. We allude to the limitation of the price of labour, of profits upon the sale of imported articles, and to the regulation concerning the price of provisions. These absurd restrictions, however, call forth warm eulogiums from

Mr. Turnbull on the wisdom and benevolence of the government! The markets at Port Jackson having, unfortunately for Mr. Turnbull, been just supplied, and the little money of the colony exhausted, he proceeded to the settlement of Norfolk Island, where he had again the misfortune to have been recently anticipated. Here he remained ten months, and as an excuse for saying little or nothing about it, pleads that he visited the island as a trader, and not as a natural philosopher! The general statement which many of our readers will remember to have seen in governor Phillip's Voyage to Botany Bay, &c. concerning the beauty of the country, and the exhaustless fertility of the soil, is confirmed by Mr. Turnbull. The productions which, according to the governor, were of the greatest importance to Norfolk Island, are the flax plant and the pine: the former, though luxuriant in its growth, and estimable for the purpose of making cordage, sail-cloth, &c. does not appear to be a native of the island. Pines grow to an enormous size; they often rise to eighty feet without a branch; governor Phillip says they are sometimes nine or ten feet in diameter at the bottom of the trunk, and frequently measure one hundred and sixty or one hundred and eighty feet in height. The fern tree (according to the same author, for we obtain marvellous little from Mr. Turnbull) measures from seventy to eighty feet, and affords excellent food for sheep and other small cattle. The turpentine obtained from the pine is remarkable for purity and whiteness, and governor Phillip, understanding that the wood was of excellent quality, and light as the Norway timber, thought that it promised a valuable supply of masts and spars for our navy in the East Indies. He seems, however, to have been mistaken; Mr Turnbull says that the pine of Norfolk Island is very brittle, and only fit for purposes of building, household furniture, &c. The pine of the South Sea, and indeed of all warmer climates, he says, is of a very different nature from those of Europe. We have no doubt of this: nature is uniform in her operations: throughout the vegetable kingdom rapidity of growth seems to be incompatible with solidity of substance.

Norfolk island was colonized by governor Phillip, who sent thither the most profligate part of his profligate people: "it has henceforth been adopted as the ordinary practice, that the more abandoned of the convicts, and such as have fallen

under the sentence of the law a second time, should be transported to this island." Among the most respectable of the settlers are some part of the crew of the *Sirius*, who, being shipwrecked on the island, preferred the cultivation of so fertile a country to a return home; several marines who went out upon the first establishment had the same indulgence, as also have some of the more industrious convicts. We are glad to learn that the culture of the sugar cane is highly encouraged; many of the smaller plantations are fenced round with it. Norfolk Island, however, as a place of establishment for a colony, has the insuperable objection against it of being almost wholly surrounded by a reef, and barricaded, as it were, against all approach, by a heavy mountainous sea; of being destitute of a harbour; and having a bad shore, the bottom being covered with pointed fragments of sharp coral rock, which renders anchorage impracticable. Government has attempted in vain to remove these obstacles.

The following anecdote will not be read without interest, or without exciting feelings of compassion towards the unfortunate outcast: it occurred in the island about eight years since:

"One of the prisoners belonging to the outgangs, being sent into camp on Saturday, to draw the weekly allowance of provision for his mess, fell unfortunately into the company of a party of convicts, who were playing cards for their allowance, a thing very frequent amongst them. With as little resolution as his superiors in similar situations, after being a while a looker-on, he at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take a hand; and in the event, lost not only his own portion, but that of the whole mess. Being a man of a timid nature, his misfortune overcame his reason, and conceiving his situation amongst his messmates insupportable, he formed and executed the extravagant resolution of absconding into the glens.

"Every possible enquiry was now made after him; it was known that he had drawn the allowance of his mess, and almost in the same moment discovered that he had lost it at play; search upon search however was made to no purpose. However, as it was impossible that he could subsist without occasionally marauding, it was believed that he must shortly be taken in his predatory excursions. These expectations, however, were in vain, for the fellow managed his business with such dexterity, keeping closely within his retreat during the day, and marauding for his subsistence only by night, that in despite of the narrow compass of the island, he eluded all search. His nocturnal depredations were solely confined

to the supply of his necessities; Indian corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and melons. He seldom visited the same place a second time; but shifting from place to place, always contrived to make his escape almost before the theft was discovered, or the depredator suspected. In vain was a reward offered for his apprehension, and year after year every possible search instituted; at times it was considered that he was dead, till the revival of the old trade proved that the dextrous and invisible thief still existed.

"In the pursuit of him, his pursuers have often been so near him, that he has not unfrequently heard their wishes that they might be so fortunate as to fall in with him. The reward being promised in spirits, a temptation to which many would have sacrificed their brother, excited almost the whole island to join in the pursuit; and even those whose respectability set them above any pecuniary compensation, were animated with a desire of hunting in so extraordinary a chase. These circumstances concurred to aggravate the terror of the unhappy fugitive, as from his repeated depredations he indulged no hope of pardon.

"Nothing of this kind, however, was intended; it was humanely thought that he had already sustained sufficient punishment for his original crime, and that his subsequent depredations, being solely confined to necessary food, were venial, and rendered him a subject rather of pity than of criminal infliction. Of these resolutions, however, he knew nothing, and therefore his terror continued.

"Chance, however, at length accomplished what had baffled every fixed design. One morning about break of day, a man going to his labour observed a fellow hastily crossing the road; he was instantly struck with the idea that this must be the man, the object of such general pursuit. Animated with this belief, he exerted his utmost efforts to seize him, and, after a vigorous opposition on the part of the poor fugitive, finally succeeded in his design. It was to no purpose to assure the affrighted wretch that his life was safe, and that his apprehension was only sought to relieve him from a life more suited to a beast than a human creature.

"The news of this apprehension flew through the island, and every one was more curious than another to gain a sight of this phenomenon, who for upwards of five years had so effectually secluded himself from all human society. Upon being brought into the camp, and the presence of the governor, never did condemned malefactor feel more acutely; he appeared to imagine that the moment of his execution approached, and, trembling in every joint, seemed to turn his eyes in search of the executioner. His person was such as may well be conceived from his long seclusion from human society; his beard had never been shaved from the moment of his first disappearance; he was clothed in some rags he had picked up by the way, in some of his nocturnal peregrinations, and

even his own language was at first unutterable and unintelligible by him.

"After some previous questions, as to what had induced him to form such a resolution, and by what means he had so long subsisted, the governor gave him his pardon, and restored him to society, of which he afterwards became a very useful member."

While Mr. Turnbull was at Norfolk Island he received a letter from his captain, announcing the total failure of the north-western speculation, and his return to Port Jackson: it was resolved to try Bass's Straits, and endeavour to make up a cargo of skins there, as the licence from the East India Company compelled the vessel to visit China. The captain, in order to expedite this business, engaged some supernumerary hands, whom, together with an officer "well versed in the sealing business," he landed on King's Island in those straits, whilst he proceeded with the ship to the Society Islands, in order to supply her with provisions, *which could not be purchased at Port Jackson at any price!* On their arrival at Otaheite, however, they learned from some missionaries who are settled there, that the ravages of a destructive war, which was just terminated, had created a dearth in the island. After remaining there about a month, however, they obtained a small supply of hogs, &c. and proceeded to Ulitea, touching at Huaheine, where they were greeted by an old shipmate who had for some time resided on the island, and seemed perfectly satisfied with his situation! In this island the natives entertained them with a dance.

"The performers and their attendants came off in procession, in a large double canoe, having a platform or stage erected across the forepart, on which the dancers and musicians sat. This canoe was accompanied by a great number of small canoes, filled with natives to behold the entertainment prepared for the strangers. The women were dressed in a sort of long bell hooped petticoat of their own cloth, ornamented with a purple border. What answered the purpose of a hoop was a couple of stuffed pads bound round the waist to support and distend the petticoat; round the body was wrapped a large quantity of cloth, fastened with bandages; and opposite to each breast was placed a bunch of black feathers. They wore also a kind of turban adorned with a variety of flowers. A master of the ceremonies presided in the dance, and directed all the movements, which were not always of the most delicate nature. The music consisted of two drums made from a log of wood hollowed out in a cylindrical shape, and covered at the end with a piece of shark skin, tightly braced down the side. The

musicians make no use of drum-sticks, but employ their fingers, and sometimes their hands, so as to be heard at a considerable distance. They beat slowly at first, as a signal to prepare for the dance; and as the music becomes more rapid, the dancers quicken their motions. Flutes also were used on the occasion, having only three holes or stops, one of which is of such a size as to admit of the performer's applying his nostrils to fill it. The dance required very great exertion in the women to keep time to the music by expiring and inspiring their breaths, drawing their mouths in contrary directions, and twirling their arms and fingers with some order and great regularity. Those who excelled in these contortions and gestures were the most applauded. So eager were the performers to gain the approbation of the spectators, and so violent were their exertions, overloaded with clothing and straitened with bandages, that many of them seemed at length ready to sink under the violence of their efforts. The director of the dance exerted himself to encourage them to a further continuance of their labour, which to us appeared a kind of cruelty; and induced us at length to interfere, apparently much to the satisfaction of the performers. Our people were so much pleased with this entertainment, that they applied to me for some articles to bestow on the ladies who had worked so severely for their amusement. Goods of different sorts, to the value of three pounds, were accordingly furnished, and instantly distributed amongst the actresses; and thus an acquaintance was mutually formed, which in some instances grew into a close intimacy.

"During this exhibition, some of the men were amusing themselves by a sport of their own; three of them getting into a vessel formed like a wooden dish made use of at great feastings, their weight sinking it in the water to within an inch of the brim. In this situation they whirled it round and round, by means of their paddles, with incredible velocity, till they fell into the water, when they again renewed the sport, to the no small amusement of the by-standers."

A savage who is brought from his native woods into a civilized country, there clothed and fed, and anticipated in all his wants, feels, after a time, his restlessness revive, and impatient of restraint, to which he has been unaccustomed, sighs for the society of his sable brethren; he is anxious to participate in the dangers of the chase, the vicissitudes of war, and the barbarities of victory. An additional motive too, for returning among his countrymen, is the pride of shewing the trinkets he has obtained, and of enjoying the rank and estimation he is likely to derive from them. But it is hardly credible that a man who has once tasted the sweets of civilized life should voluntarily degrade him-

self into the character of a savage: and yet this has often happened. Several Europeans are scattered among the South Sea islands. The facilities of subsistence, arising from a soil of the highest fertility, exemption from labour even to indolence, and unrestricted intercourse with the female sex, these are the allurements which a sailor, after the fatigues of a long voyage, is not always able to resist. The natives, crafty and insinuating, take every opportunity to seduce the sailors: sensible of the superiority of European skill, they are eager to obtain their assistance in battle, and their instructions in the make and use of domestic implements. It has of late also been customary to permit convicts from Botany Bay to assist in navigating vessels bound thither: these people seldom fail to avail themselves of the opportunity to escape, and afford no slight ground for the apprehension of Mr. Turnbull, that in no great length of time the South Sea islands may become nests of plunderers and pirates.

At Ulietea our adventurers found an Englishman of the name of Pulpit, who brought with him his wife, as he called her, an Otaheitan girl of about fourteen or fifteen. The moment the poor fellow got upon deck he returned thanks to heaven, in the most fervent and impressive manner, that he had escaped out of the hands of the most savage murderers. It seems that he had been landed in Huaheine by the brig *Venus*: and in return for his voluntary service on board that ship he had been supplied with such articles as would be useful to him on the island. Among these was a musket and double-barrelled gun, which were objects of such eagerness to the natives, that in order to procure them they resolved upon his murder. This horrible project was discovered to him by the Otaheitan girl, who faithfully assisted her lover in his attempts to elude the attack of his murderers. Pulpit, however, was at last surprized by a party of natives, and led away as a sacrifice to some of their divinities: they disputed among themselves concerning the treatment he was to receive, and his life was spared by the authority of an elderly woman of rank, on condition that he should give up his various implements and arms, and repair some muskets belonging to the natives. Pulpit made his escape to Ulietea, but he assured his deliverers that the inhabitants here had the same character of dissimulation, treachery, and ferocity with the people of Huaheine. The event proved the truth

of his assertion: on the night before the intended departure of the vessel from Ulietea, it was discovered that four of the crew had deserted; three of these were Botany Bay convicts, who had been taken on board to work the ship, under an engagement that they should be returned to Port Jackson. These fellows had concerted with the Ulieteans to cut the vessel from her anchors, and when she should be driven ashore, to plunder her of her small arms and ammunition, and murder the crew. As soon as this desertion was discovered, Mr. Turnbull, with a degree of courage bordering on temerity, went singly on shore at two o'clock in the morning, and requested of the king (who had been a constant visitor on board the ship) to exert his utmost authority in restoring the men. The king affected the greatest surprise, and declared that they certainly had not landed, although it was afterwards known that half an hour before they had passed by his house. In a short time the situation of Mr. Turnbull became extremely critical: he felt himself surrounded by an hundred islanders, who were sagacious enough to know that if they had come to an open rupture and murdered him on the spot, it would have defeated the object they had in view; and who, on the other hand, were sufficiently aware of their own relative superiority at the time, to make their own terms for the restoration of the deserters, who, at last it was acknowledged, were concealed in a house but a little way up the country. These terms were the immediate gift of a musket and the promise of more fire-arms. Mr. T. returned to his ship, doubtless not without self-congratulation on his escape: some of the crew, however, had been tainted, and it was necessary to inflict summary punishment on two of the ringleaders. On the following night Mr. T. was roused from his sleep by an alarm that the ship was on shore: it was dark; but on sounding, twelve fathoms of water were found, and there was no sensible motion of the ship or of the water. On examining the cables, Mr. T. found them both lying slack on the deck; and the seamen being commanded to haul them up, the first pull brought the ends of both of them on board! They had been cut, and with the slightest breeze from sea the vessel would have been drifted on shore; indeed the natives had contrived to fasten a long and stout rope to the rudder, five or six feet under water, with which they had intended to draw the ship on shore.

This timely discovery enabled the captain, by clearing away another anchor with an iron stock, to haul the vessel seven or eight fathoms off from the reef. The natives had all this time preserved the profoundest silence, in momentary expectation of the bulging of the vessel: when they found their desperate plans detected they became perfectly outrageous, begun a furious assault with stones, and kept up, during the greater part of the following day, a discharge from fourteen muskets, which they had among them, and which did great damage to the rigging, boardings, nettings, and boats. The discharge of small arms from the ship, far from intimidating the natives, made them more outrageous: fortunately the horrid menaces which they held out of flaying and roasting alive any who should fall into their hands, restored loyalty and unanimity among the crew. Two of the deserters were seen instigating the natives with the greatest activity. Several attempts were made to recover the lost anchors, but in vain: the natives kept up so well-directed a fire that it was impossible. In the course of the day they made repeated exertions to gain the prize they had so treacherously laid a snare for, and it was necessary to employ the large guns against them in order to defeat the purpose. These had the desired effect, and the ship, in the darkness of the following night, got under sail and escaped from her perilous situation.

From the Society Islands our adventures proceeded, with some Otaheitan whom they had taken on board, to the Sandwich Islands: the first land they made was Wahoo, where, notwithstanding the example of treachery and ferociousness displayed by the Ulietans, the ship-carpenter deserted, and it was thought advisable not to go on shore for the recovery even of so necessary an artificer, lest more of the crew should follow his example!

According to Mr. Turnbull, the inhabitants of the Sandwich Isles are astonishingly more advanced in civilization than those of the Society Islands: these latter, indeed, have made no perceptible progress since the time of captain Cook. Like all savages—would that the remark were limited to savages in its application—their avidity for intoxicating substances is excessive: some Europeans planted the vine in Otaheite, and explained its future utility if allowed to remain unmolested. The avidity of the natives broke through all

restraint, and the grapes were plucked off before they were ripe. Not relishing the fruit equally with their own *ava*, they imagined that the spirit was in the root, and endeavoured to extract it by mastication, (the nauseating process which is employed on the *ava* root); finding their efforts unsuccessful, they revenged their disappointment by treading it under foot.

Mr. Turnbull suggests that the labours of the Missionaries would be far more successful among the Sandwich Islands than they are likely to be at Otaheite or Tongataboo: here they could have the advantage, support, and influence from several Europeans, and of a sovereign, *Tamahama*, the great chief of the Sandwich Islands, a man of insatiable ambition, and very uncommon genius. In a short space of time he will, without doubt, make himself master of every island: he was now on the point of invading Attowaie, an island to the leeward, whither our voyagers proceeded for a supply of salt and yams. The king of Attowaie had acquired so much knowledge of our language from some Englishmen who had followed his fortunes, that he was able to understand and answer any plain question which was put to him: the natives of Otaheite, although they have had still greater opportunities of hearing the English language, scarcely pronounce the proper names of those persons with whom they are most familiarly acquainted. The king of Attowaie professed a high regard for the British nation, and, as a proof of it, had taken to himself the name of King George, and to his children, who are numerous, he had given those of the royal family of England, beginning with the Prince of Wales, &c.

“This unhappy man, who, from every thing we saw and heard, is well deserving of a better fate, had already suffered so much from the ambition and power of *Tamahama*, that he was now about to adopt one of the most extravagant resolutions that can be conceived.

“The Europeans who had attached themselves to his fortunes, some of whom were carpenters, blacksmiths, &c. were now with their offspring a numerous body. As their last resource, they were constructing a vessel suited to the attempt of a long voyage, and in the event of the expected invasion, they proposed to escape from the island, and seek a refuge from the cruelty of their enemy in some one of the islands which they have heard are interspersed in the main sea. They are wholly ignorant of the method of measuring a ship's course, or of the other necessary branches of navigation. A compass, indeed, they possess. Their intention in the first place, is, to steer

to the westward, in the hope of reaching some part of the coast of China; or, by keeping their wind to the southward, to fall in with Otaheite, or some other of the Society Islands."

After having obtained provisions and salt, our voyagers left the Leeward Islands, and arrived at Owhyhee: here they received a visit from Mr. Young, who, with Mr. Davis and captain Stewart, had followed the fortunes of Tamahama for fourteen years. It appears that this ambitious chieftain has profited to the utmost by the instruction and assistance given him by captain Vancouver. The islanders under his dominion make frequent trading voyages to the north-west coast of America, and it is the intention of Tamahama to open a trade with China in vessels of their own construction, and to be navigated by their own people. The progress of the Sandwich islanders in the mechanical arts, according to Mr. Young's* account to Mr. Turnbull, has been astonishingly rapid: his royal residence at Mouie is said to be built after the European style, of brick, and with glazed windows, by European and American artificers, of whom he has a great variety.

"It was only in 1792 that captain Vancouver laid down the keel of Tamahama's first vessel, or rather craft; but so assiduously has he applied himself to effect his grand and favourite object, the establishment of a naval force, that at the period of our arrival he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to fifty tons; some of them were even copper-bottomed.

"He was, however, at this time much in want of naval stores; and, to have his navy quickly placed on a respectable footing, would pay well for them. He has also a certain number of body-guards to attend him, independently of the number of chiefs who are required to accompany him on all his journeys and expeditions."

A marine force of such strength, and so rapidly created, has given him an astonishing superiority over his neighbours: he now sends his warriors into distant parts, employs some of his small vessels as transports, and his larger ones as men of war, which are occasionally mounted with a few light guns. Tamahama's body-guards go regularly on duty, and relieve each other as in Europe, calling out *all is well* every half hour: their uniform is a blue

great-coat with yellow facings. Mr. Turnbull has forgotten to inform us of the nature of the traffic which takes place between the north-west parts of America and the Sandwich Islands: he prepares himself, however, with an answer to the very natural enquiry as to the possible nature of the commerce which can be carried on between these latter and the Chinese; he says that they are able to furnish fire-arms, gun-powder, hardware, and cloth of different sorts. A *superabundance* of these Tamahama is represented to have obtained from Europeans and Americans, in exchange for labour and refreshments supplied to the shipping who have touched there. This statement, we fear, will not obtain very general credit without further confirmation. Besides these articles of foreign introduction, the Sandwich islanders possess the sandal wood and pearl oyster-shell, of native produce.

Having accomplished the object of their visit to the Sandwich Islands, that of laying in a stock of salt, our navigators returned to Otaheite: in their course they fell in with several low islands, on some of which they landed, and had reason to believe, from the shyness of the natives, and their indifference to the proffered trinkets and tools, that they had never before been visited by Europeans. For the situation of these islands we are referred to Arrow-smith's map, although Mr. Turnbull has neither given us the name of them, their longitude nor their latitude. So much for his contributions to the advancement of maritime discovery!

During the absence of the *Margaret*† the ship *Nautilus* had visited Otaheite, and taken away all the hogs she could procure: it was agreed, therefore, that the captain should proceed to some of the windward islands for a supply, whilst Mr. Turnbull, with a few assistants, remained at Otaheite on the salting business. She was expected to be about three weeks: at the expiration of two months the crew reached the island in a punt made from her wreck. Thus fatally terminated all the hopes of the voyage!

The accounts of Otaheite and the Society Islands given by the Missionaries in the transactions of their society, are by far the most valuable of any that we have:

* Mr. Young, from whom most of the particulars respecting Tamahama were obtained, is said, by Mr. Turnbull, to be "a man of strict veracity."

† It is singular enough that we do not even learn the name of the ship in which this voyage is made, till the wreck of the *Margaret* is related at the latter end of the second volume. The name of the captain is not once mentioned.

their manners, customs, superstitions, and idolatries, are there detailed with more minuteness than in any other work. The opportunities of obtaining information on these subjects during his residence at Otaheite by Mr. Turnbull, were considerable, but we find little which has not been anticipated by the relation of the Missionaries. This account indeed seems later than the last of theirs, and the *political events* of the island, to use a term of appropriate dignity, are brought lower down. The war which the Missionaries represented as being on the eve of taking place between the young king Otoo and the Attahoorians for the image of their god, Oro, had just terminated in favour of the latter when our voyagers first landed there, and was the cause of the dearth which then visited the island. This war was not entirely of a religious nature, but seems to have been fomented, if it did not originate in the domineering and oppressive character of the royal family, and particularly of Otoo himself.

The father of Otoo, the regent Pomarre, died suddenly at the time Mr. Turnbull was at Otaheite: he considered this event as likely to be attended with serious inconveniences to the Missionaries, to whom he was ever a firm friend. Many of the natives imputed his death to the prayers of the Missionaries: indeed it is a very prevalent, and most unfortunate belief among the Otaheitan, that whatever calamity befalls is effected by their witchcraft. They are convinced too, that a great part of their plagues and diseases proceed immediately from the shipping. In the present instance, however, there was a diversity of opinion, which, it may be hoped, the Missionaries would turn to a good account. Many attributed the sudden decease of Pomarre to some offences he had committed, and they agreed that this must have been the frequency of his human sacrifices. In order therefore to propitiate their offended divinities, the body of a human victim which he had sacrificed about three weeks before, was brought and stretched prostrate before his corpse. The Missionaries would, no doubt, endeavour to avert from themselves the suspicion of instrumentality in his death, and press the abolition of so horrible a custom. Mr. Turnbull asserts that it is abhorred by the common people, and only supported by the chiefs: Pomarre was himself a high priest, and obtained great influence among them by his zeal for the gods. Infanticide prevails as

much as ever, and the population of the island is diminishing with great rapidity. Captain Cook no doubt overstated it at two hundred thousand: on the arrival of the Duff in 1797 it was fifteen thousand: at this time (1803) it does not exceed five thousand souls. The doctrine of fatality is carried to such excess, that every disease is believed to be a punishment from their offended deities, wrought, perhaps, by the magic of the Missionaries, or by shipping which touch at the island. In this latter superstition they have had, alas, but too strong reason to repose! The consequence of this doctrine is, that diseases are considered as remediless, and the use of medicine is rejected.

The Missionaries, although their pious but ill-directed labours have been thrown away, are pretty well satisfied with their situation: their zeal is yet unabated: they twice made the circuit during Mr. Turnbull's stay, preaching from district to district, and seconding their exhortations with presents. *Some of them expressed a wish that some decent young women of character might be sent over to Otaheite as wives for them.* They were building two boats from eighteen to twenty tons, for the purpose of visiting the islands to the leeward: they had it also in contemplation upon the arrival of the next missionary ships to retreat to the isthmus, as their chief subsistence; the fruit of the bread tree is becoming scarce at Matavai.

The propagation of the Christian faith still goes on very slowly:

"One Sunday evening, Mr. Jefferson requested permission to exhort Otoo and Terinavoua, with all their followers; Otoo sent a messenger to me on the occasion, saying that he wished to see me: I accordingly went, and found Mr. Scott and Mr. Jefferson in the act of exhortation. Their congregation might amount to about fifty. Upon its conclusion, I demanded of Otoo what he wanted with me. He asked me, upon the departure of the Missionaries, whether it was all true, as they preached: I replied in the affirmative, that it was strictly so according to my own belief, and that of all the wiser and better part of my countrymen. He demanded of me where Jehovah lived; I pointed to the heavens. He said he did not believe it. His brother was, if possible, still worse. Edeah was looking on, with a kind of haughty and disdainful indifference. It was all *havery* or falsehood, adding, they would not believe unless they could see; and observed, we could bring down the sun and moon by means of our quadrant, why could we not bring down our Saviour by similar means?"

The Missionaries tell them that the god

of Britain is the god of Otaheite and the whole earth, and that it is from this Being that they receive their hogs, bread, fruit, and cocoa-nut. This the Otaheitans flatly deny: alleging that they possessed all these articles long before they had heard of the god of Great Britain.

After the loss of the Margaret the situation of our adventurers at Otaheite became exceedingly distressing: they had

lost their carpenter at the Sandwich Islands; their influence with the natives became weakened, and the crew dispersed. Having remained in this situation three months, they were relieved by a vessel which touched at the island, and took them to Port Jackson. Here they resided a second time till the Calcutta brought them once again to the shores of Britain.

ART. III. *An Historical Account of the Voyages of Captain James Cook, to the Southern and Northern Hemispheres.* By WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D. 12mo. 2 Vols. pp. 656.

THE public is very well acquainted with Dr. Mavor's pentagraphic powers: children may read these volumes with in-

struction and amusement, who would be unfit to engage in the original work.

ART. IV. *A Description of Prince of Wales Island, in the Straights of Malacca: with its real and probable Advantages and Sources to recommend it as a Marine Establishment.* By SIR HOME POPHAM, Knight of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Captain in the Royal Navy, and Fellow of the Royal Society. 8vo. pp. 82.

THE propriety or impropriety of expending a large sum of public money on the construction of moles, docks, quays, arsenals, and the other appurtenances of a marine establishment in Prince of Wales island, cannot here be justly appreciated without the aid of a counter-memorial drawn up on the spot by an accomplished surveyor. Sir Home Popham pleads for the establishment with specious and plausible reasoning.

"But an advantage which Prince of Wales Island possesses beyond any other part of the eastern coast, is the excellence of its harbour. The whole space from the north-east point of the island to Pulo Jeraja, bounded on the east by the coast of Queda and Praya Sand, may be considered as a very safe harbour, and capable of containing all the navy of England: the present anchoring place is near the Fort Point, to the northward, for large ships, and to the southward for smaller ones, where they lie in from five to thirteen fathoms, and so perfectly smooth in all winds, and at all times, that I never heard of an instance of the smallest boat not being able to pull off to the weathermost ship. I had apprehended, on my first going to the island, that the north-west wind would have forced in a heavy swell; but as it frequently blew from that quarter, I concluded the mud flat, from the north point of the island to the Queda shore, on which is only four fathoms and a half at low water, served as a bar, constituting the whole harbour a complete basin.

"The island abounds in several kinds of deer and wild hog; and it is remarked that the wild hog is of a very delicate flavour, and particularly good.

"The coast of Queda produces great numbers of cattle; and as many as may be wanted can be obtained, whenever there is a sufficiency of pasturage. They have for some years salted beef in Bengal, with much success. A similar attempt may be made here, for the climate in the upper part of the country is nearly as cold as at Calcutta. If the experiment should succeed, beef and pork can be cured as cheap as in England, and the ships served with it always in less than three months salting. Bakeries may also be established for the supply of biscuit; and there appears to be no difficulty in making both ruin and arrack, purer and cheaper than what is now served to his Majesty's fleet. Rice grows here; and I imagine the sugar-cane* would thrive as well as in any other parts of India, which, by being cultivated, would increase the revenue, and add to the export to Europe."

This pamphlet would have been more intelligible and complete if accompanied with a map of the island in question, which was formerly and more discriminately called Pulo Pinang; and with a chart of the contiguous sea, which might have been copied on a reduced scale from that published for Laurie and Whittle, after the original Calcutta chart.

In 1785 Mr. Lacam suggested to a committee of the house of commons the

* The sugar-cane grows to a prodigious size, both in this island and on the coast of Queda.

expediency of a marine establishment in the eastern part of our Indian possessions. He fixed on New Harbour, in the river Hoogly, as the fittest place of structure: but whatever use commerce might be able to make of that site, it seems ill adapted for belligerent vessels.

If this island, which is well situate to collect the produce of the Indian archipelago, be wholly exempted from the jurisdiction of the company, and not comprehended within the withering ban of its charter, it will speedily become another Onnuz' for traffic, wealth, and population. This advantage attends a new settlement in the east, that labour is cheap, and the supply of a population familiar with the arts of luxurious life is easy; so that, in the course of a single generation, all the parts of a flourishing and polished society can be put together, and a city can rise like an exhalation.

There is perhaps no episode in our history more truly honourable to the general character of our people and our protection than the fortunes of Pulo Penang. In August 1786 there were tombs on the island, but no man: it had been a haunt of pirates and banditti, whom the king of Queddah had thought it necessary utterly to extirpate. The empty wilderness was purchased of this sovereign for a perpetual rent of six thousand dollars. In five years time George-town was so much of a sea-port, and the resort of prowls so considerable that the king of Queddah complained his continental custom-houses no longer yielded any revenue, and armed to attack the new settlement. The inva-

sion was repelled; but an additional quit-rent was granted to the king of Queddah; and the most entire cordiality was restored. In the year 1800, that is in the short space of fourteen years, the population consisted of ten thousand three hundred and ten persons, of whom seven hundred and twenty-three were land-owners, and one thousand two hundred and twenty-two were slaves. The country is already pierced by roads bordered with alleys of young spice-trees: to pensile bridges of bamboo have succeeded in five places bold arches of brick and mortar. The cajan huts of the first settlers are giving place to durable houses and rectangular streets. Aqueducts and hospitals, custom-houses and jails, are already towering into conspicuity. Vessels of eight hundred tons have been built and launched by the inhabitants, pepper-vines and beetle-nut trees afford important objects of exportation. The revenue amounts to eighty thousand dollars, and the annual arrival of ships to two hundred and fifty, bearing fifty thousand tons. How swift a growth of prosperity.

The real lamp of Aladdin is that on the merchant's desk. All the genies, white, olive or black, who people the atmosphere of earth, it puts in motion at the antipodes. It builds palaces in the wilderness and cities in the forest; and collects every splendor and every refinement of luxury, from the fingers of subservient toil. Kings of the east are slaves of the lamp: the winds blow, and the seas roll, only to work the behest of its master.

ART. V. A Short Account of the Settlement, Produce, and Commerce of Prince of Wales Island, in the Straits of Malacca. By SIR GEORGE LEITH, Bart. Major 17th Foot, and late Lieutenant Governor. 8vo. pp. 94.

THIS island is unwisely named. There is another Prince of Wales Island off the coast of New Holland. It may be very loyal to have George-towns and Prince-of-Wales islands all the world over; but it occasions confusion and mistake in the memory, and will, in due time, occasion very troublesome miscarriages at the post-office. How inconvenient to the ancient world were its Selucias and Alexandrias,

The island here described was formerly called Pulo Pinang, or Penang, and is situate in the straits of Malacca, opposite the Queddah shore, on the Malay peninsula. It abounds with ship-timber and masts of all dimensions. It enjoys a cli-

mate and a soil applicable to the most precious cultivations of the east. It is inhabited by new settlers of all descriptions, Europeans, Chinese, Chooliahs, Burmahs, Pursees, Malays, and Buggesses, a people from Borneo and Celebes, hitherto confounded with the Malays, but differing from them in language. Of the commerce these particulars are given:

"COMMERCE.

"The principal, if not the only view in forming this settlement, appears to have been the acquiring a port in the Straits of Malacca, for commercial purposes; and there certainly is not in any part of India a place so well adapted to this end as Prince of Wales Island; at the same time it undoubtedly ex-

joys great advantages as a naval port.—Hitherto the productions of the island have constituted but a small portion of the extensive commerce which has flourished here for some years; but although this portion has, as yet, been inconsiderable, there is the most satisfactory and pleasing evidence that it is daily increasing. The numerous, extensive, and highly cultivated plantations of pepper, and beetle-nut, which are every where rising into view, will, in a short time, afford large cargoes of those articles, without the trouble and expence of importation. It is computed that there will be upwards of fifteen thousand peculs of pepper produced on the island this year; (1803-4), and that, in the course of three or four years more, the plantations will yield more than twenty thousand peculs. Coffee also promises to become a valuable commodity; this berry has been imported from different quarters, and they all thrive very well, and produce fine flavoured coffee. The sugar cane grows with uncommon luxuriance; but as the price of labour is very high, the expence attending the making of sugar, will prevent a very extensive cultivation of the cane.

"The spice plantations, in which there are many thousand clove and nutmeg trees, are so flourishing, that the island may reasonably hope, in a few years, to be able to furnish a valuable cargo of cloves, nutmegs, and mace; with their essential oils, and also the so much esteemed Kyapoottee oil.

"However the productions of the island may increase in various articles, the principal source of wealth must arise from its being considered as the best and greatest port of exchange in India. Ships and vessels come here from every quarter, and can exchange the commodities they bring, for those which are required as a return cargo. This affords the merchant the very important advantage of a quick return of his capital.

"As there is not a custom house on the island, it is not possible to form an accurate idea of the extent of the general imports and exports. In the year 1801-2, an import duty of two per cent. *ad valorem*, was laid on tin, pepper, and beetle-nut; from the return given in by the renter of this duty, it appeared that the following quantities of these articles were imported, viz.

China Peculs. Catties. Amt. of the Duty.

			S. D.	P.
Pepper	29,468	5½	5,251	97½
Tin	14,136	86	3,982	63½
Beetle-nut	45,819	90½	3,842	16

Sp. Ds. 13,076 78

"The following statement will shew at one view the different places which supply the trade of this port, with the articles of import and export.

"IMPORTS.

"From Bengal.—Opium, grain, iron, steel, marine stores; piece goods, which con-

sist chiefly of Hummums, Gurrahs, Bafties, Cossas, Tanjabs, Mamoodies, Chintzes, Kurwahs, Taffatees, and Bandanoes.

"Coast of Coromandel.—Salt, tobacco, Pun-jum cloths, kaal-blue cloths, handkerchiefs, coir rope, and yarns; chintzes; and a small quantity of fine goods.

"Bombay and Malabar Coast.—Cotton, salt, a few piece goods, red wood, sandal wood, shark fins, fish mote, putchuck, myrrh, Surat piece goods, oil, &c.

"W. Coast Sumatra.—Pepper, benjamin, camphire, gold dust.

"Acheen and Pedier.—Gold dust; beetle-nut, white and red, cut and chickney; pepper, rice, and Acheen cloths.

"Diamond Point.—Rattans, sago, brimstone, and gold dust.

"East Coast.—Tin, pepper, Java arrack, sugar, oil, rice, tobacco, &c.

"Junk Ceylon.—Tin, birds nests, beache de mer, sepuh, and elephants teeth.

"Tringano.—Pepper, and gold worked cloths.

"Borneo.—Gold dust, sago, and black-wood.

"Moluccas.—Spices.

"China.—Tea, sugar, lutestrings, velvets; paper, umbrellas, China ware of all kinds; quicksilver, nankeens, tutenague, sweetmeats, pickles, and every article required by the Chinese inhabitants; raw silk, copper ware, China camphire, China root, allum, &c. &c.

"EXPORTS.

"Sumatra. E. and W. Coasts.—All the various piece goods from Bengal, the coast, and Bombay; cotton, opium, iron and tobacco.

"Junk Ceylon.—Piece goods, and opium.

"Tringano, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and Moluccas.—Iron, steel, opium, Bengal piece goods, blue cloth; Europe coarse red, blue, and green cloths, and coarse cutlery.

"China.—Opium, cottons, rattans, beetle-nut, pepper, birds nests, sandal wood, shark fins, Sumatra camphire, tin, beache de mer, cutch, and sepuh.

"Bengal Coast and Bombay.—Pepper, tin, beetle-nut, cut and chickney; rattans, camphire, gold dust, &c.

"In addition to the quantity of pepper at present annually exported from this port, almost any number of tons could be procured for the London market, should it ever be deemed advisable to send it home on account of the honourable company, and we may safely venture to assert, that the pepper will be of as fine a quality as any ever procured; and the pepper produced on the island is considered cleaner than that of the surrounding countries: and in general, in equal measures, it is heavier.

"In the year 1802, a thousand tons of pepper of 20 cwt. were sent from the island to Europe, without having the smallest effect on the surrounding markets. That, and in-

ded a much larger quantity, could easily be procured, without any risk of raising the price, viz. 50l. sterl. per ton of 20 cwt.

"Innumerable indeed are the advantages which would accrue to this settlement, were the exportation of pepper produced on the island, direct to the London market on the honourable company's ships, once established; nor would these advantages be confined to the settlement alone, as considerable benefit, it is confidently presumed would also arise to the honourable company from this branch of commerce. The experiment at least appears worth the trial; all the expenses attending it, will be apparent at one view, and even if the flattering expectations which are now entertained should not be fully realized, still there is no prospect of risk, or loss, attending the measure. To the pepper, the product of the island, many other articles might be added, if required, as rhubarb, gallingal root, turmeric, cochineal, &c. &c.

"One of the most convincing proofs which can be adduced of the flourishing state of the commerce of this rising settlement, will be found in the following table, shewing the number of ships, with their tonnage, which have entered into and cleared out from this port, within the last four years, and as a considerable portion of the trade of the island is carried on by prows, an account of them is also subjoined.

"ARRIVALS.

	Colours.		Ships.	Tons.
1799	English	- - -	95	25,640
	Amer. Portug. Danes	- - -	37	8,299
	Asiatic	- - -	36	5,432
			168	39,371
1800	English	- - -	111	31,097
	Amer. Portug. Danes	- - -	31	8,025
	Asiatic	- - -	51	5,785
			193	44,907
1801	English	- - -	160	38,880
	Amer. Portug. Danes	- - -	33	7,549
	Asiatic	- - -	72	7,399
			265	53,828
1802	English	- - -	142	44,356
	Portug. Danes	- - -	15	4,810
	Asiatic	- - -	84	7,654
			241	56,820

"DEPARTURES.

	Colours.		Ships.	Tons.
1799	English	- - -	101	27,374
	Amer. Portug. Danes	- - -	39	8,802
	Asiatic	- - -	37	5,703
			177	41,877
1800	English	- - -	116	29,938
	Amer. Portug. Danes	- - -	30	8,270
	Asiatic	- - -	45	6,071
			191	44,329
1801	English	- - -	156	36,613
	Amer. Portug. Danes	- - -	28	7,030
	Asiatic	- - -	73	6,447
			257	50,090
1802	English	- - -	133	41,120
	Portug. Danish	- - -	21	5,250
	Asiatic	- - -	80	6,082
			234	52,461

"TOTAL.

	Ships.	Tons.
Arrivals	867	194,926
Departures	859	188,757

To the general reader this account will be more amusing and more instructive than the description published by sir Home Popham; but those who are called on to determine whether directions shall be given in London to forbid the sea to encroach on the north face of the fort and esplanade, by the construction of vast stone moles, and piers—whether directions shall be given in London for founding huge docks and naval arsenals—in short, whether all the profits of this well-situate and rapidly rising establishment shall be given away to the place-mongers and projectors of jobs—will do well to read all the accounts. That of captain Macalister passes for the less accurate and precise.

ART. VI. *Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil; terminating in the Seizure of a British Vessel, and the Imprisonment of the Author and the Ship's Crew, by the Portuguese. With General Sketches of the Country, its Natural Productions, Colonial Inhabitants, &c. and a Description of the City and Provinces of St. Salvador and Porto Seguro. To which are added, a correct Table of the Latitude and Longitude of the Ports on the Coast of Brasil, Table of Exchange, &c. By THOMAS LINDLEY, 8vo. pp. 298.*

EARLY in 1802, Mr. Lindley sailed from the Cape of Good Hope for St.

Helena and a market, this is his phrase; and the original destination of the brig is

not otherwise explained. After leaving St. Helena, a severe squall considerably damaged the vessel, and obliged him to bear away for Brasil. He repaired at Bahia, or St. Salvadore, and from thence intended to steer for Rio Janeiro, where he expected a ready sale of his cargo to the Spaniards trading from the River Plata. But a storm sprung up just as he had cleared the bay, and obliged him to put into Porto Seguro, which port, however, he did not reach without the loss of the rudder.

While he was detained for repairs here, the civil governor, or judge of the province, proposed to barter Brasil wood with him for goods. 'The proposal appeared so advantageous,' says Mr. Lindley, 'that I could have no hesitation, except from an uncertainty whether this wood was allowed to be exported; but as the offer came from the governor himself, I considered any prohibition that might exist as merely nominal; and every doubt being thus dispelled, I agreed to the exchange.' The plain English of which is, that he knew he was engaging in a contraband trade, but thought he could do it securely. Gaspar, one of the governor's sons, transacted the bargain, and his brother Antonio was to get the wood ready; but the business was not kept secret, and in about a week's time both father and son said it must be given up, regretting the mutual disappointment, and telling Mr. Lindley that he might procure the wood he wanted by another channel, and should meet with no hindrance or opposition on their part. Another adventurer was soon found, but wood is a clumsy article to smuggle; the errand of the English ship was pretty well understood, and Gaspar requested the captain, in the strongest terms, to decline the business altogether, saying, that he had secret reasons of the most forcible kind for his advice. In consequence he set sail to proceed on his destination; the repairs had been so badly made, that he was obliged once more to come to anchor in the river of Carevellos, near at hand; and before the carpenters here had completed their work, the brig was seized by the Portuguese government, and the crew conducted back to Porto Seguro. An inhabitant of that place, to revenge an old quarrel upon the governor, had laid an information against him for smuggling with Mr. Lindley.

Mr. and Mrs. Lindley were taken to the common prison: they were led into an upper room, in the floor of which a trap-

door was opened, down which they descended by a ladder into a dungeon. Three corners of this wretched place were filled with heaps of dirt, rubbish, orange-peel, and the refuse of other vegetables, rotting together; the fourth with filth of a more disgusting kind, for four of his sailors had been confined there for eight days, and were just removed to the next dungeon to make room for him and his wife. In this place they remained a fortnight, burning a fire during the day, notwithstanding the exceeding heat of the weather, as the only means of amending the bad air. At length Mr. Lindley was examined; he denied that any Brasil wood had ever been brought on board the brig; but was 'perfectly explicit respecting his intention to have purchased some,' had he not discovered in time the strictness with which that article was prohibited; that is, he betrayed the whole transaction with the governor and his sons. After this examination, in consequence of his entreaties, they were removed to an upper apartment.

There had been found, in his writing-desk, a paper containing a small quantity of grain gold, intermixed with gold-coloured sand, which had been brought to him by an inhabitant of Porto Seguro as a sample. When closely questioned concerning this, he made no secret of whence he had obtained the article, but declared he knew neither the name nor residence of the person from whom he had received it, though he believed that he was from a distant settlement. They took him a day's ride into the country to point out the man, whom he was predetermined not to recognize if he met him. The stream, however, from whence the sample had been collected was found, a guard set over it in the queen's name, and a farther sample taken to be assayed at Bahia.

The sailors had been ill supplied with food. On Mr. Lindley's remonstrances this was remedied. His situation was not much ameliorated; he was called to visit the sick, and obtained permission to take the air with his wife. Still there was much to complain of.

"Their impudence is unbounded, even to insult; while I can only resent it by reproach or unavailing complaint. The captain, Mor, who has superior apartments in the prison, takes the liberty of running into mine without excuse; not considering the situation of Mrs. Lindley and myself, confined to a small room, and who do not at all hours chuse such visitors: besides constantly using my liquor for himself and friends, notwithstanding he knows I purchase it on the spot, and have no support

allowed me. The judge ordinary, or magistrate of the town, daily visits the prison, and uses the same freedom: this morning he presented us with a basket of eggs, begged a silk handkerchief in return, and, whilst talking on the subject, reached a clothes-brush from the wall, and, *sans ceremonie*, brushed his hat in our faces. Each poor meal we make, we are necessitated in the first instance to secure our door from intrusion: and a thousand other meannesses we daily endure.

"The very dress of the men (particularly in the morning) is shocking to a person of the commonest delicacy. They promenaded the prison in a thin pair of callico drawers that scarce reach the knee, with the shirt loose over them, and no stockings or hat: if cool or rainy weather, they sometimes have the addition of a cloak or bed-gown loosely wrapt round them. In short, maugre every exertion of patience, our situation is miserable; and most gladly shall I hail the happy day of our arrival in a land of decency."

After ten weeks confinement they were removed to Bahia, and again put in a dungeon; a long arched vault, with a plank-work on one side to sleep on—the old *es-trado*. The captain of the fort executed his orders with due fidelity in placing them there; but advised Mr. Lindley to write to the governor of Bahia, supplied him implements for the memorial, and dispatched it. On the morrow the commandant of the sea, as he is here called, came himself with an order for their release from the dungeon, and that they should have an apartment, and the liberty of the fort. Both the commandant and the captain of the fort seem to have done every thing which men of honour and of feeling could do, consistently with their duty, to alleviate his confinement. He was shortly afterwards confronted with Gaspar and Antonio, who steadily denied the whole transaction, which he, on his part, as consistently confessed. Assassinations, Mr. Lindley remarks, are not common in Bahia; and it is a proof this, that he walked the streets of the city in safety six months after he had betrayed this family.

His ship and cargo were now valued infinitely below their real worth. The cargo had been pillaged, and much damaged; but he was obliged to sign a paper, attesting that the whole was in the same condition as when first seized. The crew meantime were allowed eight-pence a day each; they were in want of clothes, for their chests, as well as Mr. Lindley's trunks, had been plundered. He was now informed that he could not be sent to Lisbon till orders came from thence, in

reply to the dispatches sent concerning him; but the governor would permit him the liberty of the city, if he would petition for it on the plea of illness, and procure certificates to that effect. This Mr. Lindley thinks proper to call a mean and paltry subterfuge from the great and mighty governor of a country! though he availed himself of the humane offer. The return he makes is to publish the fact, and print, at full length, the names of surgeon and physician who attested, on oath, that he was dangerously ill, without having seen him. The next Englishman who is detected in smuggling at Brasil will be left to rot in a dungeon. He waited till August in expectation of being sent to Lisbon, then with his wife, mate, and servant, made his escape in a vessel bound for Porto.

"After the usual voyage, I arrived at Oporto on the 2d of November, and found vessels from Bahia that had sailed subsequent to ours: in consequence, I expected that information had been received of our escape, and was apprehensive of some embarrassment; but my fears were groundless. I applied instantly to the acting consul, Mr. Warr, who pointed out the necessity of my proceeding immediately to Lisbon. In four days I reached that city, and waited on lord R. S. Fitzgerald, our residuary minister, who received me with the most soothing and polite attention, and entered into the merits of the affair without losing a moment. Jointly with Mr. Gambier, the consul-general, his lordship had the goodness to assure me it should be forcibly represented to the Portuguese government, that a satisfactory recompence might be obtained for this unjust outrage on British subjects, and the sufferings that had been so wantonly inflicted on myself and wife.

"His lordship honoured me with an introductory letter to lord Hawkesbury, which on my arrival in England I presented, and was referred to the secretary of state's office, where I attended at various times till the middle of June last, when I received the unpleasant intelligence (as well by advice from lord Robert Fitzgerald), that the Portuguese government had finally resolved, that no restitution or recompence whatever should be made in the affair; thus leaving me no further prospect or hope of redress, for the injuries I have in so many respects sustained—in my feelings, my health, my time, and my property!"

No other termination of the affair was to be expected. Mr. Lindley was engaged in a contraband traffic, no matter whether with the chief magistrate of Porto Seguro or not, and no matter whether he knew it to be contraband or not; ignorance of the

law will no more excuse a breach of the law in Brasil than in England.

The volume contains many amusing traits of national manners. It is very remarkable that knives and forks are not yet in general use among the Brasilians.

"They first take in their fingers a little meat (which is always so much over-done, as to be readily separated), then vegetables, and farinha; these they roll in the sauce, oil, or soup, with which their plates abound, squeezing the whole in the palm of the hand into the shape, and about the size, of a wash-ball; which, when thus prepared, they convey into their mouths at once, and whilst eating form another.

"Indelicate and disgusting as such a picture may seem, it is not overcharged; both sexes equally use this practice; and most classes; even when before strangers, if by chance they take up a knife and fork, yet they are soon tired of a mode so unusual, slow, and tedious; and they involuntarily drop it; and fall to in their old way with redoubled eagerness. It is true, that, as in the east, water is presented before and after eating; but it is by no means an apology for this barbarous and dirty custom."

"It is astonishing to see how little subordination of rank is known in this country: France, in its completest state of revolution and citizenship, never excelled it in that respect. You see here the white servant converse with his master on the most equal and friendly terms; dispute his commands, and wrangle about them if contrary to his better opinion—which the superior receives in good part, and frequently acquiesces in.

"The system does not rest here; but extends to the mulattoes, and even to the negroes. One sees no humiliation except in the patient hard working drudge, the native Indian.

"The same licentious freedom is found in their marine and troops. On board of ship an order is seldom issued without the sailors giving their opinion on it, and frequently involving the whole in dispute and confusion. In consequence, each officer walks the deck with a stick of no small dimensions, as a mark of authority; to use as occasion requires, and carry on the duty of the vessel.

"The captain of the fort I am in, traverses the platform in a pair of coarse printed cotton trousers, a jacket of the same, with a supplejack in hand, commanding his working party of artillery-men under the title of *comrades*. I took the liberty of remonstrating about his wooden companion; but he replied, 'No duty could go on without it.' At Porto Seguro, I have often seen the lieutenant, serjeant, and a private, in the same card party: even the captain (*mor*), and others the most respectable inhabitants, betting, and taking part in the game, without scruple. This unreserved freedom is productive of the most pernicious consequences; you get no command promptly

obeyed, and strangers who expect better are ever liable to insult. I attribute this promiscuous intercourse to the general ignorance that pervades the country; as no people pretend to more *hauteur* and reserve than the Brasilians, or really have less, in their own society."

Bleeding and clysters of human milk are the grand specifics. Mr. Lindley was called in to one poor wretch who had been bled one and twenty times in the space of nine days for a pain in the breast, and of course fairly died of the doctors. They have an extraordinary Guy Faux at Bahia.

"In my walk to the city a considerable crowd occupied the street, and I was obliged to stop till the occasion was over. This proved to be the destruction of poor Judas in effigy: when, not content with all the anathemas this day thundered against him, and the eternal torment to which he is consigned, the populace in different parts of the city dress up a masked figure, and erect a gibbet on which they exalt him—as do the shipping also from their yard-arms. At eleven in the morning they discharge musquets at the traitor; and set fire to rockets fastened at his back, and crackers concealed in his dress.

"In the exhibition which I witnessed, the rage of the good Catholics was not satisfied with hanging and blowing up poor Judas; but they afterwards lowered his remains, and dragged them in triumph through the street."

The sugar-works are in a state of primitive simplicity.

"The word *ingenio* is the Portuguese distinction of those who have a sugar-work:—here very simple, consisting of three rollers of ponderous wood, two feet in diameter and three in length, working horizontally in a frame: the upper part of the center roller joins a square beam that ascends through the frame work; and to which are affixed cross pieces sufficiently low for the harness of two horses, that move the whole. The side rollers work by cogs from the center one. Underneath this machine is a long trough, slanted, that receives the juice of the cane as pressed out by the rollers. The juice is thence conveyed to a shallow boiler of six feet diameter, and skimmed from all impurities; after cooling in another vessel, they add an alkali of wood ashes, suffer it to stand some days, pour off the pure liquor, convey it to the same boiler, and evaporate till the sugar is formed, the settlings, &c. being distilled to a powerful spirit. How widely different is this primitive sugar-making, from the immense works, machines, and engines, employed by our West-Indian planters!"

Notwithstanding the rudeness of this machinery, and notwithstanding the general darkness of Mr. Lindley's colouring, it is easy to perceive that the country is in a state of improvement. He indeed says,

that government is using every diligence. to render it more productive. Salt-petre mines, perhaps the first in the world, have lately been opened, and the pepper-shrub imported from India, and thriving uncommonly well. Some interesting passages relative to natural history may be selected.

"I was called this morning to visit a sick planter, who chiefly cultivates mandioc, that invaluable root which forms the farinha, or bread of South America, and I had an opportunity of minutely viewing the whole process of preparation. Mandioc is a knotted shrub that runs to the height of six feet and upwards, but without branches; the root, which is the only useful part, somewhat resembles a parsnip, but is much larger. It is planted by cutting the body of the shrub into short lengths, and sticking them into the earth, when they immediately reshoot, and, after growing for about twelve months, the root is perfectly formed, but varies in size according to the fertility of the ground, from one to twenty inches in diameter, and from six inches to two feet in length. The roots being pulled up, and the exterior bark cut off, a farinaceous substance remains, milky and glutinous; this is rubbed to small pieces against a rasping wheel covered with perforated copper, and received into a trough below; it is then dried in shallow pans over a slow fire, till all moisture is evaporated, when it appears a dry granulated substance, and is ready for use. Tapioca is the juice of the root drained from the raspings, and granulated in like manner over a slow fire.

"Farinha was in use among the Indians of South America at the time of its discovery, and imperceptibly adopted by its conquerors, wheat not agreeing with the soil, and mandioc being cultivated at an hundredth part of the labour and expence."

The bees form nests which load the trees. They consist of a ponderous shell of clay, cemented like the martin's nest, swelling from high trees about a foot thick, and forming an oval mass full two feet in diameter. The wax within is arranged in the usual manner, and the honey abundant; but little use is made of either, sugar being the growth of the spot, and wax supplied plentifully by the African colonies.

"For many days there has been an immense flight of white and yellow butterflies. They never settle, and proceed in a direction from the north-west to the south-east. Neither the fort nor any other building impedes them: they steadily pursue their course; which being to the ocean (at only a small distance), they must consequently perish.

"It is singular that at present no other kind

of these insects is to be seen, notwithstanding the country generally abounds in such a variety."

"I was caught on the beach in the severest fall of rain I ever witnessed. While standing under a shed to avoid its violence, I all at once observed the air full of a small flying insect, which the people near me called *Asian ants*.* This is the moment they use for multiplying their species, after which they drop; when their transparent wings sticking to the moist earth, they make a violent effort and leave them. The insect then appears as a small maggot, which immediately divides, and each part seeking the porous earth soon disappears: the larger ones always leave their wings; while some smaller, after separation, regain the air. On my arrival at the fort, I heard they had there also swarmed in myriads, as just observed.

"The large ant already noticed, is also in a state of *chrysalis* at this season. It is far increased in size during this change; and after continuing some time in the air, returns to the earth, shedding its wings as those which I saw yesterday: while some, unable to effect that change, lie motionless, and soon expire. A nest which I passed of these insects was opened, with some hundreds of the winged ones (which I imagine females) taking flight from the mouth of it; while myriads of young ones continued uninterrupted at work."

The natives, who are not always pacific, are formidably armed.

"The bows of these Indians are similar to the English long bow; about six feet six inches in length; strong made, of a ponderous wood, but particularly elastic, and strung with the dried sinews of an animal, or sometimes a prepared cotton cord. Their arrows are three and four feet in length, well feathered, and consist of one piece of light wood: the points of the larger sort are simply the arrow tapered, and afterwards notched for about eight inches, to prevent its easy extraction; the shorter have a broad scoop head, about four inches long, and one broad in the center part of it, tapering each way to its point, and where it joins the stem; this head is concaved to a sharp edge, and is a fatal weapon. They harden both heads in the fire; and though the whole arrow feels very light, and appears insufficient to pierce at any distance, yet it kills at nearly as great a distance as an European musket."

On the whole this is a volume which may be read with amusement and advantage. We have, however, to reprehend Mr. Lindley for the dreadful indiscretion with which he has published the names of persons, who, in the confidence of friendship, uttered their sentiments to him, and showed him the secret treasure of their libraries, little thinking that all was to be

* *Vermigues d'Asie.*

thus betrayed! A familiar of the inquisition would not have been a more dangerous, nor a more deadly companion for them. No Englishman will ever be received with kindness or confidence by a Brazilian after the publication of this most imprudent book, and no English prisoner there must ever again expect the slightest relaxation of law, or the slightest alleviation of imprisonment.

ART. VII.—*African Memoranda: relative to an Attempt to establish a British Settlement on the Island of Bulama, on the Western Coast of Africa, in the Year 1792. With a brief Notice of the neighbouring Tribes, Soil, Productions, &c. and some Observations on the facility of colonizing that Part of Africa, with a View to Cultivation; and the Introduction of Letters and Religion to its Inhabitants: but more particularly as the means of gradually abolishing African Slavery.* By Captain PHILIP BEAVER, of his Majesty's Royal Navy. 4to. pp. 500.

What shall I do to be for ever known,
And make the age to come my own?

IS the fine question which Cowley asked of himself, and answered, not triumphantly, by his poems. The projects of Mr. Beaver's ambition were different: he once planned an excursion to the north pole; then a journey through the interior of Africa; and thirdly, to coast the world. He was at length induced by circumstances to conduct an enterprize for the colonization of Bulama.

This volume contains a narrative of all the transactions relative to that undertaking: it defines the chances of success and the causes of failure: it preserves the hints and the warnings of experience, and deserves to occasion a repetition of the attempt. Mr. Beaver's personal conduct compels high admiration: he is one of those natural heroes who wanted only other followers to have founded, like Æneas, a permanent empire in a strange and savage land: he ought again to be solicited by his country to undertake a command, of which the highest recompense will be its eventual success.

The first chapter relates the proceedings of the Bulama society in England.

The second chapter contains the adventures of the colonists, from their leaving England to their arrival in the Bijuga channel on the coast of Africa.

The third chapter contains a summary of the fortunes of those embarked in the *Calypso*, which separated rather shabbily from its companions at the outset, and which deserted the expedition, on the first pretext of difficulty, with ruinous retraction.

The fourth chapter details the proceedings of the colony from their landing to the retreat of the crew of the *Calypso*.

The fifth chapter preserves lieutenant Beaver's journal on the island of Bulama. By the progress of disease and desertion, he is at length reduced to the necessity of

return: only one of the original colonists remained with him to the last.

Here ends the historical portion of the book. Six speculative chapters follow; which treat of the advantages to be derived from the experience collected during this attempt—of the causes of failure which are stated, convincingly, not to lie in the difficulty or impracticability of the enterprize—of the geographical character of that part of the African coast between the Gambia and Rio-Grande—of the Bijuga islands, and of Bulama especially, their soil, productions, and capabilities—and lastly of the wisest plan for a future colonization.

An appendix follows containing the public papers of the colony; nautical remarks; meteorologic journals; and other particulars worthy of preservation, which could not well be inwoven in the narrative, are here separately chronicled.

The first difficulty opposed to this effort at colonization arose from the antijacobinism of Mr. Secretary Dundas, who laid an embargo on vessels which had been purchased by voluntary subscription, and were freighted with voluntary emigrants. The constitution of government, forsooth, in which equal subscribers had equal rights of suffrage, and chose a council for the management of their affairs, had given offence. This being cancelled, the ships were suffered to proceed: but whereas the colonists originally thought themselves bound to obey the governors they had elected, they now knew that there was no legal authority over them; thus the pedantry of Mr. Dundas bestowed a practical anarchy on the colonists, and prepared the critical return of the *Calypso*-party.

The colonists, it may be urged, should have obtained a charter. There are two plans of colonization equally practicable. The one is to go out with the connivance of the different European governments,

but without the specific protection of any plan to begin on a system of independence, and to preserve a strict neutrality during the wars of Europe. The other is to go out with the concurrence of a specific country, and to solicit its aid: where this is the intention, the form of declaring allegiance and of promising protection, ought unquestionably to take place; in other words, a charter ought to be obtained. At the time of the Bulama subscription, the friends of the blacks were sufficiently numerous, both in France and England, to have conjointly colonized a vast tract of Africa for the purpose of cultivating cotton by free labourers. The democratic constitution of the colony was adapted to the admission of people of all kinds and countries: difficulty of any kind would always have occasioned the necessary deposit of authority with the few leading minds. A colony from all nations, a North-America in Africa, free, independent, at perpetual peace, and open to the commerce of the world, might well have comprehended a larger portion of white settlers, and have attained a speedier civilization, than under the monopoly system of British intercourse.

Mr. Beaver's method of acquiring ascendancy over the negroes is thus recorded in his journal.

"Read prayers. Sent the Industry, with Mr. Scott, to Bissao. Therm. 88. Bennet sick.

"Employed as usual till nine o'clock, when Belchore, with two canoes, paid us another visit. Left off work, and collected the grumetas within the block-house, which Belchore, and two attendants only, are permitted to enter, at the gate of which they deliver up their arms, and they are returned to them when they go out again. The rest of his people, in number twenty-eight, occupy the grumetas' huts. I am now strong enough not to care for these people, they can do nothing by open force. I had intended to have reproached Belchore for his treacherous conduct in having been here with a large armed force, with a view of attacking us; to have assured him that nothing that he had done was unknown to me; then to have flogged him, and turned him unarmed from the island; but as we were now safe, and had nothing to fear from them hereafter, I thought it more advisable, on reconsideration, to receive him in a friendly manner, and pretend ignorance of what had passed.

"In the evening, at the request of Belchore, we fired several six-pound shot in various directions, to the great admiration of the Bijugas, particularly one, which I had told them, before it was fired, should come out of the water four or five times. It did so in fact

seven times. ~~They~~ ^{They} exclaimed, clapping their hands, "all white man witch;" this, simple as it appears to us, they could by no means comprehend, and thought that nothing short of witchcraft could possibly foresee that a shot fired into the water, should come out of it again four or five times. Another shot they were told should go through a tree, distant I suppose not more than two hundred yards. It went through its centre, and they were all astonishment: but what seemed to stupify them with wonder was the accidental circumstance of my sitting upon one of these six-pounders while it was fired.

"It has ever been my custom, since the departure of the Hankey, to fire a morning and evening gun, that is, one at dawn of day, and one at sunset. When the latter is fired the drum is beat, the colonists retire to the block-house, which is then locked, and the key put under my pillow, and no one can, after that time, go in or out without my permission. We had for some time left off firing to amuse the Bijugas, when, it being just sunset, I was sitting upon the gun that was to be fired, talking to Belchore: as the boy approached with the match, Belchore ran away, for though they are highly delighted with the noise of a cannon, they keep at a very respectful distance, while it is fired; and notwithstanding they have so often seen my little boy, not more than twelve years of age, fire one, I suppose no consideration could induce one of these people to do so. As before observed, I was accidentally sitting upon the gun when the boy came to fire it: Belchore immediately ran away—I remained—the boy fired, and I verily believe they expected to see me dead.

"They had before a great idea of the power which I possessed in common with all white men, of performing miracles, or rather of being a magician, and they now believed me invulnerable—a belief that I was at no pains to undeceive them in. Therm. 86. Bennet sick.

"As we did no work while Belchore was here, in the morning I amused him and his people, as well as myself, in shewing them many things which riveted their faith in my magic power, and which they at last believed to be unlimited.

"I made them remark the north point of my circumferenter, and then, desiring them to turn it several times round, or put it in any other position, observe that they had not the power of moving that point, because I had ordered it to remain where it was. They saw that it was so, and could not comprehend why it was, unless by my power, fixed to that point. The bubble in the spirit level of my theodolite, they thought alive; and the distinctness with which they viewed distant objects, through a good telescope, increased their belief in my magic. But there was one thing yet to shew them, which would fully convince them that nothing was to me impossible. It was near noon, and I was regulating my watch by the sun. The watch had

for some time taken up ~~on the island~~ which they thought, as well as the spirit level, was alive: particularly after, (for at first they would not believe that the minute hand had motion, which is too slow to be readily perceived by the eye) I had made one of them hold a pin, five minutes before the minute hand, and then explained to him, that in a certain time that hand would go to the pin, and then pass it; for instance, whilst another walked to a certain tree and back again. This they all perceived; but, wonderful as it was to them, it ceased instantly, as well as every thing else, to occupy any of their attention, when I played off my last trick. With my quadrant I brought the sun down upon the top of the block-house, and then desired Belchore to look at it, which he did, and then, one after another, all his people; when, placing one of his men before me, I told him that I would put the sun upon his head. The poor Bijuga at first was frightened, and unwilling to stand where I desired him; but, on my repeated assurances that no harm should come to him, he consented, and I shewed to his astonished countrymen the sun upon his head.

"In the evening Belchore left me. He had been much struck with the strength and magnitude of our building, and will never, hereafter, I am confident, attempt any thing against us. Besides, what can he expect to achieve against a man who can sit upon a cannon, "against which there is no gris-gris" while it is fired; and can put the sun upon another man's head? The Industry returned this evening from Bissao with six new grumetas."

The result of Mr. Beaver's interesting experience, which constitutes a sum of knowledge worth the expence at which it has been purchased, is thus very modestly summed up.

"What did we propose to ascertain?

"First—Whether we could cultivate the tropical productions on the Island of Bulama and the adjacent shores?

"Second—Whether we could do so by the means of *free natives*?

"Third—Whether by *cultivation* and

commerce we might not introduce among them *civilization*?

"The first of these queries is proved beyond a doubt, not only by what I cultivated on the island; but from all tropical productions growing wild on it, or in its vicinity.

"Now then for the second, which is by far the most important. It will appear by the list of grumetas in the Appendix * that in about one year I employed on the island 196 of them. These grumetas were not all of one nation: neither were they only of two; but they were of three, of four, of five, and even of six,† and they were all free. Had it been prudent, with my reduced force, to have employed more, I could easily at all times have doubled or trebled their numbers. These grumetas cleared all the ground that was cleared, they made the inclosures, and worked hard and willingly, generally speaking, at whatever task was assigned to them. I have no hesitation therefore in declaring *that the second also is proved: and the third will necessarily follow*—for *COMMERCE* will follow *CULTIVATION*, and *CIVILIZATION* will result from them both.

"When the peculiar disadvantages enumerated in the former part of this chapter, are added to those arising from the general character of the settlers, and of some of the grumetas, as well as from the smallness of our force for the last year, our having been able to command respect, and to accomplish what we did, must remove from the mind, I think, of all unbiassed persons, every doubt as to the practicability of accomplishing all which we had promised ourselves, had the expedition been planned with more wisdom, or executed with more energy. And although we were obliged to quit the island at the moment when we had shelter and protection for more settlers, and fields ready for the plough, yet I trust that our labour has not been altogether fruitless, but that we have been paving the way for some more fortunate enterprise. And though in this undertaking our mortality has been great, nay dreadful indeed, yet have we the satisfaction to say that no one ever fell by the hand of an enemy;‡ that we never had any quarrel with the natives; and that the English character which we found considered by them as sordid, base and cowardly, we left

* No. 15.

† I regret much that I did not, when on the island, keep an account of the nations to which my several grumetas belonged, as, besides being more satisfactory to the reader, it would have enabled us to form some little notion of their national character. However, by far the greatest number were Papels and Manjacks; about a dozen of the whole number were Biafaras, a few Balantees, four or five were Naloos, but only two Bijugas. I had Biafara visitors frequently, and with them sometimes came Mandingos, but I never had a Mandingo grumeta, though they have frequently come to the island in that situation, in canoes belonging to Bissao. I sometimes also had visits from Bulola, a place about seventy miles up the Rio Grande, but in what nation to place its inhabitants I know not. They are I think a mixture of Biafaras, Naloos, and Mandingos; at least people of each of those nations reside at Bulola, and there is frequent intercourse by land between Kacundy on the Nunez, and Bulola on the Grande. Woody Toorey was at this time queen of Bulola; she often pressed me to come to her town, but I never was able to accomplish it.

‡ The reader will remember that we had not arrived when the Calypso's people were attacked by the natives.

beloved, respected, and admired; yet its enmity was valued as much as its friendship was courted. And although we have not been hitherto able to reap the fruit of our labour, I hope that the day is not far distant, when some enlarged and liberal plan will be adopted to cultivate the western coast of Africa, without interfering with the freedom of its natives. Such a plan, pursued with a wise policy, is the surest way of introducing civilization, and at the same time of abolishing slavery; and if the preceding account shall in the smallest degree lead to such a measure, I shall be amply repaid for all the time and trouble I have expended, and all the difficulties I have encountered."

What remains for national consideration is the expediency of reviving a disposition to form settlements in Africa. This is the only quarter of the world in which British language and British commerce have struck no root; to which the advantage of our laws, the benefit of our protection, the civilizing influence of our manners, our intercourse, and our literature, have not been extended. It is the bed of a soil, which we have not attempted to cultivate; the atmosphere of a climate, which we have not endeavoured to purify; the home of a barbarism, which we have not sought to dissipate; the seat of a slavery, which we have not taken steps to abolish. Let us try. The solid pyramids of African antiquity attest the possibility of labour in vain: let the hollow warehouses of modern industry demonstrate the possibility of labour to advantage. The first roads will only be accessible to the keel; but the next to the camel and the elephant: to fleets will succeed caravans; to a coasting-trade, internal traffic.

The elephant and the hippopotamus of this part of Africa, have hitherto been hunted down, as the foes of men, for the puny recompense of their ivory teeth. From Mr. Beaver's testimony, and from that of other zoologists, it is probable that their alliance would be more profitable than their enmity. Both appear domesticable. The elephant can carry burdens; the hippopotamus can tow boats. Great care is wisely recommended to impress on the black man an opinion of the justice and humanity of Europeans: ought not analogous precautions to be taken for impress-

sing on these powerful animals a similar opinion of the friendliness and compatibility of the white man? Camels, but not yet, will be requisite in these districts. Ants are troublesome there: the partridge, which is a voracious ant-eater, might be carried over. Swine are the appropriate enemies of serpents.

The following hints for commencing the settlement of Bulama, deserve conspicuousity.

"Supposing the colonization of the country between the Gambia and the Grande, as well as the uninhabited Bijuga isles, to be undertaken by individuals sanctioned by government, or else by government * itself, I should recommend the repossessing ourselves of Bulama immediately; and, upon the fertile soil of that beautiful little island I should commence such a plan of cultivation, which, with common prudence and common success, would, I doubt not, in less than twenty years export to the parent country produce to the value of more than a million sterling; and, it requires no great share of credulity to believe, might soon after take from Great Britain her manufactured goods to more than that amount; for which the colony would make its chief returns in raw materials, for British industry to work up; and these would be returned to it at an amazingly increased price; which is, of all others, the most advantageous commerce that one country can carry on with another.

"We will therefore suppose the colonization of these countries seriously intended; and that a certain number of persons are arrived, at the proper season of the year, that is to say, just after the rains, on the island of Bulama; those persons will find an uninhabited and fertile soil; and grumetas, or labourers, may be readily procured in the neighbourhood. Six months dry weather may be certainly reckoned upon, if they arrive at the proper time; in which they may clear their grounds for cultivation; and cotton, as the least difficult and least expensive, and making the best return, all things considered, I should recommend to be first cultivated. During the dry season the colonists would also erect their houses and make a public road &c.; while the governor should be making purchases of land on the continent and among the Bijuga islands for future settlers; and in doing this he would meet with no great difficulty, as all the ground uncultivated by them is of no use, any further than as affording them the means of the chase. And indeed they are ever anxious to have white people settled in their neighbourhood, as when that is the case they always expect a constant supply of European

* It would be better undertaken by government, on whose account all the land should be purchased, which I think might be done for less than 5000 pounds; and grants of certain portions of it should be made to individuals at 10s. an acre. Now supposing the above territory to contain only 18,000,000 of acres, the whole when granted away, would produce to government 9,000,000L. sterling.

goods. In the mean time, while the cotton is growing, some small returns might be made to the mother country in the native produce enumerated in page 381.

"Having, in the first year, made two establishments on the island of Bulama, one at the east, and the other at the west end of it; the former of which is to be considered the capital of the colony; I should the next year form one on the Biatafa shore opposite to it; and another just to the westward of that branch of the Grande which runs up to Ghinala. These would be both on land already purchased of the natives; but, if the government at Bulama has been at all active, other territories will have been purchased in the first year; in which case I should form a third establishment at Bulola,* and a fourth in the isle of Galenas; so that at the beginning of the dry season of the second year, we should have six distinct establishments on this part of the coast. At the beginning of the third year, three, four, five or six other establishments might be formed on some of the Bijuga islands, or on some of those close to the continent, or, on the continent itself, north of the Rio Grande; and I should now consider the colony as sufficiently strong and permanent to require no further assistance from government.

"In the above outline, I have confined myself to the southern shore, but I think it would be as well, nay better, to begin the first year at both ends. In which case I should recommend the taking possession of James's island in the Gambia, and constructing on it a considerable fort; and the second year an establishment should be made on the Pasqua river.

"In establishing this colony there are certain points which must not be swerved from; whenever they are, the colony, if not ruined, will be retarded; these are:

"First, that no land be ever taken from the natives by force; and that we do not ever make a settlement without their consent. We should even re-purchase the land already bought rather than our right to it be disputed.

"The second is, that no person can be employed as a slave in any of our settlements, nor on board any ship or vessel belonging to the colonists. At the same time that the employment of slaves is prohibited to the European colonists, these must also be forbidden to interfere in the smallest degree whatever, with the employment of them by the native kings or chiefs, in their own towns or territories. Nothing must be done against their independence. The abolition of that execrable trade must be left to the gradual, but

sure, operation of reason, and example. Should we endeavour to prevent the native chiefs from selling slaves; so sudden, and so violent a check to one of their immemorial customs; the reason, the policy, or the justice of which it is impossible for them at first to comprehend, would ill dispose them towards us; and make them either treacherous friends or open enemies to the success of our undertaking; at the same time that not one slave less would be annually sold, notwithstanding our ill-advised and absurd attempts to prevent it; and by such means the slave trade never will be abolished. Whereas if these people are left to themselves, and to the operation of reason and example, without the smallest shock to any of their customs or prejudices, I question very much if a slave will ever be seen in any native town of the colony at the expiration of fifteen or twenty years. But if a misguided zeal for the abolition of slavery be manifested, it will tend to prolong its continuance, and the colony never can, and never will flourish. The absurdity of very well meaning persons, in thinking that they can overcome vices, customs, or prejudices, immemorably rooted in an unenlightened people, by shocking, instead of gradually enlightening their understandings, has done a great deal of mischief already. To begin by telling a native chief, the instant you have got into his country, that of his six wives he must put away five, because it is a great sin, and forbidden by the laws of God, to have more than one, will certainly astonish the chief, but will not induce him to part from his wives. As to the word sin, it is impossible that it can convey any idea to him; it is not within the limits of possibility for him to comprehend the idea which it is meant to convey; and of the laws of God he will have as little knowledge. But he will know that it is the custom, and ever has been, in his country, for every man to keep as many wives as he can afford; and that he is respected in proportion to the number of them which he maintains. Now to insist upon his parting from the cause of his respect, without assigning any comprehensible reason for his so doing, betrays a more barbarous mind than the one intended to be enlightened. If, after this, the same person goes on, and tells the chief, that drunkenness is also a sin, and that he must give up drinking spirits; in short, that he will not sell him any, nor suffer any to be sold to him for the future; the chief, who has been accustomed to drink spirits, and to see every one else do the same, when it was to be procured, will begin to think this European a little unreasonable; and will not be desirous of having him for a neighbour. But if

* Although Bulola is without the boundary line of the territory proposed to be colonized, being on the Naloo peninsula on the south side of the Grande, yet, from the character of its inhabitants, and their desire to have us established among them, I should there form a settlement; probably it might be thought wise to extend the southern boundary of the colony and carry it to the Rio Nunez, which is navigable for ships of 300 tons burthen, though with two or three bars, up to Kacundy about seventy miles from its mouth, between which place and Bulola on the Grande, there is frequent communication.

the European goes on, and tells him that he must change his religion and become a Christian, or else when he dies that he will be roasted like a yam, always in torment but never thoroughly done; this chief will probably inquire what he means by, being a Christian, that he may avoid this roasting. When his European instructor goes on from one dogma to another, all alike unintelligible in the present intellectual state of the chief, till he finishes with the doctrine of the Trinity, the belief in which, he tells this chief, is essential to his salvation: the latter, who thought him unreasonable at first, now thinks him * outrageously so; and that he is either a mad man, a fool, or an impostor; and to get rid of people professing such doctrines, will be his constant endeavour. Absurd as such conduct must appear, I have seen conduct towards a native chief yet more so; and much mischief has already been done by the fanatical zeal of some misguided people. I could give instances, but they are so incredibly extravagant, that they would scarcely find credit among sober minded people. If conduct like this be pursued in the intended colony, it will never succeed, and the condition of the natives will never be improved.

"It those Europeans who settle there are of industrious habits, and confine themselves to one wife, whose offspring they bring up with care and affection, the very habit even of imitation, (more particularly as it would be an imitation of people acknowledged their superiors in every thing) will in time, and that not very distant, introduce the same custom among the native chiefs, and from them it will descend to all others; and thus what the furious zeal of a bigot would have endeavoured to bring about in a day, a week, a month, or a year, at the expence of rudely attacking all their prejudices, but which he would never have accomplished, might gently and gradually be effected, and made to appear their own work, without our having in any instance wounded any of their feelings.

"As to drinking; if Europeans set them the example of sobriety, if they will not employ a drunkard, and always consider a man who has been seen in that state, as having dishonoured, and debased himself, they will soon confine that vice to a few of the lowest and most thoughtless of the people; who, by the bye, if they have the propensity, will not have the means of gratifying it.

"As to religion; there is much more danger of doing evil, than probability of doing good, by an excessive zeal for its introduction. In this, as in other points, example is much; if we are constant in our attendance at divine worship, and conduct ourselves there with decorum and reverence, this will have more effect on the minds of the Africans, towards

converting them to Christianity, than any thing that could be said by any fanatical zealot; and if we leave its operation to the slow workings of time, we shall certainly attain our object; which the folly of an enthusiast might only place farther from us.

"So of slavery. Interfere not with the natives buying or selling slaves; but let no European employ one. His grumetas, who till the ground for hire, must be reasonably paid, well fed, comfortably lodged, and have a little piece of ground to raise vegetables, and to keep poultry. These grumetas, unless they have a very unreasonable master, will be generally contented and happy; and if they have a good master they will never quit him; and generally speaking would risk their lives on his account. It would be seen in a very short time that these grumetas would annually produce more profit to their master, than if they had been all sold for slaves; nay, than if they could be all sold EVERY YEAR, whereas they can be sold but once.

"One great motive of the Africans in making slaves, indeed I may say the only one, is to procure European goods; slaves are the money, the great circulating medium, with which African commerce is carried on; they have no other. If therefore we could substitute another, and at the same time that other be more certain and more abundant, the great object in trading in slaves will be done away. This may be done by the produce of the earth. Let the native chiefs be once convinced that the labour of a free native in cultivating the earth, may produce him more European goods in one year, than he could have purchased if he had sold him for a slave, and he will no longer seek to make slaves to procure European commodities, but will cultivate the earth for that purpose; and he would be a gainer, even if the labour of one man should procure, annually, goods only to the amount of one half, or one fourth, of the value of a slave; because these he will have every year, the former he could have only once."

By consulting captain Beaver's excellent map, an instantaneous idea may be formed of the magnificence of this undertaking.

Mr. Malthus's book must have convinced the British public that population is always and every where progressive with the means of maintenance, and with them alone; that nations, which cannot provide a drain for their superfluous adolescence, must rebarbarize, and allow the brutal qualities of strength and courage to snatch the goods of life from the feeble hands of the industrious, the luxurious and the refined; that colonies, far from being

* If I may be thought to have spoken too lightly on subjects so serious, my apology will be found in the contempt and indignation I feel at the ill-directed efforts of those misguided and self-appointed missionaries. The language I use is such as must naturally suggest itself to their ignorant catechists. And the great truths of Christianity will be more exposed to ridicule than veneration, by the exercise of this "zeal without knowledge." Romans x. 2.

exhaustive of national force, or burdensome to public revenue, promote a wholesome emigration, and facilitate at home early marriages, manufactural demand, and domestic thrift; that with our power they extend our fame and influence, diffusing our exemplary arts of life, our multifarious occupations of profit, our traditional and recorded experience, enlarging the area of existence, and distributing the blessings of civilization.

The ancient world enrolled among its favourite worthies the founders of states; to their honor monumental cities arise; their ashes fertilize provinces.

Mr. Beaver wisely proposes to the government to buy these districts for its own account, and to grant the lands to individuals at a low quit-rent, increasable at definite periods. This is the best form of colonial taxation, and less likely to produce by its augmentation a dangerous discontent, than those monopoly-laws and navigation-acts, which check a direct intercourse with foreigners.

A time of war is the fittest for founding a new colony: few emigrants are wanted in the origin, and those not so much of the fighting as of the industrious class: the primary difficulties are thus overcome against the period when the redundant population of peace is ready to pour forth its shoals of recruits. A treaty

recognizes possession; whereas, during peace, wars are sometimes incurred by the attempt at new acquisition. We exhort the minister to put immediately at Mr. Beaver's disposal the means of enterprise: we doubt not his success: the risk and cost is small; the probable gain vast and lasting.

Out of deference for the practical virtues of the writer, let us not overlook the literary imperfections of his book. It is too thick: it abounds with repetitions: facts included in the narrative reappear in the journal: reflections incorporated with the history are brought out again in the speculative chapters. A more scholastic knowledge of natural history and botany would have rendered the same circumstances more conducive to the advancement of science, and also of the arts of life. Gardening and agriculture may be learnt by specific experience; but the manner in which they are practised being a result of the experience of ages, it is cheaper to follow tradition than to arrive at the same rule by fresh experiments. Yet in fitting out this colony no provision had been made to hire creole labourers in the West Indies, who might set agoing, in the established manner, the various processes of tropical agriculture. We recommend to the author some increase of library, and some extension of his literary acquisitions.

ART. VIII. *A Description of the Island of St. Helena; containing Observations on its singular Structure and Formation; and an Account of its Climate, Natural History, and Inhabitants.* 12mo. pp. 239.

A solitary, wild, and rocky island, rising in the midst of a vast ocean, which separates it from those continents on which its inhabitants must depend for the prime necessities of life, was not likely to have enticed many settlers from more opulent, fertile and independent regions; and although the situation of St. Helena, in the homeward track of our Indian ships, invites them to anchor in its harbour, few of the numerous visitors who touch at the island enjoy opportunity and inclination to examine with attention, and at leisure, its soil, structure, climate, and productions. Nor has St. Helena, like the rock of Malta and Gibraltar, had the good—or evil fortune to emblazon the page of history with high deeds of war or feats of chivalry. It has thus happened, that the descriptions which have been given of it are meagre, and rather general than in detail. Mr. Forster's is an exception.

If, however, this insulated rock allures not the historian by records of painful and protracted sieges it has sustained, or of

hard-fought battles it has won, it interests the naturalist by the curious geological phenomena presented for his examination, and is dear to the philanthropist as being the scene of a prosperous experiment, which in its issue, has utterly disproved the hardy and unfeeling assertion that the labour of the negro must be enforced by the lash, and can only be secured in the mute and sullen obedience of slavery. Sir George Staunton, who stopped there in his return from China, mentions this fact, to the honor of the East India company, in his account of Lord Macartney's embassy. (vol. 2, p. 600). St. Helena is chiefly cultivated by blacks, who were brought thither as slaves by the first European settlers, the Portuguese. They continued under the unlimited dominion of their owners, till, in consequence of a representation made to the English East India company, many regulations were enacted in their favour, and they were placed under the immediate protection of the magistracy. Before these regulations

were adopted there was an annual average loss of ten slaves in the hundred, and since that time the race has considerably increased in consequence of the comfort and security they enjoy.

Besides the blacks in a state of slavery, there are some who are free: the labour of these latter diminishing the value of the former, the free blacks became obnoxious to the slave-holders, who had influence in a grand jury to represent them as without visible means of gaining a livelihood, and consequently liable to become burdensome to the community. On examination, however, it appeared, that all the free blacks of sufficient age to work were actually employed, that *not one* of them had been tried for a crime of several years, nor had any of them been upon the parish. The English East India company has accordingly placed them nearly on a footing with the other free inhabitants; and the importation of slaves into the island is prohibited.

St. Helena derives its name from the circumstance of its having been discovered on St. Helen's day by the Portuguese, in 1508: the English obtained possession of it in 1600, and in 1673 the Dutch took it by surprize. It was retaken, however, the following year, in a very gallant manner, by captain Munden, who also captured three Dutch Indiamen, which were in the roads, and the island has from that period remained in the hands of the English East India company.

It marks the natural sterility of the island, that, on its discovery, it was destitute of human inhabitants, that it was without quadrupeds, and almost without birds; 'for excepting some species of sea fowls, which still hover about its coast, and the man-of-war and tropic birds, which annually resort thither to build their nests in the cliffs, no other kinds seem to have found their way through the vast solitude of the ocean to this remote isle, which was only covered in a few places with some indigenous shrubs and plants, and these neither numerous in their kinds nor very abundant.'

The whole structure and composition of St. Helena indicate volcanic agency; and whether or not we accede to the theory of its origin and formation, deduced from a careful examination of its materials and the arrangements of them by the author of this little tract, it will be impossible to withhold from him the praise due to his scientific research and ingenuity.

The loftiest range of hills in St. Helena runs in a central line from the south-west to

the north-east, forming an elevation from two thousand to three thousand feet above the level of the ocean. Throughout the island their declivities present a stratified appearance, showing at different heights a great variety of tint and colour. The layers consist of basaltic rock, placed alternately with deep beds of volcanic matter, and layers of clays; they have moreover an uniform tendency, even where the masses of rock are most wild and irregular, to assume the columnar form; consisting of perpendicular portions of rock, separated from each other by vertical fissures, and generally also intersected by horizontal ones. Towards the summits these columns are sometimes oblique, and not unfrequently curved: the central parts of the rock are compact and of an uniform texture, but at the extremities, that is to say where it terminates, either in the bed of volcanic matter or of clay, it is commonly scorified, flaky, and honey-combed; the scorified parts oftentimes presenting the appearance of recent ignition, being quite black and scorched. This cellular appearance, though generally confined to the summits and bases of the rock, is sometimes found in the center of it: in a quarry, situated in the interior of the island; the stone, when broken, exhibits large cavities, containing a fine and wholesome water.

The intermediate layers of clay and of volcanic matter, which, like the strata of rock, vary in depth sometimes abruptly, sometimes with insensible gradation, correspond in several respects with the appearances of the basaltic columns: they occasionally present the columnar form, are found to consist of concentric lamellæ, whose interior surfaces are tinged with a variety of rich colours, and are oftentimes found regularly fissured, separating into uniform and angular portions.

A remarkable difference is observable between the exterior and interior of the island; in the hills that border on the sea the clays only appear in thin layers, interposed at different heights between the beds of basalt; the interior hills, which as has been already observed, are much loftier, are composed principally of clay, interspersed with some beds of the same basaltic rock and the same volcanic products as near the shore.

Among these argillaceous hills more particularly, it is to be observed, that besides the horizontal strata of which the hills chiefly consist, they are all penetrated by huge perpendicular strata of loose and broken rock, red, grey, or blue, re-

gularly fissured, the fragments in many places being quite separate and distinct. The fissures in the vertical strata are often in the direction of the stratum itself, and in some places separate the whole mass into perpendicular columns, which are again transversely subdivided by horizontal fissures. As in the lapse of time the softer parts have crumbled and fallen away, some of these vertical strata rise to a great height above the summits of the hills, exhibiting, together with some insulated masses of broken and precipitous rock, a most wild and dismal picture. No sand is found on the coast, except at one place, which, on that account, is called Sandy Bay; nor did our author meet with any granite; but the whole surface of the island is overspread with a vast quantity of loose fragments, consisting of splinters of the blue basaltic rock, intermixed with light, spongy, porous, and honey-combed stones, very various in their colour and specific gravity. From all these appearances he conjectures—in opposition to Mr. Forster's opinion, that St. Helena as an island or fragment of some ancient continent, existed above water before it became the seat of a volcano—that the whole is a volcanized mass, raised by successive eruptions from the bed of the sea. Not that St. Helena was raised above the waters of the Ethiopic, by the resistless violence of one vast explosion; such a supposition is incompatible with the regularity of its appearance: we might, says our author, as easily believe, that an earthquake could raise a city without throwing down its buildings, as to imagine that the hills of St. Helena could have been suddenly raised three thousand feet, without disturbing the position of the broken, loose, and hanging rocks, of which they consist.

“It seems not likely, that the perpendicular and oblique strata of broken and fissured rock, which pass through the volcanic beds, could have existed before the formation of the hills, which support and keep them together in their present position; and it is impossible to conceive, that the parallel horizontal layers, and those that cross them, were the effect of operations, co-existent and simultaneous. Whence it will follow, that the elevation of the perpendicular strata, and of the numerous oblique ridges of stone which intersect the hills, must have taken place at some period subsequent to the elevation of the island itself.

“From all this, the most probable conclusion seems to be, that the various matters, composing the parallel layers of the hills, have been successively accumulated by volcanic eruptions: that these matters, on cooling and

hardening, not only became fissured and cracked in the manner we find them, but that, in many places, the hills themselves were affected with larger rents and chasms, from the same causes: that all these rents and chasms, as well as the craters, were afterwards filled up with explosions of liquefied matter from below: that this liquefied matter, which, upon cooling and contracting, would also naturally become fissured and broken, as we see it, has formed all the perpendicular strata of rock, and the oblique ridges that cross the hills. This opinion seems conformable to every appearance which we meet with in the island; for all the beds and layers, which compose the main bulk of the hills, are unquestionably volcanic; and in many places disposed, as we should expect, by matter issuing from the mouth of a volcano; and on the spot where we should naturally look for a crater, we sometimes find an angular or conical mass of stone, or a huge vertical stratum, dividing the hill into two equal segments. As the clays and coloured earths would be more subject to rents and fissures than the stoney matter, we accordingly observe, that the argillaceous hills, more than any other part, are penetrated by vertical strata of rock, and intersected throughout all the declivities with numerous oblique ridges of cracked and shivered stone. From the loose texture of all these vertical strata and oblique ridges, and of the insulated and perpendicular masses of stone, it seems evident, as has been previously observed, that they must have acquired all their cracks and fissures, while in their present situation; as they could not possibly be displaced, without a total disruption of their component parts: that consequently, they must have been elevated, while in a soft and liquefied state from the effects of heat; and that afterwards, upon cooling and contracting, they became split and fissured in the manner in which we find them.”

From whatever convulsion of nature St. Helena may have been formed, no appearance of any active volcano is now to be seen; no shocks of earthquakes are felt here, nor are any sulphureous, bituminous, or inflammable matters discovered; whatever fires may have once existed, have for ages been extinct. The climate is salubrious, and the temperature, for an island within the torrid zone, is moderate, the medium heat being about 69, and the range of the thermometer, for the period of a year, from about 52 to 84. It has no wind but the trade wind; is never visited by hurricanes, and one may reside on it for several years without observing the phenomena of thunder and lightning. The hills and valleys, as they approach the coast, are alike sterile, while the loftier summits of the central ridge are covered with the most luxuriant vegetation; thus, apparently is inverted the ordinary course which nature is observed to pursue. The

fact, however is, that a large proportion of the little rain which falls upon the island descends on the interior mountains; which from the superior loftiness of their summits, are conjectured to intercept in their course the lighter vapours of the trade-wind, which accumulate till they acquire a sufficient density to be precipitated in the form of rain.

The author of this little tract has endeavoured to explain and illustrate some of the peculiarities of climate in St. Helena, by comparing them with those which exist on the peninsula of India. From its loftiness and lonely situation, exposed to all the exhalations of a surrounding ocean, in a warm climate it might have been supposed that St. Helena would rather have suffered from a superabundance than a deficiency of rain. The causes assigned for the severe and excessive drought which sometimes afflicts this island, and for the general deficiency of moisture which prevails there, are—1. The great uniformity of the temperature and the constancy of the trade wind. In the Carnatic several months pass without a shower; ‘during this period the weather is serene and the winds steady and uniform; and so small is the difference between the temperature of the night and day, that there are no perceptible dews, for the atmosphere in such a state does not part with its latent moisture.’ Yet in this situation extraordinary degrees of heat and closeness are invariably followed by storms and showers, as also are the concussion of opposite and the intermission of periodical winds.

“While Nature thus relieves the extraordinary heats of India, by the gathering and dispersion of heavy storms, she mitigates and counteracts the sultriness, incident to some particular seasons, by the effects of frequent showers. It is surprising how regular this course of things is, at some periods, especially in the close months of April and September, when it is not unusual for rains to occur every afternoon, if the heat and sultriness of the day have been considerable. Yet rains, at this season, never take place in a morning, and very rarely at night. The afternoon showers seem to be the effect of each day’s heat, and proceed from clouds, which collect and discharge themselves within the visible horizon. For a considerable time after sun-rise, no clouds are to be seen; but in the heat and closeness of the forenoon, small specks are observed to gather all round the lower sky, and not in the direction of any particular wind. These increase in size with the increasing heat of the day, and coalescing, form a continued belt or zone all round the horizon. This, in the afternoon or evening, blackens in different parts, and falls in rain. Sometimes

the whole produces rain; though this, in general, is confined to particular quarters, from some one of which the lightning breaks forth, and the wind shortly after taking its direction from the same point, blows delightfully cool and refreshing. After sun-set, these clouds subside beneath the horizon; and the night is bright and starry. This succession of appearances frequently lasts for several weeks together, during which the mornings are always fair, the afternoons cloudy, the evenings showery, and the nights clear.”

Thus it is in St. Helena: the rain usually falls at the hottest or coolest time of the year, that is to say, when the temperature varies the most considerably from the surrounding sea; the greater coolness of the trade wind in the one case evolving the latent moisture from the heated atmosphere; and in the other, the greater coldness of the summits of the hills condensing the exhalations borne to them by the trade wind.

A second cause assigned for the immoderate dryness of St. Helena, is the want of land and sea breezes, and of regular periodical winds blowing from opposite quarters. The change, or breaking up, as it is called, of the monsoons, which prevails in most tropical regions, is generally accompanied with rain: the equilibrium between the temperature of the ocean and the land is destroyed. The destruction of this equilibrium is also produced by the diurnal alternation of the sea and land breezes: the wind from the sea blowing cool in the evening on the exhalations and vapours of the land, condenses and converts them into rain; and the land breeze, when it blows chill towards the morning, in like manner produces showers on the surface of the ocean.

A third cause is the small size of the island, and its distance from other lands; and the fourth, the nakedness of its surface, which had it been well-wooded, might, from its elevation, have arrested many passing clouds which now fly over it, and have converted them into rain. These causes require no illustration.

That the island of St. Helena may be converted from its present dreariness and desolation there is good reason to believe, from the auspicious growth of some vegetable productions which are indigenous both in hotter and in colder regions. From want of care and want of foresight, it has happened, that in many parts of the island where wood was formerly cut by the inhabitants for fuel, no vestige of vegetation is now seen. St. Helena abounds with excellent water, and in its harbour ships may always ride in safety: its cli-

mate too is of such singular salubrity, that the sickly crews of ships which touch there very shortly recover, and of the invalids who are discharged from the different regiments of India, and sent home as incurable and unfit for service, many, during their stay among the health-breathing hills of this island, recover so fast as to enlist again and enjoy a renovated constitution. The atmosphere is unruffled and serene, and free from noxious vapours: malignant and contagious fevers are unknown, nor has the small-pox ever found its way to St. Helena.

As the island, therefore, is in every respect of infinite importance to the interests of the East India company, it is to be hoped they may attend to the suggestions thrown out for its improvement in this valuable, unassuming little volume. In what degree, during a lapse of years, the aridity of the atmosphere might be corrected by spreading vegetation over mountains now desolate and barren, can only be ascertained by the success of the experiment itself. A society was established in St. Helena some years ago, which had for its object the cultivation of various exotics in different parts of the island: had the resources of this laudable society been equal to the promotion of its views, there is every reason to infer, from the actual success which crowned their labours, that the consequences would have been most beneficial. As it is, however, the general improvement of the island is neglected: the want of inclosures leaves young plants unprotected against the injuries of goats, which nibble off the shoots, and a scarcity of fuel induces the inhabitants to employ for present necessities those stores which ought to be preserved for the future.

Of indigenous shrubs and trees there are not above nine or ten different species: among these are the fern, which grows to twenty or twenty-five feet, the cabbage tree, two or three different sorts of gum trees, the ebony, the aloe, and the aromatic string-wood tree. Of the smaller vegetable productions, the principal indigenous ones, besides some species of grapes, are endive, purslane, samphire, wild celery and water cresses. Exotics from the most opposite climates, from Britain, Africa, China, India, New Zealand, New South Wales, and America have thriven here luxuriantly: the oak, chesnut, ilex, bamboo, palm, weeping-willow, cypress, orange and apple-trees and plantain. Scotch firs grow vigorously: the cherry, the pear and the gooseberry do not suc-

ceed; the peach, which was formerly the most abundant fruit on the island, has been almost entirely destroyed by the inexorable ravages of a microscopic insect, which has hitherto bid defiance to every attempt for its extermination.

The first step suggested to the Company's consideration towards the improvement of this island, is to secure shelter for young plants by enclosures, and to obtain an artificial command of water, much of which now runs to waste. On so uneven a surface as that of St. Helena, nothing can be more easy than to intercept by tanks and reservoirs, those numerous springs which issue from the hills, and to distribute the fertilizing streams over thirsty, parched-up grounds. As St. Helena is unfit for the production of corn, and its inhabitants are of course dependent on other countries for the prime necessities of life, those trees should be cultivated with peculiar care, which would afford the surest resource against scarcity. The various sorts of palm, (which are entirely neglected) and particularly the cocoa-nut, should be encouraged: these trees, the growth of tropical climates, are of inappreciable value. The todda panni, and the coddia panni of Malabar, are both recommended: the pith of the former is made into bread, and the leaves are so large that one of them plaited will protect a dozen people from the sun or rain. The palmyra is a hardy palm, affords a durable timber, and grows out of the dead sand on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The bread-fruit tree might also be tried. The jack, or *artocarpus integrifolia* is a tree which yields a very nutritious, and at the same time the largest fruit in the world; it affords also a beautiful timber resembling mahogany, and from its thriftiness in Tanjore on a similar soil, gives reason to believe that it might thrive on the argillaceous hills of St. Helena.

"It is a singular circumstance respecting this tree, which is, perhaps, not generally known, that it produces its fruit at the same time from the boughs and stem, and from that part of the trunk which is under ground, where the natives find it upon digging. The fruit, dug up in this way, is reckoned the best, and the time of its maturity is known, from the ground over it cracking and opening. This tree, which is one of the most beautiful and useful in the universe, has not been long known to European botanists. Its foliage is very close and shady, and the leaf bears some resemblance to the laurel. The fruit is of a most extraordinary size, and contains a wholesome and sweet pulp, interspersed with small

kernels called jack-nuts, of an exquisite flavour and nutritious quality. The natives of some of the hills of India use these kernels as bread.

"The Mahwah tree, which grows in the sandy deserts of Bahar and Orissa, and by supporting the severe droughts of that climate, supplies a seasonable subsistence to the inhabitants, seems well calculated to bear the less parching droughts of St. Helena, and ought to be introduced here."

The teap and the poon are also advised to be tried here, and more particularly that monarch of the vegetable world, the banran; these, together with various artificial grasses, might cover the surface of the soil, and contribute to arrest the fall of those loose crags which impend over the vallies, and are oftentimes precipitated from their parent rock.

Among the animals which have been introduced into St. Helena—for on its discovery it was destitute of any living thing, except a few oceanic birds—are to be mentioned horned cattle, which are numerous and well-flavoured; goats which are very abundant; sheep, poultry, and game. Horses are a hardy breed, and well adapted to the craggy and precipitous roads they have to traverse. The inhabitants have to contend against a multiplying breed of rats, which, together with caterpillars, and the insect whose ravages are directed against the peach tree, swarm in incredible numbers, to the great detriment of agriculture and gardening.

St. Helena, the circumference of which is only eight and twenty miles, contained about two thousand souls some years ago, five hundred of whom were soldiers, and six hundred blacks. What its population is at present the writer of this tract had no opportunity of ascertaining: there are about seventy garden houses, and few families are without one, in which they reside during the summer season, namely, from October till April or May. There are no professed inns on the island, but hospitality is to be purchased at every house: the arrival of the homeward-bound India fleets is, of course, a season of the greatest festivity and joy. Plays, dances, and concerts recreate the way-worn passengers, and St. Helena on these

occasions displays a large and lovely group of beautiful young women. In so salubrious a climate, longevity must prevail: the females are prolific, their labours easy, and their offspring healthful.

"But it deserves particular notice, that the number of females born here, is said to exceed that of males, which also happens at the Cape of Good Hope: and, if the writer is not greatly mistaken, in the East Indies. The number of males born in Britain is known to exceed that of females; and this is probably the case in all northern countries. Now if it be really true, as there seems reason to suspect, that there is a greater number of females born within the tropics, and of males towards the polar regions, the fact is well worth the attention of philosophers, as the illustration of it might enlarge our views of the order and design of nature, in discovering why she thus varies, though by means utterly mysterious and unknown to us, the proportion of male and female births in opposite circumstances of climate, for the purpose of perpetuating the race of mankind?"

It will be recollected that Mr. Bruce has defended against the holy conclave of moralists, Mahomet's permission of polygamy on the principle that in eastern nations more females are born into the world than males. In the south of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria, from Mousul or Nineveh to Antioch and Aleppo, the proportion appeared to be fully two to one. From Latike (Laodicea, *ad mare*) down the coast of Syria to Sidon, the number was nearly three to one. It was the same through the Holy Land and parts of the Delta: but from Suez to the straits of Babelmandel, which contain the three Arabias, it was four women to one man; this proportion he imagined held as far as the line, and to 30 deg. beyond it.

Although the final cause, therefore, of such a disproportion may elude our investigations, the fact, if it is ascertained to be one, facilitates our researches into the national manners, and religious institutions, of far distant countries.

After the ample notice we have taken of this little tract, it is unnecessary to say that it indicates in its author a cultivated and philosophic turn of mind; the style in which it is written is perspicuous and energetic.

ART. IX. *Travels through Italy in the Years 1804 and 1805.* By AUGUSTUS VON KOTZEBU. 4 Vols. foolscap 8vo.

OF all the travellers which it has been our lot to fall in with, this Kotzebus is the most egregious; his trifles, however, have been so well received by the public, that he now considers himself the arbiter of

taste, and supreme judge of merit in the affairs of men. With a hop, skip, and jump he passes from one corner of the continent to the other, inspector-general of states and empires, and delivers in his re-

port to the world with the same confidence that would have inspired him had he been delegated to the task by a general congress of European powers! What serves as a preface to these volumes commences in as arrogant a manner as the periest coxcomb could have adopted. 'A list of those who are not to read this work: first, All artists; or judges of the arts, as they are termed: unless they find any pleasure in giving their shrugs of compassion every moment. For as *they* consider the arts as something fixed, but *I* as something daily new; *they* as the mere creation of form, but *I* as the transfusion of mind; *they* as proving the expertness of the eyes, but *I* as the occupation of the soul; the *form* being with them the first, but with me the last thing,' &c. &c. What stuff this is, and how disgusting! Kotzebue is a man of genius, and certainly no inattentive observer: we object against him that he is pert and familiar, and self-sufficient, seeming to stop his readers every now and then and say, 'Is not this a smart thing?' or like the old battered bequ in a caricature—'John! do the ladies admire me?'

After ridiculing the indiscriminate custom which prevails in Germany of strewing flowers in festive and in mournful solemnities, a custom, by the way, simple, elegant, and of classic origin, Kotzebue says, that in Eastland and Livonia it is usual to strew the path on which a corpse is to be carried, with branches of fir: his remark on this custom is, that 'it is a real advantage for the bearers and the followers on foot: for when the streets are dirty they are thus rendered passable, or when the snow lies deep their feet are at least defended from the wet!' Such a remark might well have come from the mouth of some buffoon in one of his own plays. It would cost us no trouble to select others equally silly, but it is an ungrateful task to censure—we take no delight in it. Let us rather avail ourselves of what is to be found curious and interesting on the present state of countries, the face of which has been completely changed within the last ten years. Italy and the Tyrol are at this moment the seat of war: like all mountaineers, the Tyrolese are an active and brave people: in their pursuit of the chamois goat they scorn all danger and all hardship, and are such admirable marksmen that their services as sharp-shooters in the last war were rewarded with the temporary liberty of hunting with impunity. The value of this liberty can only be estimated by those who know the pas-

sion of the Tyrolese for the chase; a passion, says Kotzebue, more violent than that of the gamester. Neither threats nor punishments can deter them from the pursuits of it; gain is not the object, for the goat, flesh and skin, does not sell for above ten or twelve florins, and yet a man who had been many times caught in the fact declared, that if he knew the next tree would be his gallows he would nevertheless hunt. M. de Saussure records an interesting anecdote of a chamois hunter whom he knew; he was a tall well-made man, and had just married a beautiful woman; 'my grandfather, said he, lost his life in the chase, so did my father, and I am so well assured that one day or other I shall also lose mine, that this bag which I always carry with me in the hunt I call my winding-sheet, for I shall certainly never have any other; nevertheless, Sir, if you were to offer me a fortune immediately, on condition that I must relinquish the chase, I would not accept it.' De Saussure says that he took several excursions among the Alps with this man; his strength and agility were astonishing, but his courage, or rather his temerity, still greater than either: about two years afterwards his foot slipped on the edge of a precipice, and he met the fate he had so calmly anticipated!

At Inspruck Kotzebue witnessed the dexterity of the Tyrolese sharp-shooters; he says, that of ten or twelve shots, eight at least entered the bull's eye, not a single one missed the target; and the man whose business it was to mark the place where the ball had struck, was so certain of no one's shooting wide of the mark, that he often continued standing near it during the firings.

From Inspruck we proceed to Florence, Rome, Naples; at the time of Kotzebue's visit to the first of these cities the yellow fever raged within its walls, and of course made him eager to flee from the pestilence: he has contrived, notwithstanding, to fill a few dry pages with the names of churches, and of some of the pictures and statues in the gallery. He says, that in the year 1800, the Florentines had the precaution to convey their most remarkable statues and pictures to Sicily for safety, but when the storm blew over they were all returned in good condition. This precautionary measure was adopted rather late, for in the year 1800, if we mistake not, they were most of them at Paris.

A great and general outcry has been made against the French for their plunder of Italy, for their seizure of all the valuable specimens of art, and transportation

of them into France; as if the law of nations drew a circle of security round these precious reliques of antiquity? As if the conquerors did not display before the eyes of Europe a more cultivated taste than if they had contented themselves with the plunder of Italian coffers? And as if the French had not actually followed the example of the Romans themselves, who adorned their capital with the spoils of Greece, of Syracuse, of Carthage, and, in short, with those of every city which submitted to their arms? From a fact incidentally mentioned by Kotzebue, in his notice of the gallery, we may suspect that the Florentines will not grieve long for the loss of their statues: 'Venus of Belvedere formerly held an apple in her hand, but when Venus of Medicis went on her late pilgrimage, it was wished to commemorate her by breaking off two arms of this Venus, and substituting two new ones with the bend of the Medicean. It now makes a droll appearance.' In such estimation is a supposed work of Phidias held at Florence! This reminds one of an anecdote recorded of Mummius, who, when he had conquered Corinth, and stripped the city of all its choicest specimens of art, threatened the soldiers who conveyed them to Rome, that if they broke any they should be compelled to replace them with others! Who does not regret that the Venus of Belvedere did not find an asylum against this violation by unholy hands, in company with her Medicean sister, at the Louvre?

NAPLES. Kotzebue's *forte* is in delineating living manners; he catches a few striking traits of character, and illustrates them with little descriptions and anecdotes. Like all other travellers in Italy, he seems to imagine that none of his readers can possibly know any thing about Roman antiquities: the number of superfluous pages devoted to architectural remains, which have been described a hundred and a hundred times before, makes a large proportion of these volumes tiresome in the extreme. For the relief of our readers we shall pass these over, and advise Kotzebue's readers to do the same: in describing the museum at Portici, which contains an assemblage of those works of art which have been recovered from the subterranean cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, Kotzebue has given an interesting account of the progress which is making (under the munificent patronage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales), in the development of ancient manuscripts.

"The most remarkable objects in the mu-

seum at Portici, are the manuscripts found in two chambers of a house at Herculaneum. Though they have been so frequently described, they must be seen to furnish a correct idea of them. They resemble cudgels reduced to the state of a cinder, and in part petrified; are black and chestnut brown; lie in many glass cases; and unfortunately are so decayed, that under every one of them a quantity of dust and crumbs is to be perceived. Being rolled up together in the manner of the ancients, and perhaps also gradually damaged by the moisture penetrating through the ashes, it appears almost impracticable ever to decypher a syllable of them. But for the industry and talent of man nothing is impossible, and his curiosity impels him to the most ingenious inventions.

"The machine by which the manuscripts are unrolled, is of such a nature that I despair of describing it clearly. It resembles, yet only in the exterior, a bookbinder's frame on which he usually sews his books. The manuscript rests on some cotton in the bow of two ribbands; with one end fastened above in cords, exactly like the curtain of a theatre. Goldbeater's-skin is then laid on with the white of an egg in very small stripes, by means of a pencil, in order to give something to hold by. To this skin silk threads are fastened; which, together with the ribband, wind above round the peg, in the same manner as the string of a violin. When the workman has, with the skin, laid hold of however small a part of the manuscript; and, by means of a sharp pencil, has loosened the first leaf as much as possible; he turns the peg with the greatest precaution, and is happy if he succeeds so far as to unroll a quarter of an inch: upon which he begins the operation afresh. It must not, however, be imagined that this quarter of an inch, which was undone with such infinite difficulty, remains a connected whole. Not at all: it rather resembles a piece of tinder that is full of holes.

"After the workman has gained thus much of the flimsy leaf, he carries it, with his breath held in, to a table, and gives it to the copyists. These men must be very expert in distinguishing the letters. Their task is not only transcribing, but drawing: for they copy the whole leaf, with all its vacancies, in the carefullest manner; after which a man of learning tries to supply the parts that are wanting. These supplements are, of course, very arbitrary. There is scarcely a line in which some letters or words are not wanting; often whole lines, or whole periods, must be filled up. What a wide field for conjecture! What is thus supplied is written in red ink, between the black; we may therefore instantly perceive at first sight, how much belongs to the original, and how much has been added. It is said that the manuscripts are also to be printed: in that case I anticipate how the linguists of Europe will employ themselves in cavilling, each in his way, at the supplies which have been thus made, or substituting others in their room.

"The endless trouble which the whole

most occasion, may be conceived. It was some time ago nearly laid aside, as every thing else is here; but the Prince of Wales has taken it upon himself, and defrays the expences without giving offence to the royal sportsman of Naples. Eleven young persons unfold the manuscripts, two others copy them, and a meritorious and zealous Englishman named Hayter, has the direction of the whole. He assured me that the persons employed began to work with greater skill and expedition than some years ago. He by no means despairs of decyphering all the six hundred manuscripts still extant; and does not doubt of finding a Menander and an Ennius, as he flatters himself with having already found a Polybius, in his work. The very day before I visited the museum, he had discovered an unknown author, named Colotos.

"His business requires a philosophical temper. As the name of the author is always put on the last page, he cannot know whose work it is till that leaf is unrolled. Seven Latin authors have fallen into Mr. Hayter's hands; but unfortunately all in such a state that it was not possible to open them whole. He complained the more of this, as there appeared to be among them a work of Livy's; at least, it was certainly an historical work written in his style, and began with a speech in which much was said of a family of Acilius. Unfortunately no more could be made of it. Mr. Hayter lamented that the first person to whom the manuscripts had been entrusted (a Spaniard named Albuquerque) had thrown them all together; for he himself thought that they might have been of various merit in the different chambers in which they were placed.

"At present five writers have been discovered: Philodemus, of whom the most works have been found, and among others a treatise on the vices which border on virtues—certainly a very copious subject, if it has been discussed with ability; Epicurus: Phadrus; Demetrius Phalereus; and now Colotos. Mr. Hayter is not perfectly satisfied with finding nothing but philosophical works; yet he says that even in these many historical notices yet unknown are interspersed. There is, for example, a treatise on anger, containing an instance in which Bacchus punished Cadmus for indulging that passion; a circumstance of which we were never before informed. All travellers interested for the sciences, will catch (as I did) with eagerness every word from the mouth of the meritorious Hayter, and join with me in wishing him health. He is fully possessed of every other requisite qualification.

"In a fresh conversation with Mr. Hayter, I have learnt that the manuscript of Colotos lately found contains a refutation of Plato's treatise on friendship. Mr. Hayter has also traced the name of Colotos in Plutarch; who has written against him, as he has against Plato. Thus it was the same with the ancient philosophers as with those of our times.

"A new and important discovery has been made within these few days. The writings of Epicurus have hitherto been found only in

detached parts, but now they have been met with all together. This manuscript is in the best state of preservation, and Hayter will now be able to rectify his own former supplements by the original. It must be extremely interesting for an intelligent man, to be able to ascertain in such a case whether he has properly supplied the sense.—A hundred and thirty manuscripts are either actually unrolled, or unrolling."

It is impossible to be at Naples without visiting Vesuvius: Kotzebue had the good fortune to witness the eruption which took place on the night of Nov. 22, 1804, and he has described it with much less dramatic sentimentality and parade than we expected. There had been no formidable indications of an eruption since the year 1794, when fourteen lives were lost, and many families were ruined by the desolation, until in the early part of this year (1804). Three earthquakes were felt at Somma on May 22d; on the 31st of July the water had visibly diminished in the rivers and cisterns of the neighbourhood; on the 11th of August Vesuvius begun to bellow, and on the thirteenth a stream of lava, accompanied with flames and stones, burst forth from a new-formed gulph. Since that period, Vesuvius had not been at rest, and an approaching eruption was apprehended, which took place Nov. 22. No mischief of much consideration resulted, except to the character and person of St. Januarius, whose image, when the lava threatened to overwhelm the vineyards, was, as usual, carried in procession in Torre del Greco, and placed before the lava; immediately the people began to kneel before his saintship, and pray that he would be so good as to stop the progress of the flood—the flood rolled on! The saint was placed a little farther back; prayers and prostrations were repeated with increased vehemence and devotion—but the flood rolled on! At length the people, finding that Januarius was utterly inexorable, began to abuse him; they called him an old rascal, hypocrite, and every other name which indignation prompted. From words they actually came to blows, and the sides of Saint Januarius were villainously belaboured, particularly by an old woman, who had no mercy upon him. The fact however was, that St. Januarius had previously lost credit among the Neapolitans by condescending to let some of his blood liquefy in the presence of the French; on this occasion they called him a jacobin, and it is even said that a criminal prosecution was commenced against him for the offence. St. Anthony has profited by the disgrace of his rival, and

is now in very high repute! It is really painful to dwell on such instances of infatuation; these are the debasing effects of superstition, engendered by the craft of the priest upon the ignorance of the people.

The manners of the Neapolitans appear to have suffered but little alteration within the memory of man! the only *new* feeling which possesses them is a bitter and a rooted hatred against the French. It is entirely superfluous to remark, that wherever the French have set foot, this deadly detestation has been excited. The Neapolitans, from high to low, are ignorant, lazy, superstitious, and debauched: they are irascible and revengeful; an injury must, if possible, be revenged on the spot, and, if possible, by the stiletto. Kotzebue, however, says, that the habit of stabbing each other in the breast with knives on the slightest quarrel, no longer prevails. The frequency of assassination has been repressed by the vigorous ordinances of the duke of Ascoli, to whom the Neapolitans are under various other high obligations.

Nothing can exceed the stupid superstition of these people; we have already given an instance of it; another is at hand. It is a good custom in Naples for cows to be sent about from house to house; whoever wants milk sends out a servant, and he milks the animal before his master's door. But besides these cows, a number of calves wander about the city belonging to the monks of St. Francis, a set of crafty, idle impostors, who not only live themselves, but get a living for their stock also, upon the folly of the people. 'For this purpose they put a small square board on the forehead of the calf, with the figure of St. Francis painted on it: provided with this, the animals walk about uncontrolled, devour as much as they can, and sleep where they choose without any one venturing to prevent them. On the contrary, if one of them should happen to enter a great house, and lie down there to sleep, the occupier thinks it a fortunate omen!'

Gaming is carried to as great excess as at Paris, and prevails as generally among all classes of people: the dissoluteness of the female sex seems to surpass that of the Parisians. Infidelity does not prevail in Paris as it does in Naples: the cicisbeo exists no longer as a centinel to give the suspicious husband notice. From Italian jealousy the stranger has no longer any thing to dread. Take an instance of con-

summate, but according to Kotzebue's account, not unparalleled depravity:

"A duke who was esteemed the handsomest man in Naples, married an amiable woman of unblemished reputation, and who to his own astonishment remained when a wife still amiable and irreproachable. The duke, however, became dissatisfied; and paid his addresses with great fervour to a princess, whose name, together with that of her lover, I shall omit. He succeeded in obtaining favour with the new object of his passion, but *only* on one express condition; that as long as their connection lasted, he should live with his young and lovely wife merely as with a sister. He promised every thing; but he found this more easy than obeying, for a living evidence of his defalcation too soon appeared. The princess raved, and would hear nothing he had to say. In this dilemma he asserted that he was not the father of his wife's child. The princess started: for a married man to load himself with such a reproach, confounded even her for a moment. Yet her jealousy demanded stronger proof; and he promised all. 'If the child is not yours,' said she, 'send it immediately to the foundling-house.' The duke left her, and sent his child thither accordingly; regardless of the agonies of the mother, of whose innocence all Naples remains convinced to this day."

To crown the whole, the Neapolitans, in their revolutionary frenzy, committed excesses not surpassed in savageness and atrocity by the Parisian populace; every one, says Kotzebue, still relates with horror, that the Lazzaroni roasted men in the streets, and begged money of the passengers to purchase bread to their roast meat! The royal library at Naples has been enriched, *pro tempore*, it is apprehended, by MSS. from the Vatican, which the Neapolitans took from the French at Rome. Kotzebue frequently attended the library, and, from his account, it seems to contain a great variety of manuscripts, which would amply reward the careful examiner, on subjects connected with history and science.

ROME. A more active and voluble Cicerone is not to be found in all Rome than Kotzebue himself: theatres, temples, baths, palaces, porticoes, &c. &c. succeed each other in description, till the wearied reader begs an interval of repose. Rome yet continues to be the resort of artists from all parts of Europe, and notwithstanding their plunder of Italy, the French have a great many pensionary pupils there. Kotzebue runs through the galleries of living as well as of departed artists, and delivers his opinion on their respective

merits with a degree of freedom and confidence which somewhat startles modest men. At the name of Canova he is all on fire; the burst of his enthusiasm is perfectly dramatic. The workshop of Canova is the richest in Rome, and, notwithstanding that 'the manufacturers of just proportion' shrug their shoulders, he is asserted to be the greatest sculptor that has existed since the days of Phidias. His statue of a Venus, covering herself with a light robe, bears some resemblance, in point of proportion, to the Medicean Venus: our enthusiast says that, in this respect, Canova's statue is far superior, and 'cannot be charged with that confoundedly stiff position of the arms which the other appears to have learned of a dancing master!' It is a lucky thing for the Belvedere Apollo that he chanced to be at the Louvre. St. Peter's church fares no better with this second Smelfungus: Smollet compares the pantheon to a huge cock-pit, and Kotzebue the church of St. Peter to a handsome woman of the seventeenth century, who has taken all possible care to counteract her charms by a hoop-petticoat and a preposterous head-dress. He is inconsistent, however, in his comparison, for he allows the lady to be handsome, but he denies St. Peter's to be elegant or imposing; more than a dozen popes, and several dozen architects, have been busy at the building, mending, ornamenting, and spoiling it; but 'all their endeavours at producing a grand effect have proved abortive!'

The population at Rome does not exceed one hundred and twenty thousand souls, and as the city numbers very nearly three hundred churches, chapels, &c. there is ample room for the exercise of devotion. It is represented as being a most grievous custom to bury the dead bodies within the churches, and, from the scarcity of wood, it is the horrible practice to inter them without a coffin; they are thrown headlong into the vault on a heap, and the mouth of it is merely closed with a loose stone. The putrid stench which arises from this dreadful custom is, of necessity, offensive and deleterious in the extreme.

The following account of the chambers of the dead is curious:

"I went into the church of the capuchins, to see a painting of Guido representing the archangel Michael holding one of the devils by a chain. My pleasure was greatly interrupted by the capuchins assembled here. A

lay-brother, the valet of cardinal Bernis, had just died, leaving a considerable property. The monks, after having put the body into a *capouche* and carried it hither, stood now round the bier, with a number of staccato ceremonies.

"My guide having mentioned the burial-place of the capuchins as something very extraordinary, this raised my curiosity. Yet I never thought of meeting with a scene like that which struck me there. I shall never forget the impression which it made on me. The reader must expect neither church-yard, nor vault, nor cellar, nor cavern. In a lower story of the convent, not quite under ground; there is a range of arched chambers, with several windows looking into the garden of the convent, and all opened. I never breathed a purer air than here; and certainly I was in need of it, for the aspect was of itself sufficiently oppressive. A passage running down close under the windows, is allotted for the living that may wander here; and is separated by a small balustrade from the lower vaults, the quiet regions of death. Every arched room beyond this balustrade appears like a grotto; and each is laid out with human bones, and provided with niches. In every one of these niches we discover a dead capuchin, dressed in his *capouche*, and with a long beard; for the dead bodies buried here do not suffer putrefaction, but only dry up. The best-preserved are placed in these niches. On each of the skinny carcasses there is a ticket, bearing the name, and the hour of death, of its possessor.

"The apartments for this purpose are very small, yet harbour hundreds of such tenants. They lie here till they are dried up; when they are brought to light again, in order to yield their former spaces to their successors. A small plain black cross marks every grave. The ceiling is ornamented with arabesks consisting of human bones. A pretty large cross is composed entirely of the small bones under the throat. Several girandoles with long branches, and lamps of different sizes, all hang down. Sconces of the same composition decorate the passage running along these places.

"These chambers are all set out in different styles. One was decorated with skulls only, another with hip-bones, and so on. We raised the *capouche* of one of the corpses, and discovered underneath it a skin very much like yellow parchment. Each of them carries a light in its hand, and every girandole and sconce is provided in the same manner; which must have a strange and solemn effect at night. No foreigner should neglect to visit these last retreats of humanity, where thousands of his fellow-creatures peacefully dwell near or above each other. The emperor Joseph has been here; and I wish every prince who visits Rome would do the same.

"From the fourth grotto a door opens into a small chapel, where mass for the dead is said. It is laid out like the other rooms, but with a more sparing hand. The reflections

of the stranger are here interrupted by the discovery of some very indifferent sonnets on the frailty of human life, inscribed on the walls.

"On leaving the chambers of the dead, we may cast a look on some fine paintings by Peter of Cortona and Dominichino Lanfranco in the church, to dispel our gloom; and may view the altar containing the remains of Justinus, a saint who is reported to have been at once a christian martyr and a philosopher."

The manners of the modern Romans cannot be supposed to differ materially from those of the Neapolitans. Gaming is equally prevalent, and the age of miracles is *not gone*, although the disgrace of St. Januarius might reasonably have been suspected to have staggered the firmness of credulity. A miracle was performed on the 21st March, in the year 1803, attested by the nun who was the subject of it, the superior of the convent and all the sisters, the confessor and two learned physicians, whose medical skill in the restoration of the patient was of no avail; at length her disorder was cured through the benevolent intercession of the Madonna. The priests of the church of this devout nun's benefactress have not failed to turn the miracle to their advantage. The orthodox believers thronged thither in crowds; for three days a *triduo* was celebrated, and on the third, his holiness Pius VII., attended by twenty-one cardi-

nals, was pleased to visit the church, and to impart his benediction!

When a foreigner, says Kotzebue, returns to Rome, after visiting Naples, he will be more than ever struck with the stillness and solitude of the streets. 'Rome seems as if it had been depopulated by a plague: but it is only the effect of the pestilential dominion of the priests. The city contains one hundred and twenty convents for monks, and fifty-one nunneries.' Rome is less filthy than Naples, nor is beggary carried to so impudent and offensive an excess: the wearing of offensive weapons is also prohibited here, but not so strictly as at Naples. Fatal stabs with knives are still frequently given in quarrels, for the Romans, although they esteem it a vice to steal, do not regard murder as a crime. Pius VI. suppressed many Sanctuaries, but the police of the *Spanish Place* is under the jurisdiction of the Spanish ambassador, and the assassin may here bid defiance to the ministers of justice.

From Rome Kotzebue returns to Berlin, taking in his way Bologna, Modena, Mantua, Verona, Vienna, Prague, and Dresden. His remarks are in the same style of freedom and vanity: he is often amusing and very communicative—but altogether we have had enough of his company and conversation.

ART. X. *The present State of Peru; comprising its Geography, Topography, Natural History, Mineralogy, Commerce, the Customs and Manners of its Inhabitants, the State of Literature, Philosophy, and the Arts, the modern Travels of the Missionaries in the heretofore unexplored mountainous Territories, &c. &c. the Whole drawn from original and authentic Documents, chiefly written and compiled in the Peruvian Capital; and embellished by Twenty Engravings of Costumes, &c.* 4to. pp. 498.

BY the preface to this book, to which the name of Joseph Skinner is signed, it appears that several volumes of a periodical work, printed at Lima, entitled *El Mercurio Peruano* (the Peruvian Mercury), which were *richly stored with intellectual treasures, strayed from their destination*, and fell into the hands of the editor. In plain English, Mr. Skinner found these volumes on board a Spanish prize. From these, and from various authentic sources, the present state of Peru has been compiled. In particular, D. Pedro d'Oribe y Vargas, a learned naturalist, resident in London at the time when the book was published, is mentioned as having answered the queries relative to certain phenomena of climate in Peru, his native country. On board the same prize, a bird's-eye view was found of the festival in the great square of Lima,

on the accession of his present catholic majesty Carlos to the throne, and from this the prints have been taken, representing the dresses of the different inhabitants. A map of Peru should have been added, and might easily have been given, as the splendid Spanish map of their American possessions has been copied in London.

The volume begins with an unnecessary and uncandid depreciation of the old historians of Peru, because they did not 'soar to the contemplation of man in his moral and physical relations.' Credulous they undoubtedly were, and so much the better; for whatever may be thought of the old question concerning superstition and atheism, it is better that historians and travellers should believe too much, than too little; it is better that they should repeat exaggerations or falsehoods, than suppress

facts because they think them untrue; it is better that they should leave the reader to exercise his own judgment, than take upon themselves to decide for him. As for soaring to the contemplation of man in his moral and physical relations; gentlemen who soar so high, see but little—they who write travels must not travel in air-balloons.

The volume promises us more precise, and, at the same time, more novel information concerning Peru, than any that has hitherto been given. The first section is entitled *general idea of Peru*. The political geography of this country has been changed, during the last century, by the dismemberment of the provinces on the north, which form the kingdom of Quito; and of those toward the east, which constitute the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres. The population consists of every possible combination between Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes. The improvement of the human species, by crossing different breeds, was a favourite subject of speculation with major Jardine; while the colour is the same, he may be right—Spanish and South-down do well together. But it does not do to cross races. The mixed breeds between European and African, and European and Asiatic, seem to have a certain mulish obliquity of nature, as if the course of nature had been perverted in the mixture. Whether the European and American succeed better we have had no experience. The experiment has been made upon a large scale in Mexico and Peru, but we do not know the result.

Sowing and planting, and domestic employments, were, till very lately, wholly performed by negroes. It is only, we are told, within these four years past, that white people have condescended to these tasks, which were formerly, and by many of their countrymen still are thought infamous for men of their complexion. Commerce flourishes since it has been unrestrained; that is, unrestrained with the mother country, instead of being limited to the galleons and the fairs of Porto-Bello and Panama. Manufactures consist almost entirely of a few friezes, used chiefly by the Indians and Negroes: hats, cotton cloths, and drinking-glasses, also are manufactured here, though in small quantities. Sugar, Vicuna wool, cotton, and Peruvian bark, are the only home-raised articles of exportation. The mines are still productive, though little industry is employed in working them; as the commerce of the country increases, mining

speculations will be abandoned. The ships of Peru trade with corn to Chili, with timber to Guayaquil, and make a few voyages to Chiloe, Juan Fernandes, Valdivia, and Panama. We navigate, says the writer, with economy and ease, but are deficient in the scientific part, deriving no aid whatever from astronomy. After this confession, we need not say they are bad sailors; but coasting-vessels are multiplying, and navigation will improve. The fisheries on the coast are neglected, and the lakes are not well stored. The agriculture is bad; and it appears that the subsistence of the people is precarious, and dependant upon foreign aid.

“Knowledge is general throughout Peru, as well on account of the natural quickness and penetration of its native inhabitants, as through their fondness for study. In whatever does not require a meditated combination of ideas, the fair sex has commonly the advantage over ours. The royal university of St. Mark of Lima, and, proportionally, the other universities of this kingdom, form a centre of literature, which diffuses an abundant light to the whole of the circumference. Under their auspices, the moral and philosophical sciences have, latterly, made an incredible progress, having found their way into all the schools, and thence diffused themselves rapidly into every order of the state. It is our earnest wish that this philosophical light may, by its permanence and efficacy, influence and ameliorate the common system of education. It is on that score alone, in the acceptance which embraces the whole extent of the kingdom, that Peru is in some measure defective. A good taste, urbanity, and a social disposition, are the hereditary qualities of every Peruvian.”

Vestiges of the monuments of ancient Peru. There are obelisks at Tiahuanacu, a formidable pyramid (not having an English gradus ad Parnassum, we can only guess that this epithet is given as synonymous to large), and colossal statues of stone, together with a variety of human figures well cut in stone, which point out that this monument belonged to some gigantic nation. The facts are important; the inference about as legitimate as it would be to say that our ancestors were twelve feet high when Gog and Magog were placed in Guildhall. In the province of Chabapoyas there are conical stone buildings, which support large busts: they are situated on the declivities of mountains in spots so inaccessible, that both materials and workmen must have been lowered from above. It is conjectured that the Caciques, who erected them as their mo-

ments, placed them in these difficult situations that they might not be destroyed by man. Mummies are found in the catacombes; the word mummy should not have been used, as it implies more than it is here meant to imply. How these bodies were preserved has not been yet ascertained; some persons have conjectured by mere exposure to the action of frost; but, it is replied, that they are found in the vallies, and in the warmer parts of the country. Many ruins are specified in proof of the skill of the Indians in civil and military architecture; and of the roads cut through the middle of the Cordillera mountains: it is said that the encyclopedists, who have denied their existence, have only to send some one to view the splendid vestiges which yet remain. Mines of the natives are mentioned, and, what is more extraordinary, fragments of aqueducts, which prove that they were acquainted with hydraulics. In this science, and in agriculture, it is admitted that the Spaniards have not only not exceeded them, but have fallen short of their progress. As in China, the Peruvians filled up the clefts of their rocky hills with mould, to increase the quantity of cultivated ground. Their sepulchres still occasionally supply specimens of their paintings, manufactures, mechanical instruments, and weapons. Many remains of their poetry and music still exist. The shepherds still use the *quipos* to reckon the number, increase, or diminution of their flock, to record the day and hour when a sheep died, a lamb was weaned, or one of the flock stolen. Pillars erected to point out the equinoxes and solstices; the names given to the planets; the celestial observations relative to eclipses; and those by which they kept their time, are so many data by which their progress in astronomy may be calculated. These data therefore exist, unless this language be wilfully inaccurate, which assuredly we have no reason to suspect. How much do we regret that these very important facts are related, in the book, little more at length than in our recapitulation! and how earnestly do we wish that they had been described minutely, and that views had been added. As for the civilization of Peru and Mexico, there is no doubt that both countries were in a very high and extraordinary state of civilization. A print is subjoined to this section, of the costume of the *ynca* and his queen, as the modern Indians represent it in their processions. This costume is so evidently fictitious, that it should not have been

copied: it is fit for nothing but the pantomime of Pizarro.

Physical geography in Peru. From the insufferable bombast of this chapter we can collect nothing. Some queries relative to the climate follow, with answers by Don Pedro, himself a Peruvian. They terminate in a conjecture, that by erecting conductors *sufficiently high and sufficiently numerous*, the fickle atmosphere of Great Britain may be converted into a climate as serene, steady, and beautiful, as that of low Peru. The iron-masters will have no objection to the experiment.

From the section upon botany, it appears that able botanists have been sent over by the late and by the present king; both monarchs will long be remembered by the Spaniards as the benefactors of science. Of zoology little is said: there is a print of the Llama, and a wish expressed that attempts may be made to domesticate the vicuna, which, as the Indians hunt them for their wool, will also be destroyed. The next section is upon anthropology. It is said here, that in the cabinet of natural history at Lima, a tooth (one of the *molars*) is deposited, taken from a mummy discovered in Tarija, which weighs a pound and a half! The body from whence it was taken, was conveyed from Tarija to Cuzco by the marquis of Valle-Umbroso, and shipped for Madrid; but taken on the way by the English and carried to London. *If, perchance, the Peruvian mercury should reach that capital*, say the writers, we request to know, through the medium of the Philosophical Transactions, whether the giant thus intercepted wants the tooth in question. Was there ever so prodigious a fable so circumstantially related? Another such tooth is mentioned weighing more than five pounds, found in the same province. Either Garagantua, or Og the king of Basan, who used to catch whales in the mid sea, and toast them against the sun, must have been buried in Tarija. An account follows of a living giant, with arms like a Gibbon, bulkier than the Irish giant, but not taller and worse proportioned: a moderate reasonable giant, such as an Englishman might safely speculate upon for a show—a monster with grinders of a pound and a half weight would eat up Mr. Pidcock.

Mineralogy. From the statement in this chapter it results, that in the eight intendencias into which the viceroyalty of Peru is divided, there were, in the year 1791, sixty-nine serviceable mines of gold, seven hundred and eighty-

four of silver, four of quicksilver, four of copper, and twelve of lead; at the same time that twenty-nine gold, and five hundred and eighty-eight silver mines had, by various accidents and casualties, been rendered unserviceable. In this statement the mines contained in the kingdom of Quito, and in the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres, although these domains may be considered as constituting a part of the Peruvian territory, are not comprehended.

"During a space of ten years, from the commencement of 1780 to the end of 1789, the above mines yielded thirty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-nine marks of gold, twenty-two carats fine; and three millions seven hundred and thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-three marks of silver.* In the year 1790, the silver mines yielded four hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and seventeen marks of that metal; being an excess of thirty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-seven marks over the average produce of the ten antecedent years.

"It would appear that the mines of Mexico are much more productive than those of Peru, since in the above year of 1790, which was far from being reckoned one of the best, five thousand and twenty-four marks of gold, and two millions one hundred and seventy-nine thousand four hundred and fifty-five marks of silver, the produce of the mines, were coined in the royal mint of Mexico. The proportion of silver was consequently in the ratio of more than five to one greater than that afforded by the Peruvian mines."

The Mexican mines flourish, while the Peruvian decline. Two writers in this magazine explain the cause of the decline. There is a want of capital: the money-lenders lend small sums in small instalments, for which they are to be paid in *pina*, that is, the silver after it has been freed from the mercury with which it was amalgamated, and before it has been fused. This they have at so low a price, that their interest is eighteen per cent. for three or four months. What they advance is not all in specie; a great part is in coarse baize, and other commodities, exorbitantly rated, with which the miner pays his labourers in kind, and they often run away. Another cause of decline is, that neither whites nor negroes can work in the mines; they soon fall victims; the native Indians *last longer*, but they are scarce. In the royal mines they are compelled to work, and it seems that the private miners would very willingly be permitted to enforce the same prerogative.

Commerce. With these details we shall

not detain the reader; it is of little general interest to enter into minute accounts of a commerce in which we can have no participation. The facts respecting population are of more importance. There are, in the viceroyalty of Peru, one thousand three hundred and sixty towns, and yet, according to the highest computation, the number of inhabitants does not exceed one million! four hundred thousand of these are Indians. There has been a grievous depopulation. In 1551 the royal commissioners stated in their returns, that the number of Indians amounted to eight millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand; it is true that the viceroyalties of Santa Fé and Buenos-Ayres were comprehended in the census, still the depopulation is prodigious. The small-pox, unknown in Peru till the year 1588, has been the main cause—to the American tribes this disease has proved dreadfully fatal; but though this be the main cause, a heavy load of guilt remains for Spain: white men will not work the mines, and they will not compel the negroes to work them, because it kills them too soon, and negroes cost money; but the Indians are grown upon the spot, and it is what they are born to—a curse which they have inherited from their parents. Doubtless the Spanish casuists can trace their genealogy to Canaan, the son of Ham, and silence all scruples of humanity by quoting Noah's malediction; doubtless the Spanish politicians can prove that the produce of the mines is indispensable to the state, and that human lives, when weighed against gold and silver, are as dust in the balance. We indeed exclaim against this systematic inhumanity; but with what consistency do we exclaim against it? or why do we deny that to be good logic for America, which is admitted as irrefragable for Africa? While England continues the slave-trade, she must not inveigh against Spain; while we consume negroes, we must not cry out against the consumption of Indians.

From 1517 to 1790, nearly eleven millions of negroes have been transported into Peru! and these also have been consumed! The Spanish writer plainly states, that they are so many individuals lost to the growth of the population, and the reasons assigned are hard usage, cruelty, the rigorous labour exacted from the females during pregnancy and immediately

* The mark of gold being estimated at a hundred and twenty-five piastres, and that of silver at eight piastres, the total amount, in sterling money, of the produce of the mines, during the above ten years, will be found to have been of the value of 7,703,545*l*.

after parturition, and the melancholy which their miserable situation occasions. When will this traffic have an end; this foul disgrace to Europe, to Christendom, but to England in particular! The work of retribution is begun in Hayti: there the iniquity began, and there the first account has been rendered—who can tell where it will stop!

The mixed descendants of the negroes in Peru become perfectly white in the fourth generation; this is said to be so prejudicial to the kingdom, as to have repeatedly called for the interference of the legislature. What colonists arrive from Spain seem to be so many lost to the mother country, which ill can spare them, and nothing added to Peru: some few make fortunes and return; others remain single, because they and their posterity would be alike excluded from any honourable situations:—this should have been more clearly explained; nor do we understand, by the phrase which is used of *embracing celibacy*, whether it is meant that these persons merely remain single, or enter into the monastic orders. This is one specimen of the miserable style of the book. A great proportion of the European emigrants are mere vagabond adventurers; of no use while they are above ground. Hands, therefore, are wanting in Peru, and of course every thing is wanting in proportion; roads, bridges, canals; there is no internal commerce in consequence. The conclusion of this essay, which thus exposes the weakness of the country, was suppressed by authority.

Historical and Political Reflections on the Population of Lima. The capital of Peru contains three hundred and fifty-five streets, three thousand nine hundred and forty-one houses, including one hundred and fifty-seven which belong to religious communities, and fifty-two thousand six hundred and twenty-seven inhabitants. Of these one thousand six hundred and forty-seven belong to the different monastic orders, and three thousand one hundred and eighty-four live in religious communities without having made the vows; but these also are to be considered as lost to the state—a proportion, on the whole, of one to eleven! the secular clergy are not included in this number. There are nine thousand two hundred and twenty-nine slaves, two thousand nine hundred and three free servants. The capital has increased one-fifth in size since the vice-

royalty of Buenos-Ayres separated from Peru.

The account of the university of St. Mark, in this capital, is characteristic.

“The fees disbursed on the admission to the different degrees, were originally very high. Each doctor of the faculty, besides paying a considerable sum to the rector, head master, register, and other officers, was obliged to fee all those who composed the chapter, or assembly, at the time of his admission. If he took a secular degree, he gave to each of them a velvet bonnet; and if the degree was ecclesiastical, a bonnet of cloth. To this gift he added another, of six fat hens, four pounds of cold viands, and a pair of gloves. These disbursements, united with the expences attendant on the public exhibition of a bull fight, in the great square, on the day of admission, and the sumptuous entertainment given to all who were present, were found, on an average estimate made in 1743, to amount to the extravagant sum of ten thousand piastres for each degree. To remedy this inconvenience, it was then settled that the graduate should pay into the chest of the institution the sum of two thousand piastres, to be divided equally among the doctors; and should provide a slight refreshment for those who were present at his examination. He was, besides, to bestow small fees on the rector, head master, register, and other persons holding literary employments in the college. The gross amount of the charges has been since reduced to one thousand and sixty-six piastres.

“To obtain the degree of doctor, that of bachelor is, in the first instance, indispensably requisite. For this purpose, the student must be provided with a certificate of his having attended five courses in the faculty to which he aspires, together with another certificate of his having taken the private lessons, without which his studies would have been incomplete. The expences of this degree are moderate, amounting to twenty-five piastres only. Conformably to the spirit and tenor of the laws of the kingdom, whenever ten degrees of bachelor have been conferred, a similar degree is to be bestowed on a poor scholar, as a stimulus to application, and a recompense for the successful prosecution of his studies; but this favour has been liberally dispensed by the academy, which, with a view to the prosperity and cultivation of the sciences, has not limited itself to the number of indigent students for whom the above legislative provision was made.

“The ceremony of the reception of a doctor in this university is not uninteresting. On the day appointed, at sun-set, the interior of the hall having been lighted, and the doors closely barred, the examination commences before the masters and doctors, who alone are allowed to be present. Between the first and second lessons, an oath is administered by the

rector to each of the assistants; and when the second lesson is concluded, four of the doctors, the junior taking the lead, maintain a controversy with the candidate. This does not, however, prevent any one present from making such observations as he may deem essential to his further satisfaction and security. The rector, the president, the four replicants, and the six most ancient doctors of the faculty, now proceed to vote privately; and by their suffrages, the individual who has been examined is either admitted or rejected. The whole concludes by a refreshment of sweetmeats and jellies, substituted to the supper ordered by the ancient institutions of the academy.

"On the following morning, the degree is conferred with every solemnity. Provided the ceremony be not, by special favour, performed in the interior of the university, the chapel of the blessed Virgin, belonging to the great church, is splendidly ornamented; and thither the graduate, accompanied by the students, collegiates, and doctors, proceeds to make his profession of faith. The rector having administered to him an oath to defend the mystery of the immaculate conception, and to detest the execrable doctrines of tyrannicide and regicide, the degree is delivered to him by the head master, at the same time that the register invests him with the badges of his newly acquired dignity. This being done, a latin oration is pronounced in his praise, and a theme proposed to him for the exercise of his talents.

"The number of doctors is not limited. At this time (in 1791) there are one hundred and thirty-four in the faculty of theology; in that of laws, one hundred and sixty-four; in that of medicine, twelve; and six masters of arts."

The university is poor, nor would its rents be sufficient, if several of the chairs were not vacant, and if the other professors did not give up half their salaries. The members are celebrated for their patriotism.

"It is impossible to read without satisfaction the sacrifice of life, goods, and persons, made by the doctors, masters, and students, in 1709, when the English, having invaded the port of Guayaquil, excited a general panic throughout the kingdom. They enrolled themselves, without any exception of classes or conditions, for the king's service, and formed themselves into companies. Dr. Martin de los Reyes took the command of the company of the ecclesiastics who composed the chapter; that of the seculars was commanded by Dr. Bartolome Romero; and that of the students by Dr. Thomas Salazar. The rector, Don Isidoro Olmedo, to evince his attachment

and fidelity to his sovereign, took the command in chief."

It may be impossible to read this without satisfaction in Lima, and it is impossible to read it in England without smiling. If we were reduced to the necessity of arming our own universities, the heads of colleges would not be the fittest possible commanders. They themselves would not think it necessary, to evince their loyalty, that they should change their wigs for helmets.

The charitable establishments in Lima are many and flourishing. They have a theatre, which is fashionable: the writer wishes that the comedies, of which monks, popes, and saints, are the heroes, were laid aside; that the actors would declaim with less violence; that any one might be permitted to seat himself in the pit without regarding his dress or his periwig; and that the company would not smoke. Silence, and no smoking, is the motto in the theatre at Corunna. Coffee-houses were first established in 1771; they succeed well.

"The literary memoirs of Madrid * contain the provisions made by Don Mariano Colon, superintendant-general of police of that court, with a view to the introduction of a greater decorum in the coffee-houses. The principal enactments are as follow: 'first, that in all the coffee-houses in which a certain share of decency, and a corresponding neatness, should not be observed, painted cloths should be hung up, the walls white-washed, and the doors and tables coloured. Secondly, that a clean dish should be served to each individual, notwithstanding three or four persons should unite together, for this reason, that, in pouring the liquor from the cup to the saucer, it was spilled on the table, so as, by the slightest inattention, to stain the clothes and mantles of the company. Thirdly, that the waiters should, on their presenting themselves, be clean, without either a net or a bonnet on the head, and, if possible, combed, &c. &c.' What would some of our readers say if we were to insinuate the like?"

The detestable amusement of cock-fighting is permitted twice a week on working days, and on Sundays and festivals. There is a regular cock-pit; seats are paid for, and the mob admitted gratis to stand. Not a hint is ventured in reprobation of this cruelty. Bull-feasts, of course, are fashionable. Tennis is represented as a ruinous game, in consequence

of the enormous bets which are made upon it.

Customs and manners. This is the satirical portion of the work, and not the least valuable. In the form of a fragment upon the state of the Roman colonies in Africa, one writer insinuates that the Indian and Negro female slaves are the mistresses of the Spanish husbands, the bawds of their wives, and the nurses of their children: that they sway the fashions, direct the education, and contaminate the morals of the youth; and that their influence is so great, that the European women even imitate them as far as possible. Another satirist exhibits a Peruvian beauty in a dream, there, to expose the manners of his countrywomen.

"Observe attentively: that white which surprises thee so much, is a thin coat of arsenic or white lead, laid on with art, and in a manner glued to the skin. This is a despicable custom in any other nation; but, among the countrywomen of EUGENIA, it is absolutely criminal, seeing that, by its adoption, they injure and tarnish their natural whiteness, that surprizing whiteness which excites the envy of all the other ladies in the world. Art thou desirous to see the mischiefs by which this detestable paint is accompanied? Remark the forehead, which has a somewhat disproportionate width: it proves that the hair has fallen off at the temples, by the friction of this vile ingredient. Observe, now that she smiles: she has several decayed teeth; and if it were lawful for thee to approach her, thou wouldest be sensible that her breath even is in some measure vitiated. All these are consequences of the same abuse."

"The hands," exclaimed in continuation the scrupulous censor, "those hands which, physically, are beyond a doubt well shaped, delicate, and handsome, have, in a moral point of view, several very notable defects. Those honourable marks which the use of the needle, or of the distaff, occasionally leaves, are not to be traced on them. Among her countrywomen, it is considered as derogatory, to know how to take up a loop in a stocking; and but few are to be found who are able to embroider a pair of ruffles, for the husband, or for the boys. The discoloration which is so perceptible at the tips of the thumb, forefinger, and middle finger of the right hand, is owing to these extremities being regularly made to answer the purpose of the fork, in the repasts:—a filthy practice by which the strongest stomach must be nauseated. Fortunately, however, this indelicacy is not to be found among certain principal nymphs who are the flower and the glory of that highly favoured country."

It is curious, that what Ben Jonson calls

'the laudable use of forks
Brought into custom here, as they are in Italy
To the sparing o' napkins,'

should not yet have become general in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Perhaps they agree with the German divine who preached against the custom, and said it was an insult against Providence not to touch one's meat with one's fingers.

"The most conspicuous part of the costume is the *faldellin*, or short hoop petticoat, more particularly worn in the carriage, and at public entertainments. It is made of richly embroidered cloth, velvet, &c.; is rendered flexible by the means of whalebone; and provided with a wadding, to give it a greater protuberance, so as to display the ankle more perfectly. It is attended, however, by this inconvenience, that, in climbing a hill, or on any sudden motion, the wearer makes an exposure which borders on indecency. Its numerous plaits cause it to assume a variety of graceful forms, at the same time that they render it very costly, fifteen yards of stuff at the least being consumed in the outward covering. The expence of this article of dress alone, is rated at between three and four hundred crowns; notwithstanding which, a modish female of Lima seldom pays a ceremonious visit, without having previously had recourse to the *Bodegones*, the principal street in which the fashionmongers reside, for a *faldellin* of the newest taste. In their jewels, and, in general, in every part of their dress, the ladies of the Peruvian capital are equally extravagant.

"One of their favourite ornaments is the *puchero de flores*, or nosegay, which, as it may serve to illustrate the progress of luxury in that capital, with the civil history of which it is in some degree connected, merits a detailed description. Its basis consists of the blossom of a small apple of the size of a nut, of a white lily, of one or two rose-buds, of the same number of cherry-blossoms, and of the flowers of the Seville orange; the whole laid on a plane-leaf, of the dimension of the eighth part of a sheet of paper. On the surface of this plane-leaf are disposed chamomile-flowers, the flowers of the yellow lily, violets, daisies, and thyme, and, over these again, a small branch of basil mint, another of a sweet pea bearing a violet flower intermixed with white, and, occasionally, a stem of hyacinth, a branch of the odoriferous rush having yellow flowers and white leaves, and the blossoms of a small fruit, a kind of strawberry, but larger in size. Having been sprinkled with a water of a common scent, or with a spiritous solution of amber, this *puchero* is valued at half a real.

"The different aggregates, such as the blossoms of the little orange of Quito, of the apricot, of the small apples which have an amber colour, of the larger fruits, and of the medlar, together with the *chirimoya*,* carnations,

* A flower of mean appearance, but of exquisite scent.—*L'Alou.*

gillyflowers, anemones, tulips, and other flowers in full season, being conjoined with a *puchero* of double or treble the size of the simple one, augment its price to two or three piastres. Its value is raised or diminished, in proportion to the private festivities which are on foot, and to the times of the public festivals.

"To the augmentation of value above-mentioned, is to be superadded the price of the flower named *ariruma*, which is so arbitrary, that it rises from six reals to six or seven piastres, according to the season, or to the demands of the purchasers. Artificial flowers of this description having been recently introduced, have in some measure diminished the value of the natural ones. It is, however, to be noticed, that the *puchero* of natural flowers is to be procured at every season of the year, there being simply a variation of the more exquisite flowers, which, for want of a proper degree of skill in the culture, are not at all times obtainable.

"This indispensable luxury is purchased by all the different classes of females, in a street fronting the steps of the cathedral church, from which it is distant about fifty paces. Thence the expectants proceed, either to seek diversion from the chances which may present themselves, or to wait the appointments that have been already made. It is needless to add, that the *Calle del Peligro* (Hazard-street), for so this street is denominated, on account of the dangers to which libertines were formerly exposed, in their intercourse with the abandoned females by whom it was frequented, still continues to be the rendezvous of gallantry.

"The station occupied by the women who deal in flowers, is divided between those whose speculations are on a large scale, and the retailers. The former have their backs to the church; each of them confining herself to one or two species of flowers. They are the female gardeners; and in their front are ranged those who make the *pucheros*, on the tables placed before them. They are very intent on this occupation, and at the same time very courteous.

"In private houses, the *puchero*, or that which corresponds to the *puchero*, is constantly made to serve as a domestic and favourite gratification. The ladies select the flowers, and free them from the sandy and seminal particles, which are apt to soil, and are devoid of scent; such as the yellow at the extremity of the orange-flower, the fibrils of which give out an amber stain, in common with those of the daisy and rose-bud, and of the blossoms of the medlar, apple, and smaller fruits. Having sprinkled them afresh with the purest water, they are placed beneath a crystal vase, into which is introduced a small chafing-dish filled with live coals. On this chafing-dish is poured the most exquisite perfume, blended with different aromatics, to the end that the natural fragrantcy of the flowers may be heightened.

"This delicate operation having been performed, an economical distribution is made among the ladies who are present. Each places her portion in her bosom, and thence presents her favourite with an orange-blossom, or a small bunch of flowers, which sometimes receive a greater value from the beautiful hand that bestows them, than from that of Nature herself."

The portrait of the men is even more unfavourable than that of the women. Satirists use dark colours, but even in caricature they endeavour to preserve some likeness. Unless those writers foully belie their countrymen, a detestable vice is practised at Lima, which, to the honour of the Spanish peninsula, is no more tolerated there than in England.

Essay on the false religion and superstitious customs of the Peruvian Indians. The chief deities were *Apuini*, the sun, the lord and father; *Churi Inti*, son of the sun; *Imic Vauqui*, brother of the sun; and *Tarigatanga*, one in three and three in one, if this interpretation is to be believed. Besides these there was the idol *Rimac*, or the speaker,—who may have been their oracle; and *Pachacamac* the omnipotent, whom they regarded as above all, the deity whom perhaps the priests acknowledged, who invented idols for the people. For private and particular devotion they had household gods called *Conopas* or *Guiscamayec*, lords of the house; *Compas*, stones to whom they prayed for water; *Huanacas*, other stones erected in their plantations that they might lighten the toil of the husbandman; and *Mamateras*, long cylindrical stones who were to take care of the maize, and supply abundant crops. To bestow upon these poor idolaters, immersed as they were in darkness and error, the intelligence they needed, the essayist tells us, immense wisdom prepared the fittest means. It discovered to Europe this valuable part of the globe, and transferred its dominion by the right of conquest to Spain!—Happy change for the Peruvians! it is true that those who were not put to the sword were made slaves, and that a few millions have been worked to death in the mines; but what is that to the incalculable advantages communicated to their posterity? Have they not got nuns instead of *Acllacunas*, and the true trinity instead of *Tarigatanga*; crucifixes and madonnas instead of *Guasimacoyca* at home; and crosses in the fields instead of *Compas*, *Huanacas*, and *Mamateras*, besides a whole army of saints to pray to into the bargain.

Account of the costumes, superstitions,

and exercises, of the Indians of the Pampa del sacramento and Andes mountains of Peru. The country in which liars and dreamers placed El Dorado with its capital Mansa, is inhabited by various savage tribes in a miserable stage of ignorance. Their complexion would be almost of European whiteness, if exposure and ungeniours had not made them swarthy: they are well made and strong, because they murder the deformed infant, and their habits of life destroy the feeble one. To make the body strong they bind the waist and the joints of their male infants with hempen bands, and they flatten the head before and behind to make them like the full moon. Unmarried women go naked among them, and among those tribes who inhabit the warmer parts, all are naked. They have no idols, but worship the maker of the world during the time of an earthquake, and only then. They call him father, and believe that having made the world he retired into heaven. An evil being is also acknowledged by them, whom they place in the centre of the earth. Their conjurers represent themselves as his delegates, *Mehanes* or *Agerres* Mr. Skinner calls them, overlooking that the latter word is only a Spaniard's translation of the former. Polygamy is only in use among the Caciques, yet they delight in apodisiacs, and some circumstances are mentioned which indicate a loathsome sensuality, as degrading as that of the Polynesians.

Their notions of a future state differ in different tribes. Some expect a world like their own, with plenty of boiled plantains and yucas, where they shall fight with thunder and lightning, and sport in the milky way, which is the grove of diversions. Others believe in transmigration, and worship the particular beast into which they conceit their father or their cacique has passed. They cultivate cotton for the only garments they use; and yuca of which they make their only drink, for the water is unwholesome. Stone hatchets and wooden tools are their only implements of husbandry. They use poisoned weapons against wild beasts, but never in war; an extraordinary fact, that having such means of destruction, a sense of honour, or humanity, or policy, should prevent them from exercising them. War is the main business of their lives. They bring home the heads of their enemies, make necklaces of the teeth, and masks of the skin, and hang up the skulls as ornaments from the roofs of their dwellings. Among the Itucalis, a warrior,

whenever he carries home the head of an enemy, opens the skin of his own nose, and puts in the little husk of the palm under it, just upon the bridge. A nose completely embossed from the top to the tip in this manner, is as honourable as a blue ribband in England. What is most remarkable is, that they treat their prisoners with great humanity, in all respects like brethren.

Account of the public congregations of the negroes residing in the district of Lima. The negroes are divided into ten casts, according to their original countries; each cast has its own chief, and two head corporals are chosen as chiefs of the whole: each has its meetings, in which the contributions for their festivals are fixed, accounts rendered, and disputes between husband and wife, &c. settled. All the festivals of these poor people are connected with religion, but it is surprizing to find that certain ceremonies, which are clearly derived from their native superstitions, should still be permitted to them.

Historical and chorographical description of the province of Chichas y Tarija. Francisco Tarija, who left his name to this province, might serve as the hero of a romance. Leaving Pizarro and Almagro to devastate Peru, and to turn their arms against each other, he with a small band of followers penetrated to this fertile valley, when the natives who had never been subject to the Yucas, and had never heard of the Spaniards, received him with respect and awe. Here he settled, and peaceably began to teach the Indians the language of Spain, and the habits of civilized life. But his numbers were insufficient, and after his death they relapsed into their former state, preserving no other relic of his language than his name, which they gave to the valley, as it is believed, in affection to his memory. The large teeth are again mentioned in this paper, but the writer has too much common sense to dream that they can have been human. A great blunder of the translator occurs here; he says that the chronicles of Flavius Dexter, &c. "were extracts surreptitiously made from father Geronimo, a romance of la Higuera." The fact is, they were fabricated by the jesuit *Hieronymo Roman de la Higuera*, and Mr. Skinner has converted his name into a romance!

Plan for gaining access to, and peopling the Andes mountains of the province of Guamalies, proposed and set on foot by Don Juan de Bezarcs. The projector of this new settlement is a merchant of Lima,

who were on the point of returning to his native country with a respectable fortune, met with a Spaniard who had long led a savage life among these Indians, and represented to him their docility, and the advantages of the country. Bezares devoted his property to civilizing these people, and reclaiming them to christianity, from which, since the unhappy extinction of the jesuits, they had fallen. Unhappy we call that extinction, because of all the monastic orders they only were well employed. Upwards of twenty towns which they had established were found in ruins,—the term of course has not its European signification, but it implies fixed dwellings, and habits of domestication and agriculture, the first rudiments of civilization. The tree which yields the red bark grows here in great abundance, and also the yellow bark, neither of which had been calculated upon. Other promising productions have been discovered.

“Bezares met with a description of very lofty trees, the wood of which is unknown, but valuable, not only because, with all its solidity, it yields with equal suppleness to the plane and the chisel; but likewise on account of its semi-violet colour, by which it appears to be, in preference to any other wood, adapted to the purpose of dyeing. He found another tree which produces, in the shoots of its branches, a resinous substance in grains, of a greenish hue, which, as he proved it to be an effectual substitute for sealing-wax, is apparently calculated for many uses. A kind of osier or willow, which grows in this territory, is deemed by the Indians a specific in complaints of the bowels, and is named by them *calinture*, because, in employing its decoction in cases of the most violent rheumatic affections, the patient is subjected for three or four hours to a violent fever, which, ter-

minating in a copious perspiration, leaves him free from every ailment. The few trials of this remedy which have been made, have been extremely successful against siphylis; and if the practical enquiries that have been recently instituted should correspond with them, cures may be effected by the means of one of the most surprising simples for which medicine is indebted to the American continent. The production of a worm, which the Indians name *sustillo*, and by which a paper, very similar to that made in China, is fabricated, has been hitherto unknown to all the naturalists.*

Bezares obtained the sanction of the government to form settlements here, and it is supposed that his plans will be pursued;—but however well disposed the government may be to such projects, population is wanting; nor is there that enterprize in the people which in North America almost supplies the want of population, and secures whole provinces of forests and savannahs to be cultivated by their childrens' children.

Repopulation of the valley of Vitoc. This paper communicates some curious historical information. In 1742 Juan Santos Atahualpa fled into the mountains to escape punishment for murder. He called upon the Indians, boasting his descent from the Yncas,—and by his name it appears that some such descent had been allowed by the Spaniards, took the title of Apu-Inga Kuaynacpac, and proclaimed himself the restorer of the empire of his ancestors. A multitude of Indians joined him, five and twenty towns,—or more accurately speaking, establishments of the Franciscans were demolished, and Quimiri, an important post, conquered, and its governor burned in its ruins. The valley of Vitoc, which was then overrun,

* This caterpillar is bred in the *pacae*, a tree well known in Peru, and named by the Peruvian Flora, MS. *mimosa inga*. In proportion to the vigour and majestic growth of this tree, is the number of the insects it nourishes, and which are of the kind and size of the *bombyx*, or silk-worm. When they are completely satiated, they unite at the body of the tree, seeking the part which is best adapted to the extension they have to take. They there form, with the greatest symmetry and regularity, a web which is larger or smaller, according to the number of the operants; and more or less plant, according to the quality of the leaf by which they have been nourished, the whole of them remaining beneath. This envelope, on which they bestow such a texture, consistency, and lustre, that it cannot be decomposed by any practicable expedient, having been finished, they all of them unite, and ranging themselves in vertical and even files, form in the centre a perfect square. Being thus disposed, each of them makes its *cocoon*, or pod, of a coarse and short silk, in which it is transformed, from the grub into the *chrysalis*, and from the *chrysalis* into the *papilio*, or moth. In proportion as they afterward quit their confinement, to take wing, they detach, wherever it is most convenient to them, their envelope, or web, a portion of which remains suspended to the trunk of the tree, where it waves to and fro like a streamer, and which becomes more or less white, according to the air and humidity the season and situation admit. A complete nest has already been transmitted to his catholic majesty; and, by the hands of his naturalist, Don Antonio Pineda, a piece of this natural silk paper, measuring a yard and a half, of an elliptical shape, which is peculiar to all of them,

was only beginning to be repeopled when the Peruvian Mercury was published: the new Ynca then possessed his acquisitions in peace, but left no successor. An Indian Toussaint might shake the Spanish empire in Peru.

Periodical works. Mexico supports a gazette, a civil diary, and another of natural history. The Peruvians now rival this flourishing state of literature; a *Diario Económico* was started at Lima, and soon followed by this *Mercurio Peruano*, which commenced in 1791. The *Semario Crítico* followed this, and it was then boasted that Lima had at length placed itself on a footing with Mexico, at the time of the greatest splendour of the latter city, by possessing a Diary, a Mercury, and a Weekly Critic. In the same year a periodical paper was set on foot at Santa Fe de Bogota, and another at Quito,—symptoms of improvement these, but which also prove that literature had declined in the Spanish colonies as well as in the mother country, and that its revival was later. Nor are these symptoms encouraged: the editor informs us that the Mercury, after having been progressively subjected to a variety of restraints, was finally discontinued in 1796.

Political economy. The academical society who published the Mercury, offer a gold medal of eleven ounces, with a ring and chain of gold for the best plan for improving the roads, which are in a miserable state, and a silver medal for the second best. One only was sent in, which was not thought worthy of either. The bishop of Quito has exerted himself to promote the same desirable object, and subscribed five hundred piastres towards opening a road in his diocese. He also offered a premium to the best baker,—a fact which proves his own excellent wishes and intentions, and exposes at the same time the sad condition of the colony.

Biography. This article contains biographical sketches of P. Juan Perez Melnacho, a theologian of the sixteenth century, remarkable for his stature and his strong memory; of D. Antonio Leon Pinedo; a useful, laborious, and learned writer of the seventeenth century; F. Francisco del Castillo, a blind improvisatore, not long dead; and D. Diego Lopez, who lost his wits in attempting to square the circle.

Longevity. A single instance is given in a native Spaniard, who lived to be 133. An article upon meteorology concludes the work.

An appendix of considerable length is added, containing a history of the missions of Caxamarquilla, of the origin and loss of those of Manoa, and the travels of P. Manuel Sobreviela, by the river Hualaga to the lake of Gran Cocama in 1790, and of F. Narciso Girbal y Barcelo by the Marañon and Ucayali to the tribes of Manoa in 1791, with an account by Sobreviela of the entrances into the mountainous country made at different times by the Franciscans, whom Mr. Skinner, according to the common error of English writers, calls monks instead of friars. Sobreviela's map was not in the volumes which fell into the translator's hands. We do not recollect whether the great map of Spanish America be of a later date than 1790, or if, as we rather think it be, his survey would be included; but in any case that map should be reduced for the subsequent editions of this work.

A few curious circumstances respecting the Indians and the country may be gleaned from this portion of the volume. Their mode of catching wild beasts might usefully be practised wherever man is placed among such bad neighbours.

“They make a narrow passage formed by stakes of a competent thickness, and six feet in length, well fastened together and fixed in the earth. The top, and one of the entrances, are secured by other stakes of the same description: in the middle of the passage there is a division. At the entrance which is left open, a stout plank, supported by a cord which is slightly secured in the front of the passage, is suspended. When the howlings of a tiger are heard, a dog is shut up in the inner division, who, finding himself in confinement, begins to howl. The tyger instantly darts forward, thinking himself secure of his prey, and being unable to find any other passage than the one where the plank is suspended, enters that way. Now entangling himself in the cord, he springs, throws down the plank, and finds himself hemmed in without being able to hurt the dog, who is protected by the division of boards. After having amused themselves until the animal becomes furious, the Indians put him to death with their clubs and arrows.”

Wolves are trapped in a like manner in some parts of Europe; there is a print of such a snare in one of the early volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Some odd things are related of these American tygers, that they watch for the cayman on the banks of the Ucayali, and fasten their claws in his eyes, the only part which they can pierce; and that when they catch a turtle, they imitate man, by turning it on its back, and thus securing it. Polecats

we know catch eels, but when tygers turn turtle-eaters it is time for the court of aldermen to take alarm.

The remains of one of the Yncas bridges are still to be seen over the mouth of the lake Lauricocha, where the Tunguragua, one of the sources of the Marañon, issues from it. They are stone pyramids, excellently wrought, a yard and half square, and placed a yard asunder; does Mr. Skinner mean pillars when he says pyramids?—his grandiloquent style often obscures and sometimes destroys his meaning. We read in this volume of the *exploration of America, of gratuitous erogations, of decortivating the trees, of retrograding on foot, and of a fluviatric voyage*. This gentleman would have written better English if he had not had the misfortune of learning Latin.

The navigation of the Marañon is remarkably inconvenient. Even English sailors would object to going under water on their floats in the whirlpools or pongos.

“These pongos are straits formed by high and pendant cliffs, over which the descending torrents force a passage with such a degree of violence, as to occasion terrible billows, eddies, and whirlpools, by which the balsas are submerged. The latter are composed of fifteen logs or beams of wood, twelve yards in length, and some what less in their united breadth, the narrowness of the pongos not admitting a greater extension. They are furnished with a lofty and solid tilt, formed of canes, beneath which the cargoes are made secure with strong cords. At the extremities, as well as at the parts where the beams are united, other beams, half a yard in height, are firmly attached in the manner of small pillars; and by these the navigators secure themselves, at the time when

the balsa, which, however, speedily returns to float on the water, is submerged in the pongos.”

The information comprized in this volume is new and highly interesting; a more modest title, however, would have been more decorous. Information concerning Peru,—or Transactions of the Society at Lima. A curious book concerning this country might certainly be compiled at Lima, from a few volumes of the Monthly Magazine, but it would not be accurate to call it the Present State of England. We very much disapprove the manner in which it is dedicated to lord Melville: as if no information were welcome to government but such as could be subservient to mischievous purposes. It is the dread of such buccaneering schemes as are evidently in the writer's mind, which has rendered Spain so jealous of suffering any accounts of her colonies to be made public, and such schemes are merely buccaneering. What madman dreams of subduing Peru? and expeditions which end only in plunder are disgraceful to the nation that undertakes them. The Spaniards have been forced into the war against their wishes and against their interest,—it is both for the honour and interest of England to show that she is sensible of this, by sparing Spain as far as may be possible. Willingly would Spain throw off the yoke of France and become our friend, for of all nations in Europe it is the best disposed toward us; every thing which weakens that noble nation, delays the day of its deliverance, and aids the policy of Bonaparte.

ART. XI. *A Tour in Zealand in the Year 1802, with an Historical Sketch of the Battle of Copenhagen.* By a Native of Denmark. The second Edition. 12mo. pp. 182.

THE Danes are a brave, generous, and grateful people; and slight as is the sketch here presented by a native of the manners of his countrymen, every now and then an anecdote occurs which gives a momentary interest to the narrative. Denmark has been singularly fortunate in her ministers of state: the yoke of dependence on the court of Russia, which it was the patriotic wish of the unfortunate count de Struensee to throw off, was removed by the more skilful genius of the younger Bernstorff, who also completed the project of emancipation, undertaken by his illustrious uncle, the old count de Bernstorff.

It is singular enough that the enfranchisement of the peasants was a scheme which

Catharine, probably to weaken the power of the nobility, endeavoured to bring about in the Russian empire. To a similar manœuvre recourse has been had in most countries in Europe, and wherever it succeeded the monarch has found a power succeed more jealous of despotic authority than that which it destroyed. In England, some of our most despotic monarchs incorporated several small towns, and conferred on them the privileges of royal boroughs, that they might send burghesses to parliament, and thus counterbalance the preponderating power of the nobility: Henry the eighth gave to twelve counties, and to the same number of boroughs in Wales, the right of sending each a representative to parliament. Edward

the sixth created thirteen boroughs, and restored ten to the privileges which, from long disuetude, they had forfeited; Mary created ten, Elizabeth twenty-four. The same policy was observed in France: Louis le Gros, in the early part of the twelfth century, was the first who endeavoured to counterbalance the formidable power of his vassals, by conferring important privileges on the towns within his own dominion. Still farther to depress the aristocracy, Philip the Fair, in a subsequent period of time, introduced the deputies of free towns into the states general of the nation. The emperors of Germany, in order to undermine the baronial power, which they were not strong enough to oppose openly, elevated the clergy. The consequence was fatal: papal authority rose resistless, and trampled on the imperial insignia.

The Russian nobility had too many examples before their eyes to be seduced into a measure which they feared would diminish their opulence and authority. Whether the present emperor Alexander may be able or willing to effect what the great Catharine failed in, time only can unfold. The elder Bernstorff, however, not dismayed by the failure of a project which, whatever might have been its immediate object, would eventually improve the character and condition of a large mass of people, succeeded in liberating from bondage the peasantry of Denmark. Ignorant people are often unacquainted with their own interests: the author of this *Tour*, whose signature, A. ANDERSEN, is annexed to the dedication, says, that at first the abolition of vassalage, by which every peasant became his own master, and enjoyed the fruits of his own labour, was considered rather as an hardship than as a blessing. Lands were parcelled out in lots, upon which farm houses were erected, and those peasants only remained in the villages where lands were contiguous. The others, however, were placed in a situation in which they knew not how to begin business: removed from a farm the good and bad qualities of which they were acquainted with, some of them were perhaps invested with a sterile part, or allotment of a common. An agricultural society, however, was formed, which rewarded individual exertions in husbandry, and activity and diligence were crowned with merited success. The change has been as beneficial as the warmest philanthropist could have wished, or the most eager zealot have anticipated.

The peasantry, roused from their torpor, have testified the sense they since acquired of their ameliorated condition, and the grateful feelings with which they are impressed towards their benefactors, by erecting stones in memorial of their deliverance, and in honour of their deliverers.

Mr. Andersen has called his book the narrative of a *Tour in Zealand*: by applying the compasses to his scale of Danish miles, at the bottom of a neat little map of the island, it does not appear that his peregrination at any time exceeded half a dozen miles from Copenhagen, or that the whole extent of his *tour* could be five and twenty! From the capital he went to Roeskilde, then proceeded north as far as Elsinour, and coasted along the Sound back again to Copenhagen.

We have said that the Danes are a *gallant* people; henceforth let it be recorded, to the honour of the north, that they are also a most *gallant* one. Several young women, whose *lovers* were killed in the memorable battle of the 2d of April, 1801, received relief from the patriotic fund which was established on that occasion.

The historical sketch of the battle of Copenhagen, which is annexed to this *tour*, is full, and, no doubt, accurate. The engagement did infinite honour to the bravery of both parties: the Danes were certainly unprepared for it, and at this time would present a far more formidable resistance. As it was, Lord Nelson did not hoist the white flag until two British ships of the line, by running foul of each other, got aground, and were raked by red hot balls from the battery of the three crowns.

The day of peril and of suffering was to the Danes the commencement of a new era in their military establishment; and the great accession of strength which their navy has received since that event, testifies the confidence they repose in its exertions on any future emergency.

Within the space of one year after the battle of Copenhagen, a fund of upwards of fifty thousand pounds was raised, the interest of which is applied to the maintenance, relief, and education of about six hundred and fifty persons, who had suffered either individually or by their connections in that engagement. When any of these pensioners die, the portion employed in his maintenance reverts to the capital, which is established in perpetuity for the encouragement of the navy. On the first of July, 1800, the total number of guns on Danish ships, fit for service,

was one thousand seven hundred and thirty six, and of unserviceable guns eight hundred and eighty-two. Captain Hohlenberg had been appointed constructor of the royal navy in the year 1796; he travelled through the principal maritime countries in Europe, and returned to Denmark, where his genius and exertions were indefatigably and successfully employed. In the year 1800 it appears, from the above statement, that very nearly one-third (not as Mr. Andersen has erroneously stated *more than one half*) of the Danish navy consisted of ships incapable of putting to sea, being either entirely superannuated or standing in want of repair. On the 1st of July, 1802, the ships fit for service carried two thousand one hundred and eighty-two guns, and those in an unserviceable state one hundred and seventy eight only, which is not one-thirteenth of the whole. If this account is correct, however, it appears that the Danes had not yet employed all the guns from their unserviceable ships. The statement will stand thus:

July, 1800.

	Guns.	
Ships fit for service carried	1736	{ 2618
— unit for service	882	
July, 1802.		
Ships fit for service carried	2182	{ 2360
— unit for service	178	
	258	

Thus the numerical majority of guns employed in the navy was greater by two hundred and fifty-eight in the year 1800 than in the year 1802.

Within the same space of time the royal naval academy doubled the number of its midshipmen, a proportion of whom make an annual excursion on board a frigate to the Baltic, under the inspection of a superintendent.

"A battery called Proevesteen (the Touchstone) was erected in the sea, to the southward of the city, to prevent an enemy from bombarding the dock-yards, and other important places. The plan of this battery was laid before Christian VI. and approved by him the 2d April, 1742; a remarkable day, as the effects of that negligence which suffered the battery to go to decay, were most severely felt on the same day in 1801.

"To replace this battery, the Elephant, the Sound, and the Princess Vilhelmina were cut

down, filled with ballast, and grounded in the ruins, to raise a foundation for a new fort. This undertaking is pursued most zealously, and a few years will, I hope, exhibit as fine a battery there, as that we have to the north of the city, called the Three Crowns. This last battery was constructed at the distance of two miles from shore, on the plan of our ingenious Commodore Gerner,* who dying before it was completed, the battery was suffered to go almost to decay; but in 1801 it became an object of more serious attention. Upon the approach of the British fleet it was hurried into a state of tolerable defence, though unfurnished with either breast-work, or powder magazine. However, three furnaces were completed for heating balls, and the battery being fortunately made like a horse-shoe, with a tolerable large harbour in the centre, showers of shells, which would otherwise have annoyed the garrison very materially, only whistled by their ears, and buried themselves in the water.

"After the battle the East India Company furnished government with a large quantity of cotton, in bags, and many individuals collected empty sugar bags; they were filled with sand, which, with the cotton bags, made a most excellent breast-work all round the garrison. In two days every thing was disposed to meet whatever danger might occur.

"A project has, likewise, been attempted for the erection of a third battery on the side immediately opposite. Should this ever be accomplished, the Danish metropolis may be considered impregnable, as in the citadel, Frederickshavn, a line of formidable batteries have been raised just above the water's edge, which, together with the ramparts, are constructed so as to cross their fire with the batteries in the sea, though the distance considered, certainly with no great effect, unless particular circumstances should favour the entrance of an enemy to the inner roads.

"New batteries have likewise been raised on the new dock-yard and all along the coast of Amack, so that if the enemy, some years hence, should attempt making any impression on Copenhagen by sea, he would, upon the smallest computation, be welcomed with upwards of five hundred guns, most of which are long thirty-six pounders, independent of mortar, that throw shells of no less than one hundred and fifty pounds weight.

"Double ramparts have been elevated, and fosses dug from the batteries on the shore of Amack, adjoining the Baltic, down to the western gate, a distance of one and a half English miles.

"Thus the 2d of April, 1801, surpassed the uninterrupted calm of an eighty years' peace in yielding substantial benefits to Denmark, independent of the speedy re-establishment of

* Commodore Gerner died in 1784. He invented a machine worked by eight horses, which drains the royal dock in twenty-four hours; a task which formerly employed five hundred sailors incessantly for three days. I remember once to have been in this dock with two English sea captains, who paid many obliging compliments to the ingenuity of Gerner, and spoke in very high terms of the dock itself, altogether the labour of art; the tides not permitting us to establish similar docks to those in England.

that harmony which has so long subsisted, and which I trust Almighty God will ever preserve, between two nations, to both of which may, with justice, be applied the lines of Addison:

"Happy the people who preserve their honour,
By the same duties that oblige their pri- c.c."

In this devout wish we most sincerely join.

ART. XII. *Travels in Trinidad during the Months of February, March, and April, 1803, in a Series of Letters, addressed to a Member of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. Illustrated with a Map of the Island.* By PIERRE F. M'CALLUM. 8vo. pp. 354.

THE author of these travels was born in Scotland, and seems to have been engaged in commercial pursuits, from the familiar aptness with which he talks of every thing mercantile; he has resided much in the North American republic, visited San Domingo during the ascendancy of Toussaint, and went to Trinidad in February, 1803, to reconnoitre the capabilities of the place.

Trinidad, according to our author, was then governed by a Welshman, named Thomas Picton, who finding himself, in his civil capacity, intrusted by the Spanish laws with arbitrary powers of imprisonment and torture, and, in his military capacity, with a despotism not less formidable, gave the reins to his passions, in a manner more resembling the administration of Paris, where lewdness and rapacity are indulged without restraint, than the usual government of a British province.

Among the persons confined by order of governor Picton, was the author of these letters: the alleged motive of commitment was a contempt of court; but the apparent cause was a suspicion of what the governor called sedition, and jacobinism and disaffection. But we will borrow the author's own narrative.

"When the signing of the preliminaries of peace was announced in Trinidad, the inhabitants, actuated by a spirit of loyalty which diffused itself through all ranks, prepared a dutiful address to their sovereign, expressive of their strong attachment to his majesty's person and government, and praying him to extend, in due time, the blessings of a British constitution to Trinidad. The framers of this address were Messrs. Sanderson, Shaw, and Higham; the former a respectable physician, and the two latter engaged in mercantile pursuits,—all of them Englishmen born, warmly attached to the constitution of their native country, and of considerable experience in the colonies. As great pains have been taken to represent this address as the violent production of an intemperate party, calculated to disturb the peace of the colony, and to render the governor the object of public odium, I am happy in the opportunity of doing justice to the framers of it, by furnishing an exact copy; and I think you will agree with me in pronouncing it as loyal, constitutional, and

temperate: a petition as ever was framed on a similar occasion.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We the principal freeholders, merchants, and other British inhabitants of the island of Trinidad, approach your majesty's throne with the most dutiful respect and affectionate loyalty, begging leave to present our unfeigned and earnest congratulations on the happy change which has taken place in the political affairs of Europe, among whose nations none have been so distinguished as your majesty's imperial kingdom, for that perseverance and success which have dignified your majesty's councils, and have impressed the world with an appropriate opinion of their wisdom and penetration.

"That so long and extensive a war should be closed by such a signal series of unparalleled successes, both by sea and land, and end in a peace so honourable in its terms, and so valuable by its addition to your majesty's dominions, is a consideration which must excite the proudest exultation in every British bosom, but more particularly affects the hearts of your majesty's most loyal subjects in this island, who feel, with inexpressible gratitude, the immense obligation which your majesty has been pleased to confer on them by your gracious solicitude to confirm this most valuable conquest, and add it to the other colonies so happily placed under your majesty's paternal care and protection.

"In thus venturing to address your majesty, we are emboldened by that gracious condescension and regard which it has been your Majesty's pleasure to extend on every occasion to your dutiful and loving subjects; and we most humbly beg leave to represent, that next to our most anxious prayers, which will be continually offered up to heaven for the long life and perfect health of the best of kings, and for the continued blessing of peace, we most earnestly hope your majesty will be graciously pleased, as speedily as in your majesty's wisdom may seem expedient, to complete the happiness which we already begin to feel under the cession of this island to our mother country, by extending to your faithful and affectionate subjects in this colony the privileges and protection of the British constitution, as experienced by a free representation in a house of assembly, and in a trial by jury: privileges which we inherit in common with

our countrymen under your majesty's mild and benevolent government in Great Britain and its numerous colonies.

"We most humbly beg leave to lay at your majesty's feet our warmest protestations of loyalty and attachment to your majesty's person and family, while we cherish the recollection of the happy events which confirmed the liberties of Englishmen, by placing your majesty's illustrious ancestors on the throne.

"That the blessing of almighty God may continue your majesty's health during a long and glorious life, and prolong the happiness and prosperous influence of your majesty's family over your majesty's united kingdoms to the remotest ages, is the devout and fervent prayer of your majesty's most faithful and affectionate subjects."

The signatures follow of one hundred and eight British planters and merchants. A comptroller of the customs had signed, but being threatened with the governor's displeasure, obtained the erasure of his signature. This address was left for subscription at the store of Messrs. Thomas Higham and Co.; and, after being signed by as many as chose, was confided to William Harrison, esq. A meeting of the addressers had nominated him as their chairman: half the persons assembled wished the address to be forwarded to a mercantile house in London for presentation: a majority of one voice decided that it should be given to the governor to be forwarded. This vote marked the persons who wished for a fresh governor. They thought fit to dine together at Wharton's tavern, in order to commemorate the annexation of Trinidad to the British empire. The governor heard of it, and sent word to the innkeeper that he should hold him personally responsible for any seditious meeting that might be held on his premises. Some gentlemen went to explain the innocence and loyalty of their object: the governor took from them their rank in the militia, and dismissed the custom-house officer who had withdrawn his signature to the address. Mr. Higham was arrested and led to the common prison, itself a sepulchre filthy and unwholesome in no common degree; and the author, who seems to have kept a club with the managers of this address, but who did not sign it, was also arrested and committed; and, after about a week's confinement, was shipped off for New-York.

This arbitrary banishment has not deterred Mr. McCallum from accomplishing a task for which he had been making preparations in Trinidad; he has proceeded

to lay before the public all the other tyrannies of the governor, of which he could collect accounts. The catalogue of accusations is so formidable and so horrible, that, if the common courts of justice do not possess a jurisdiction competent to the investigation, some parliamentary proceedings ought to be had on the occasion; that the colonial subject may in future know the formal method of redress.

Beside that portion of the letters which is devoted to the impeachment of governor Picton, they contain several instructive, novel, and curious particulars of a colony likely to become very important; being situate at the mouth of the Orinoco, and uniting to the common sources of tropical prosperity the command of a navigable communication with the interior of the South-American continent. Port-Espana will consequently be a great emporium; whenever the progress of settlement and civilization shall invite the shipping of Europe beyond the bocas (not *bocas*, as this author writes, the singular is *boca*) of the great river.

There is a resemblance between the usages of the people of Trinidad, and those of the ancient Greeks. When an European arrives, his first care is to purchase a concubine, of the black, yellow, or livid kind, from the priest (p. 39); or from the girl's mother (p. 79); or from stationary slave-venders. Auctions of naked slaves are frequent: the artisan fetches more than the husbandman. A belief in witchcraft is so prevalent, that negroes are tried and tortured for sorcery. The Sunday is observed like a pagan festival; goods are sold in the forenoon as on a fair-day; in the afternoon, songs and music, dancing and games of chance fill up the intervals of feasting: the rites of worship are pantomimic and idolatrous.

Trinidad produces fine grapes (p. 41); and might rival Madeira and the Cape in the production of dry and sweet wines. Surely the British legislature ought to withdraw a fourth of the present wine-duty, upon all wine grown and made in Trinidad. This will presently cover the country with colonists, and render us more independent of European agriculture. Besides, Trinidad may in time supply North America with an imitation of Madeira, if the fashion should deserve adoption in London.

"The following statement, though not perfectly accurate, will, however, tend to give

you an idea of the portion of land capable of cultivation:

	ACRES.
1313 Lots suitable for sugar	420,160
945 ————— coffee	302,400
158 ————— cotton	50,560
304 ————— cocoa	97,280
Total 2720	Total 870,400 acr.
Deduct 400 lots already granted by the Spanish government.	128,000
2320—So that the crown now holds	742,400 acr.

We wish that an increasing quit-rent, liable to be settled afresh by parliament every fifteen years, were demanded for the grant of colonial lands. Some land-tax ought to exist in favor of the state, as an indemnity for the expence of protection, and the risk of endowment. Duties on produce, which is our present plan of indemnification, divert mischievously the natural course of commerce, and will at last transfer it to that country which, by its internal economy, can afford to levy the lowest duties. Thus, the furs of Canada are now shipped in Philadelphia for China; and the return cargo is smuggled into Canada; the whole operation being conducted by British capital and for British provinces.

Some words are expended (p. 79); on the *cachexia Africana*, a disease of the stomach for which negroes seek a remedy in eating dirt. A West-Indian, with whom we have conversed, thinks it a disease which results from the excessive use of tobacco; an indirect debility of the stomach, brought on by intemperate smoking, a practice in which the negroes delight, and in which they are willingly indulged by their masters, who attend more than is imagined to the comforts of their dependents.

Of the general face of the country the following account is given:

"There are in this island three distinct ridges of mountains, the northern, middle, and southern, covered with incorruptible woods proper for ship-building. The rivers, several of which are inconsiderable, have been traced and examined as to what distance they are navigable; and a report has been made by Mallet, with respect to the improvements they may be capable of, by deepening their beds, making canals, &c. But as this man (though a creature of Picton) never discovered any talents, except a series of ill treatment towards his amiable wife, I do not imagine that his surveys merit any notice.

"The navigable rivers on the west coast which disembogue themselves into the gulf of Paria, are the Caroni, Gurracara, Coura, and Siparia; those on the east coast of the island are the Ortoire, Neg, Lebranche, and the Oropuche.

"Mr. Christie, a gentleman of considerable talents, in the surveyor general's department, is preparing to survey the river Caroni, a few miles distant from hence. This is the principal river of the island, being unavigable from its entrance to the Aripo, a branch of the Caroni, a distance of about twenty miles. The views of government are, to connect the Aripo with the Guaro, a branch of the Oropuche, also navigable to the sea, which will open a communication from the west coast of Paria to the east coast, or Atlantic; and also to clear the bed of the Caroni of the rubbish, so as to drain the great savannah before mentioned, which will be the means of not only rendering the Port of Spain healthy, but of facilitating an easy intercourse with the interior of the island. The river Ortoire, of Guatara, is the principal one on the east coast, navigable to Morne Orange, a distance of about twenty miles, having from two to five fathoms water; but as the mouth of this river is shoal water, it would be requisite to cut a navigable canal to the bay of Mayaro, which would give the facility of exportation to the production of an immense tract of cultivable land.

"In the bay of Mayaro, we find safe anchorage, having good holding ground, a fine bottom of sand and gravel, and may embark and disembark at any time of the tide.

"The Neg runs a short distance parallel to the shore, forming a sort of canal about six miles in length, which receives the waters of the Mangrove trees that spread over all this part. The water of this river is black, and so tainted, as to make the sea frothy all round its mouth.

"The Oropuche is navigable about ten miles on the banks of this river. A fine settlement might be formed, containing forty-five divisions, about 14,400 acres. The rivers Guaro, Siparia, and Lebranche, are insignificant, and hardly worth noticing, because neither of them are navigable above 6000 paces.

"There are several marshes; that of Caroni might be drained as well as those of Ortoire and Oropuche, but the marsh of Laguna Grande is inaccessible. The marsh of Icaque is level with the sea, in which there are two gulfs; one has an elevation of about seven feet, and the other twelve: mud and calcareous earth are continually gushing from them. In the months of March and June, the two principal months, they emit metallic particles, stones rounded by friction, and other heterogeneous substances.

"Rio Grande is a valley belonging to the crown, which lies about sixty-eight miles from this place, containing eleven divisions of three hundred and twenty acres each, with a fine

river meandering through it, having good anchoring ground, sheltered by a head-land from the north-east wind, and being healthy, it is remarkably well adapted for a white population. Ballandra is another place I deem equally advantageous, and not more than six miles from Rio Grande, situated on the south-east side of the island. The reason why I give the preference to these places is, not only their superior situation with regard to health, but their distance from any other settlement, which would prevent them from having any intercourse whatever with the corrupt society already mentioned, as—

‘Creeping in the putrid sink of vice.’

“I have just seen a considerable quantity of *petroleum*, *bitumen*, also called *pisaspaltos*, *carabe funerum*, *gunmi funerum*, *mumia*, *carabe* of Sodom, fossil pitch, and Jew’s pitch, a mineral sulphur, solid and light in substance, of a dusky colour on the outside, but a deep shining black within, having but little taste or smell, except when heated, in which case it emits a strong pitchy odour. It was brought from Cape de la Brea, situated in the western extremity of Laguna Grande, where there is a lake of it, elevated between seventy and eighty feet above the level of the sea. We are informed by Father Gumilla, that some little time before he came to this island (which may be reckoned nearly about seventy years), a spot of land on the western coast, about half way between the capital and the Indian village, sunk suddenly, and was immediately replaced by a small lake of pitch, to the great surprise and terror of the inhabitants. I suppose he means by the capital, the village of La Brea, for I do not know that any other petroleum lake is found in the island but the one above mentioned. The question now remains, whether this petroleum would not supersede the use of copper, for ships navigating these seas? If it would, what a great expence would be saved, not only to the nation, but to individuals. Surely the experiment ought to be tried.”

Accounts of the principal productions are given in the scientific form in which they appear in books of natural history: the author’s personal observation does not intervene much. There are many digressions which one would gladly spare: Pope and Pomfret, Armstrong and Goldsmith, could as well be quoted in a tour to Iceland as in a tour to Trinidad: all books are too large; let us have nothing unnecessary. The author is over fond of employing fine words, some of which he misunderstands: but he displays many kinds of reading, much information and experience, and a laudable zeal for public morality and political beneficence.

Although we have done with the traveller, we have not with his island. Trinidad is a recent acquisition, thinly and variously peopled, which is soliciting from the

hands of the British legislature new and purer constitutional laws. Why not make the experiment of a code more liberal to the black colonists, than that which has hitherto prevailed in the West Indies?

To the importation of slaves we are not about to object. The lands of tropical climates cannot be cleared and cultivated; and made profusely to contribute toward the sustenance of mankind, without the aid of that swarthy race, which nature has formed or seasoned for the hot latitudes. The venal negroes are slaves at home; like all the vulgar and uneducated, their memories have little tenacity, and they soon acquire as real an attachment to their new as to their original home.

But so soon as the imported slave is sold by auction, let him be termed a vassal. Let the act of his being purchased by a British land-owner better his condition, and confer some of the privileges of freedom. By passing from the hands of the slave-merchant to those of the planter, let him become, according to the apt definition of the Roman law, *ascribed to the soil*. Let him acquire a right of settlement on the estate to which he belongs; let the land which he is to cultivate be compelled to afford him a maintenance in the hour of disease, and during the twilight of decrepitude. This is West Indian law already in the chief point; and it is enforced: a Dutch planter of Demerary, whose black peasantry were so scantily provisioned during a scarcity that they begged for food in other plantations, had his estate taken away by the courts of justice for one year, and put under the care of trustees, who fed his vassals properly, and who accounted with him for the surplus.

The right of transferring vassals from one estate to another seems incapable of limitation, so long as the country is understocked with labourers. Whenever the number reared shall exceed the demand for labourers, the claims of negroes for maintenance on the estates to which they belong will become burdensome; and then, voluntary emancipations will abolish vassalage, in the same manner as it has been dropped in modern Europe. In the mean time vassals must be saleable between the planters; because the act of sale, transferring a claim of maintenance to a different tract of land, is as necessary to authorize migration, under the West Indian system of poor-laws, as a parish certificate here.

Something could be done in the new constitution of Trinidad to facilitate the acquisition of a *peculium*, or individual property, by the negro vassalry. At present, the blacks keep fowls and pigs, and out of savings so acquired purchase their little luxuries: but a specific price might be set on emancipation, so as to enable the industrious to buy their freedom: of this price a part should go to the state, which would thus be burdened with the maintenance of the free poor. We should find however, as in Poland and Russia, that it would only be worth the while of skilful mechanics, such as carpenters or blacksmiths, to incur the precarious subsistence of a free labourer.

Trinidad has the advantage over all the colonies of a larger proportion of female vassalry. The Spanish manners have founded a greater domestic demand for women, than our manners: we want labor, they want luxury. These manners should not be discouraged; they ought rather to be corroborated by a poll-tax on the male population; the multiplication of creole labourers being the radical and proper cure both for the slave-trade, and for colonial vassalage.

Some power must be conceded to the employer over his workman, analogous to that of a master over his apprentice; but this power ought surely to be restricted within narrower bounds than the vague but wide stretch allotted in the *Code noir*. In reforming the criminal jurisprudence which protects the negro, the cry of liberty, equality, and the rights of man, is, alas! still in its place. The doctrine of equality was originally a fiction or hypothesis of the civil lawyers, put for the purpose of ascertaining what is due to each, what ought to be commanded for every one. He who reviles this doctrine professes in the first instance to be a despot of justice; he may be a great statesman, as Burke was, but he cannot be a

man of principles. In Trinidad, we will not inquire farther, the violent death of a negro is not avenged like the violent death of a white; the one is but manslaughter; the other, murder. In Trinidad, torture may be applied to the negro; in Trinidad, sorcery may be punished on the negro; in Trinidad, flagellations, at which a regiment would mutiny, may be inflicted by the civil law, or without the civil law. Here is indeed a cruel change in the negro's condition. In his native country he enjoys trial by jury. When the grumeta draws a knife on his employer, a palaver is held. The master states his case and produces his evidences: the angry man is then heard, and his companions pronounce 'whether he has the reason.' The punishment is only inflicted if their verdict does not acquit. Why are not slave-drivers subject to a similar control?

This pursuit of the good opinion of one's companions, to which the native Africans are tremblingly sensible, is the most powerful stimulus to human excellence, and the basis of all the forms of ambition: of the descensive benevolence which scatters patronage, and of the ascensive benevolence which aspires to dominate. Men are most easily directed by their equals: trial by jury is the verdict of nature.

Under Adrian the murder of a slave was first punished with death; and the master accused of cruelty was compelled, on conviction, to sell the complainant. The successive extenuations of servitude between Adrian and Justinian merit the consultation and imitation of those houses of assembly, which have a similar population to govern. The protection of female chastity and of the rights of marriage was the latest improvement of their condition, and the pure gift of Christianity.

The appended map of Trinidad is not accompanied with a scale of distances.

ART. XII *Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia.* By J. GRIFFITHS, M. D. Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, and of several Foreign Literary Societies. 4to. pp. 400.

THE present volume, Dr. Griffiths informs us, is to be considered as the prelude to one of more importance, as 'the first link of the chain of observation which he has made upon men and governments.' But this greater work, which would include discussions upon the whole system of our Indian empire, and the laws

and manners of the Hindoos and Moslem subject to it, he will not venture upon, till he has ascertained the disposition of the public to receive his farther labours, by the reception which they shall give to this. In our last year's* volume we advanced some opinions upon the business of periodical criticism, sufficiently appli-

* In the review of Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, p. 659.

cable to form a rule for conduct in the present case. If in works of fine literature there be a deficiency of taste or of genius, the critic has a right to complain; if in historical and scientific compilations he discovers a want of research and a want of industry, he is justified in resenting it as a want of honesty; in works like the present, where an author comes forward with an account of what he has himself seen or learnt in distant countries, if he finds any new information, instead of cavilling at the manner in which it may be conveyed, he ought to learn and be thankful.

Dr. Griffiths embarked in the summer of 1785 for the Mediterranean, with no other motive than his *'natural and irresistible inclination to visit distant and un-frequented countries'*; an inclination, he says, which very early persuaded him, that, with good humour, a spirit of accommodation, and an abundant share of patience, the difficulties of travelling might be surmounted, and many of its dangers avoided. The vessel touched at Genoa. On the situation of the slaves and prisoners here Dr. Griffiths makes some humane and interesting remarks.

"Humanity has reason to rejoice, that the disgraceful system of torturing the Turks and Africans, taken prisoners by the vessels of the Genoese Republic, is no longer pursued; and that throughout those states, now subject to Gallic influence, the horrible persecutions to which these unfortunate victims were exposed have totally ceased.

"Amongst the first objects I visited, on the morning after my arrival, were the prisons near the harbour. Here I beheld, I think, the very lowest pitch of human wretchedness and degradation! A number of aged Turks were chained to the wall, in stone recesses, at a short distance from each other; and some still more aged in cells, so low that they were never able to stand upright! Many of these men of misery appeared to have lost all sense or recollection; and one, who particularly attracted my attention, had counted no less than twenty-seven years of captivity! He seemed about sixty-five years old—his flowing beard was whitened by misfortune; and his sullen deportment indicated the rooted antipathy he so justly entertained against his inhuman Christian tormentors! Such was his prejudice, that he treated with contempt the trifling assistance I was disposed to offer him; and allowed it to remain upon the ground untouched, without even condescending to acknowledge it by the slightest gesture.

"Quitting this melancholy object with every feeling of humanity upon the stretch, I entered one of the galleys—Here was an assemblage of wretchedness one would think

sufficient to annihilate all idea of megrims; yet such is the accommodating spirit with which we are endowed by Providence, that even here I heard the sounds of joy and song and laughter.—Turk chained to Turk—Christian to Christian, and, by a refinement of cruelty, Christian to Turk; all were rivetted to the benches of the vessel—Here they worked and ate and slept; and waked to a renewal of the horrid circle of their employment!—Yet so little distressing to one fellow with whom I spoke appeared the life of a galley slave, that he had actually commenced a third term of seven years confinement for a very trifling remuneration—He had been first condemned to seven years punishment for criminal conduct—then served seven years for another person, and had, a few days previous to my visit, contracted a similar engagement. The only answer I could obtain to the few questions I ventured to ask him respecting his state was a kind of smile, and *Che vuole? Non mi dispiace tanto? If hat can I say? I dont find it so very disagreeable!*

"I was afterwards informed that this was not a very uncommon occurrence; and that even many of these poor wretches, becoming debtors to the government for some trifling assistance, or loan of money during the term of their imprisonment, were frequently obliged, upon failure of payment, to renew their services, and pass the remainder of their life in all the misery of a galley slave. The distinguishing appellation of these amateurs was *Buone voglie*, whilst those confined for crimes were termed *Forzatti*."

The use of proxies in England is not carried quite so far; indeed we have not deduced all the advantages from the principle which might legitimately follow. We indeed permit our *peers* to send their opinions upon great national subjects, and upon points of law which have passed through the inferior courts to their highest tribunal, taking it for granted that the arguments which might be advanced in debate could throw no new light upon the subject, and produce no change of sentiment—and that, so the vote be given, it matters not by whom. It is equally reasonable, and even more convenient for great men, to allow of punishment by proxy, according to the custom of Genoa.

Dr. Griffiths mentions it as a curious proof of inconsistent toleration, that a Mosque should have been built for the Mohammedan slaves, and the free exercise of that religion permitted them, for which they had been so unjustly deprived of liberty. Strictly speaking, war is not made upon the piratical states for their religion, but for their piracy. The moors of Barbary are the common enemies of civilization and of the human race, not merely of Christianity and Europe. We

do not say this from any wish to extenuate the folly or barbarity of a mere buccaneering war, but in the hope that the christian powers will one day, by common consent, and for their common honour, extinguish these despicable and detestable governments.

The game of *pallone* might advantageously be introduced among us by some fashionable traveller. Athletic sports are always useful, and this might have a fair chance of coming into vogue, as it would be new and foreign.

"A ball of leather, filled with air, and equal in size to a man's head, is propelled backwards and forwards by means of a wooden instrument fixed upon the arm of the striker, called *bruciule*. At a little distance it resembles a muf, but is covered with short wooden diamond-shaped points. The hand and arm being introduced into it, the player, by grasping a peg placed for the purpose across the internal part of the instrument, secures it firmly in its situation, and uses it with a dexterity truly admirable.

"The parties engaged generally consist of twelve, six on each side; and the object is to drive the ball into the adversaries ground, or as far distant from the adversaries themselves as possible."

The Italian hospitals are establishments of such magnitude and liberality, that even in England we have nothing which can be set in competition with them: no certificates or recommendations are required; sickness is a sufficient ticket of entrance: nor are the incurable ever discharged. We copy the remarks of Dr. Griffiths upon these excellent institutions, because such remarks should be as widely circulated as possible.

"In dwelling upon the excellence of the Italian hospitals, I do not wish it to be understood, that I hold such establishments, or the facility with which they may be entered, as a superior consideration in favour of the poor, to those regulations, in a general view, which have been adopted under the head of the poor laws in England; nor am I unconscious that, by the laws of England, every poor person, without the means of subsistence, inherits a right to support from his parish; that every magistrate is bound to convey to such parish the afflicted wretch discharged from an hospital, and that such arrangements have been made by the laws of the land, as humanity and justice could devise for the benefit of the distressed, so that parochial assistance should prevent the misery of dying from actual want of food. I am perfectly aware of all these advantages in England; but I still contend, that the sick man, who finds his misery a sufficient recommendation to ensure the attentions of medical men, and the means of support, so

long as he shall require them, is infinitely more fortunate than the sick man who, in consequence of the probably incurable nature of his complaints, is discharged from an English hospital, to be transferred from one end of the island to the other upon a waggon, because none but his own parish is compelled to support him.

"I contend, that those hospitals are to be preferred, where every day is a *receiving* day, to those whose gates are opened to the recommendatory letter of a subscriber only once in the week; and where, even on that day, the amount of the subscription is often considered of more importance than the disease of the patient, provided that disease be not of the most serious nature; in which case, I allow, that the humanity of our truly respectable physicians and surgeons always overbalances the pecuniary interests of the establishment.

"I am aware, that cases of accidents are received at all times, without recommendation, at all our hospitals; but is John with an intermittent fever on Thursday less an object of compassion than on the Wednesday following, which I will presume, for the sake of argument, is the established receiving day? Is William with an ascites, or Thomas with an erysipelatos inflammation, less entitled, by the severity of their sufferings, to an immediate endeavour at relief, than Richard, who has been thrown from his horse, and fractured his fibula?

"If it be pleaded, that the funds of our hospitals will not afford such general and indiscriminate admission of patients, and that, were every invalid to be received without formality, the establishments must be ruined, my observations are correct. Happy, I repeat, in *this particular*, is the country where the afflicted poor may be at all times well provided for by the benevolence of the rich, without waiting for a letter of recommendation, or a receiving day!"

Having reached Smyrna, the traveller proceeded to Constantinople. Often as this metropolis has been described, a city so interesting on every account, must still present something new to every traveller, however well informed. Dr. Griffiths pretends not to have penetrated into the seraglio,—indeed the sight of three heads with labels to them signifying to whom they belonged, lying at the gate of the inner court, might have cured him of any rash curiosity. Arguing from the impossibility which existed to himself, he attempts to discredit all descriptions of these inaccessible recesses. But the old writers to whom he alludes were men of veracity, and jewellers and physicians may have obtained access where a young and idle traveller would be excluded. He found the prejudices of Mohammedan pride and ignorance in full force; the true believers

had not then received those salutary lessons of European discipline and European strength which have convinced them that a horse in Egypt is not degraded by carrying a christian on his back. The *kaftan*, which has usually been represented as a mark of distinction, is, we are here told, rather a mark of subjection, it being a custom that every ambassador must be habited in the Turkish manner before he could be permitted to see the light of the presence.

The dishonourable dealing of the Turkish traders is thus extenuated.

“The censure which has fallen upon the Turkish and other Levantine traders, in respect to their attempts to deceive or cheat, by asking three times more than the value of the articles they sell, deserves some modification. —A Levantine trader fixes no precise price to his merchandise; his object is to obtain as much as he can; not so much *per cent. per annum* upon his capital: he is acquainted with no price current, no rate of exchange; and from a want of that regularity in business to which we are accustomed, sees nothing contrary to propriety in demanding a considerable sum for an article of inconsiderable intrinsic value; estimating its worth by the probable necessity of the buyer, and therefore not offended at any proposed diminution. —There does not appear to me, in this mode of traffic, any thing very repugnant to honesty, nor indeed very different from what every day occurs in commercial countries. —The distinction exists merely between the wholesale extensive monopolising advance in price of any article in demand, established upon a grand exchange by very rich merchants, who all participate in the advantage; and the temporary effort at emolument of a poor huckster in a boutique, desirous of obtaining a more than usual profit upon an article which, by the inquiry, he supposes absolutely wanted.”

The defence is admissible to a certain extent only. Actions considered singly are not the same as in the gross. An advance upon sugars, for instance, is a sort of authoritative act; —a tax laid by the West India merchants upon all tea-drinkers, which is openly enacted, falls upon each individual in due proportion, and aggraves none. But were the grocer to ask three times its value for a pound of sugar to every customer, and abate in his demand according to their pertinacity, this would be an act of personal knavery, which he himself would feel as such, and by which each person whom he succeeded in over-reaching would be personally injured. It is well known that men assembled in bodies will agree to actions of which each individual would be ashamed:

A mob will proceed to massacre, though every man among them would shudder at the thought of committing murder. We must distinguish between wholesale and retail wickedness, —between Alexander and the pirate. We must insist upon private honesty, though public honesty should be out of our reach.

At Constantinople Dr. Griffiths became acquainted with Mustapha Campbell, the Scotch Ghumbaragee Bashee, or general of bombardiers, of whom other travellers have spoken. This gentleman, or rather mussulman, bore testimony to the truth of baron de Tott's story of the canuon, which has been so ignorantly and foolishly ridiculed as an extravagant falsehood.

An account of the Mohammedan religion is given at some length, avowedly abridged from D'Ohsson. Why has not the second volume of that valuable work been translated, or why was the first published in a style of such needless expence? The system of the Turkish government is better explained in Olivier's excellent travels. The state of the Turkish military force is copied with due acknowledgment from Mr. Eton, as is also a statement of the ordinary revenue and expenditure of the Porte, with a view of its debts and credits in 1776. As Mr. Eton's book is so very accessible, we could well have excused two quarto sheets of transcription from an *honest* octavo volume. But the most valuable information in this part of the book is that which explains the method by which the Turks endeavour to secure their property from confiscation. The only means of securing it, under a government so rapacious and so arbitrary, is by making it over to some religious or charitable purpose, in which case it is called a *wakf*.

“An established formality in bestowing property in *wakfs* requires that the donor should nominate a person, named *Mootouwalee*, to whose management the revenues are to be entrusted; and another called *Nazeer*, to whom the Mootouwalee is compelled to render up his accounts once in every six, or at farthest every twelve months. But as it is the peculiar characteristic of *wakfs* that the founder should be at perfect liberty in the choice of an agent or director, as well as in the disposal of his property, he has a right to unite both privileges in the same person. He may even reserve to himself the management of the estate, or grant it to his wife, to his children of either sex, or to his friend. A mode, therefore, presents itself, by which a considerable portion of his fortune may be ensured to the heirs of a family, since whatever property is not specifically disposed of in the act which

constitutes the *wakf*, becomes tacitly the right of the Mootowaulee. I use the term *tacitly*, because it is presumed by the law that the Mootowaulee expends for pious purposes, according to the suggestions of his own devotion, the whole of the *wakf*, although no positive application may have been made by the founder.

"The advantage which the most opulent officers of the Porte continued long to take of the facility with which they could evade the right of the sultaun to inherit their estates, became at last so evident, that the laws are now much more enforced than formerly; and whenever a person of rank dies, or, what is the same thing as to the sultaun's privilege, is disgraced, the whole of his property is seized, and a rigorous examination made respecting the *wakfs* with which it may be charged. When the residue of the fortune accruing to the family is found to be in a proportion not approved of, the sultaun, without ceremony, confiscates the whole estate for his own use, making it answerable only for the *wakfs* properly authenticated."

"The produce of the *wakfs*, with which mosques and other establishments are endowed, usually exceeds very considerably the expenditure which their maintenance requires; and the Mootowaulee seldom scruples to appropriate the difference to his own use. Many of the imperial mosques have a revenue of twenty or thirty thousand pounds sterling, whilst their whole expences require not more than half, or at most two-thirds of this sum. The perquisites, which are therefore enormous, are divided between the Nazeer and Mootowaulee, with little risk of discovery, as the government appears to be ignorant of the depredations committed, and no heirs of law are forthcoming to claim the unappropriated estate."

The *wakfs* of the mosques, which are continually increased by legacies, new endowments and good management, form no inconsiderable part of the ways and means of the Sublime Porte. The mufti, and the grand vizier, and the kislar agah are nazeers to most of the mosques in the empire; the kislar agah's chest in particular contains many millions of piastres. This fund is a never-failing resource. The sultaun borrows from it without hesitation, and the minister of finance engages to return the sum so borrowed.

There is another kind of *wakf* still more convenient.

"Formerly the mosques, which were sufficiently rich, were accustomed to purchase estates with the surplus of their revenues, for which they paid only half of the real value; but as a farther compensation, the seller was permitted to enjoy the possession of the purchased estate for a given number of years,

upon allowing to the mosque a very trifling rent.

"The proprietors of estates consented to this mode of disposing of their property, as much from a spirit of devotion as from the advantage of placing it beyond the grasp of authority; for the sale being duly registered with all the forms used at unequivocal *wakfs*, they were regarded merely as tenants. To ensure the tranquil enjoyment of these estates, it was particularly specified that a certain sum of money had been paid in advance, and that another, valued at a tenth of the annual value, mutually agreed upon between the parties, would be paid annually.—At the expiration of the stated term, the property so purchased devolved to the mosque; but if the possessor died previously to the date determined upon, the mosque invariably permitted the heirs of the deceased, or in default of heirs, those who farmed the collections of intestate estates, to enjoy the property till it became legally an appurtenance of the mosque.

"In this kind of *wakf* the repairs of the estate were always imposed upon the mosque; but as this circumstance gave rise to perpetual disputes, it frequently appeared that prevarications originated with the mosque as well as with the proprietors or their heirs; and the government was therefore induced to revise the laws, and improve those which should be found defective.

"By the laws now in force, it is enacted, that the mosques shall purchase these estates, whenever inclined, at a moderate rate; that the tenants shall be responsible for all repairs, improvements, or embellishments; and that the proprietors shall have the right of possession in perpetuity. These regulations are scrupulously attended to; and the method of arrangement is as follows:

"The proprietor of an estate makes a cession to a mosque under the title of *wakf*, for which he receives a sum of money, calculated at most at fifteen *per cent.* upon the real value of the property; sometimes at not more than ten *per cent.*—For two thousand pounds value, therefore, in land, the mosque pays only two hundred or three hundred pounds; and the seller, who is then considered simply as a tenant to the mosque, pays an annual rent to it, equivalent to the interest of the sum which he has thus received for his own estate.—The interest is calculated as the contracting parties may agree, but must not exceed fifteen *per cent.*

"This system will, no doubt, appear very singular to the reader: important advantages, however, result, not only to the mosque, but also to the founder of the *wakf*; for by these means the property is no longer liable to the common forms of civil law, and is sheltered as it were from every kind of seizure and confiscation.

"The founder esteems amongst his advantages, 1^{mo}, The right of continuing master of an estate, upon which he may reside, or

by which he may benefit by letting it to another.

"2do, That in case of debts contracted after the wakf has been legally made, no proceedings of common law can attach it, nor can any creditor pretend to claim a property which is adjudged sacred.

"3do, The right of transmitting to his children of both sexes the whole of his property, or rather the produce of this property, in equal proportions; whilst by the laws of the government no other property can be willed to his children but in the proportion of two parts to the males and one to females.

"4to, The right to mortgage, transfer, and dispose of his wakf by cession or otherwise as may best suit his convenience; subject however to a duty payable on these occasions to the mosque.

"5to, The privilege of not conforming to the law, which gives every proprietor of an estate contiguous to another about to be sold a preference to all other purchasers.

"The mosques, as may be naturally supposed, derive superior advantages.

"1mo, The funds employed at interest have an undeniable security in the estate mortgaged.

"2do, The mosque, not being any longer compelled to repair estates so purchased, economises considerably; and the tenant, who is most interested in their preservation, will necessarily attend to the amelioration of the property.

"3do, These repairs and embellishments, as well as every sort of augmentation which the tenants may choose to make, belong to the mosque by law.

"4to, The enormous receipts which accrue by the duty allowed by law to be levied at every commutation that takes place by a transfer of the tenant's privileges, change of Mootowaulce, or otherwise.

"5to, The essential advantage of inheriting these estates when ever the founder dies without children, the property then devolving, *ipso facto*, to the mosque; and no claims of the heirs at law, nor even of grandchildren, can be attended to:—Also of inheriting those estates for which the stipulated annual rent is neglected to be paid."

Particular care is necessary on the part of the wakf-maker in drawing out the deed of conveyance, as the law so far favours the mosques, that even a verbal disposition in their favour is admitted.

From Constantinople Dr. Griffith returned to Smyrna, and there met a young Swede, who was willing to travel with him to Aleppo. They made their arrangements with the owner of some horses which were engaged to carry merchandize to the metropolis of Syria, clothed themselves like common Greeks, and set out with the caravan, to encounter the diffi-

culties and dangers of an Asiatic journey. The mode of travelling and the accommodations on the road are well described.

"Caravanserais, or khauns, are most commonly large square buildings of stone and brick, appropriated at convenient distances on each road through the Ottoman empire to the service of travellers: they are frequently the gratuitous offering or legacy of the well-disposed; and sometimes a proof of paternal regard on the part of a patriotic sultan. They are generally rendered so far commodious, that round the inside of the quadrangle a story of chambers is built, where the traveller may repose without danger of those accidents from the horses, and other beasts of burthen, to which he is exposed below. The center of this quadrangle on the ground floor, which is open and not covered by a roof, contains the goods, and, when not completely filled by them, the horses, &c.; but it often occurs that some of the animals are brought upon the elevated bank which is continued on three sides (or on the four sides, allowing a space for the door) of this quadrangle, and destined for the travellers themselves previously to their retiring to their chambers. It is upon this elevated bank of earth that the meals are dressed, the pack-saddles, &c. deposited, and where the immediate attendants of the caravan remain as guards to the property. It is here also that all accompanying passengers must be contented to eat and sleep whenever the chambers above their heads are occupied, or where, as it sometimes occurs, no such chambers have been constructed. Fountains of water are often in the center of the caravanserai; never at any great distance: and these establishments, though rude and unequal to the comforts of an inn or a post-house, yet bear with them the stamp of civilization.

"It is usual for the caravan bashaw and his myrmidons to be on the alert before daylight, and no time is lost in loading the horses; when the whole proceed during four or five hours, then halting near a fountain or rivulet for about an hour, the rout is renewed till near sunset, or until some favourable spot is met with, which arrests its progress for the night. So many delays, however, take place, by stopping to shift, or secure the merchandise upon the saddles, to mend the miserable tackle with which it is fastened, and to wait for the conductor's business in the little villages upon or near the road, that the greatest extent of ground passed in one day seldom exceeds thirty, and is more generally under twenty-five miles.

"At convenient distances through all Asia Minor, and indeed wherever I have halted through the Turkish dominions, the erection of fountains, as well as caravanserais, denotes the attention which has been paid to the necessities of Mussulmans. Many of the former are built with elegance, and ornamented with inscriptions in gilded letters, allusive to

the founder, as well as to the principal article of the Mahommedan faith. An iron bowl, suspended by a chain, is always ready to assist the thirsty, and a flowing stream near it to supply their beasts. Very generally a hut, at no great distance, is provided with coffee, bread, eggs, and a distilled spirit they call *rakee*; or if the pious Mus-ulm un proprietor should be scrupulous on the subject of the last article, the traveller has only to wait until he meets with a Greek, who in every village may be found to furnish this pernicious, though on such occasions almost irresistible luxury."

On the fourth day they reached Sardis, now called Sart: the city of Cræsus is now a miserable village of clay huts, and the caravan halted amid the ruins of a palace. Their next stage was Allah-Sheer, the city of God, the ancient Philadelphia, still a populous place, where coarse cottons and carpets are manufactured, and the art of dying is better understood than in most parts of the neighbouring country. The Khans here are generally full of merchants, and the coffee-houses and baths well frequented. There are several Greek churches, and one which, though mean, is large, is called the episcopal; all indicate the state of wretched poverty in which the Greeks exist, and the bishop has few other comforts than those which he may derive from a conscious discharge of his duty. Here leaving Lydia they entered Phrygia, and proceeded to Aphiom-Kara-Hössar, the old Apamea, built on the banks of the Marsyas, which falls into the Meander. The wool trade forms the chief occupation of the inhabitants, but great quantities of poppies are cultivated in the neighbourhood, and much opium exported. In this melancholy journey, through a country which has been, and which ought to be, the garden of the world, they saw little else than fine lands uncultivated, and villages in ruins. And now they were informed that the road to Koniah was dangerous, for an Aga with a troop of banditti had stationed himself about ten miles from the common route, and from thence infested the country. This alarm was not groundless; the banditti surprized them at their mid-day meal, and demanded money as duty for passing the confines of their Aga. One of these ruffians attempted to kill Dr. Griffiths, who owed his escape entirely to the protection of a hadgee in the caravan. His share of the misfortune, however, was not yet over. When supper was preparing, the Turks obstinately refused to let him and his companion partake, unless

they indemnified them for the loss they had sustained from the robbers. The reason assigned for this demand was quite satisfactory. "You are two infidels, who have been the cause of all our misfortunes, on account of our having had the weakness to allow you to come near us, and to travel with us. Mohammed has in his wrath punished us by permitting robbers to take away our property; and therefore unless you reimburse us for our losses, you must no longer expect to eat from our dish." Even the hadgee, who had given them his oath of protection, thought this a reasonable claim. They were to reach Koniah the next day, where they had letters of credit; their purse was light, their stomachs empty, for in the rencontre with the banditti they had lost their dinner, and they gave up all their stock of cash: it proved far short of the expectations of their companions, but they had honour enough left to accept the will for the deed, and allow them their share of the meal.

At Koniah, however, the travellers attempted to right themselves by complaining to the Turkish merchant to whom they were recommended from Smyrna; he replied that it was out of his power to enforce restitution, as the Turks would plead it was only their share of the loss, and he very sensibly advised them to proceed without exciting murmurs against them.

In this city is the great mosque of the Mewlewhahs, the whirling dervises, an order instituted in the six hundred and seventy-second year of the Hegira, A. D. 1294, by Jelaulud-dinn Mewlana. This is the chief mosque of the order, and the schaik is obeyed with the most profound respect. The proofs required from a novice are sufficiently severe. He is obliged to perform the lowest services of the kitchen for a thousand and one days—a favourite number this it should seem among the eastern nations. An order called rufayees, from their founder Said Ahmed Rufayee, is distinguished for more extraordinary practices. After four scenes, as Dr. Griffiths calls them, in which they have to all appearance completely exhausted themselves by violent cries and motions, the fifth, which is characteristic of the order, commences.

"This is by far the most extraordinary, and cannot be witnessed without a degree of horror. The state of inactivity to which the dancers appeared to be reduced is now changed to one of ecstatic phrenzy, which they call *Haleth*. It is in the fervor of this religious de-

trium that they make their trials with red-hot iron.

"In a recess in the wall, near the seat of the schaik, cutlasses, and other sharp-pointed instruments, are suspended. Two of the dervishes, as soon as the fifth scene commences, take down eight or ten of these instruments, and, after making them red-hot, present them to the superior; who, repeating a few prayers, and invoking schaik Ahmed Rufayee, the founder, blows upon the heated iron, carries them lightly to his mouth, and then delivers them to those who most vehemently demand them. It is at this instant that these fanatics appear transported with enthusiastic joy: they seize the irons, look upon them with expressive tenderness, lick them with their tongues, bite them repeatedly, and at length extinguisht them in their mouths! Those who cannot procure any of the red-hot instruments grasp the cutlasses with fury, and wound themselves in the side, arms, or legs.

"It frequently happens that they support these extraordinary tortures without the smallest expression of pain; but if they have not power to resist, and fall under the violence of their efforts, they throw themselves into the arms of a brother. In a few minutes the schaik visits them, breathes upon their wounds, anoints them with saliva, recites prayers over them, and promises a speedy recovery; which they pretend always takes place in twenty-four hours afterwards, when their wounds are no longer visible.

"The origin of these singular customs is said to be their belief that the founder, Ahmed Rufayee, in a moment of religious transport, thrust his leg into a fire, and was instantly cured of his wounds by the virtue of the breath and saliva of *Abdul Cauder Goolance*; from whom they imagine their founder received a similar power, which he at his death transmitted to all the schaihs his successors.

"The instruments made use of they call *gool*, which signifies a *rose*; meaning to convey an idea, that the use to which they apply them is as agreeable to the shrine of their elected chief, as the odor of the flower is generally acceptable to the voluptuous of the present age.

"It must be confessed, however, that great suspicions have been entertained of these dervishes employing some artifice in their exhibitions, as well as of their possessing secrets, communicated only amongst the elders of their order: but there can be no deception in the uncommon exertions and subsequent exhaustion from fatigue, which they publicly exhibit in the ceremonies above described."

From Koniah they proceeded with the caravan towards Erekle by Adana to the port of Karadash, and there embarked for Suediah, the ancient Seleucia, on the coast of Syria, and from thence once more proceeded with the caravan. On the way to Antioch, Dr. Griffiths and his Swedish friend were once more obliged to *pay duty*.

After leaving it they reached Martavaun, a place of which they had heard sufficient to excite the curiosity of the most torpid traveller.

"In truth, the extraordinary customs of the inhabitants are so irreconcilable to our ideas of propriety, and so diametrically opposite to every thing we imagine a principle of devotion, that were not the facts ascertained beyond a doubt by many authors of respectability, I should scarcely venture to expose my veracity to the suspicions which may arise from a detail of the occurrences witnessed.

"Upon entering the village the inhabitants flocked around us, and, before we could dismount from our horses, eagerly seized upon some part of our cloathing, and invited us to accompany them home. Men and women were equally solicitous and equally loud in endeavouring to attract our attention. Amongst them a well-looking man, in company with three or four females, not less favored by nature than himself, in spite of their olive-colored complexion, whispered into my ear the Turkish words, "*Keff-var, Keff-var-geld*!"—*Much pleasure awaits you, come with me!* My companion, as well as myself, was well disposed to enjoy the hospitable offer; and, resisting the repeated attempts of others to withdraw us from our exulting host, we entered the doors of his mud-walled residence. The women were dressed in loose vests, with a head-dress rising in a point, and unlike any we had seen: they were joyous, familiar, and vociferous. Unfortunately the conversation was almost confined to themselves, for of Arabia I understood not a word; and my companion, whose knowledge of the eastern languages was extensive, was too recently arrived to be familiar with the pronunciation of our new associates. The house continued a scene of hurry and activity, until a smoking piloh and a roasted kid engaged us all at the same table. A spirituous liquor was handed round, and the highest conviviality was manifested by all our hosts and hostesses, of whom we had three men and four women.

"After paying a serious attention to our meal, coffee and pipes succeeded. The men disappeared one after the other, then returned again amongst us for a few minutes; seemed amazingly well pleased with the jokes which circulated among themselves, accompanied by gestures evidently intended to impress us with the idea that we were perfectly at home; and at length we remained without interruption in the full enjoyment of the ladies' society.

"Such a contrast to the jealous prohibitions established throughout the countries in which we had travelled, and even to the prevailing manners of those immediately surrounding the village itself, was calculated to excite our curiosity as much as our surprise; and to have ascertained the reality of circumstances, which, when reported to us, we could only regard as the inventions of pleasantry or fiction, was a subject of astonishment which

afforded us ample room for discussion during the rest of our journey.

"In the morning we were greeted with the most friendly and obliging salutations. The women as well as the men accompanied us to the house where the horses had been put up; and a present of a few piasters to our liberal host closed their compliments and our adventure.

"The history of these people is still but little understood, although the Europeans resident at Aleppo have frequently paid a visit to the village of Martavaun as well as to that called *Teffen*, which, at a few miles distance, is inhabited by the same race. They are said to be a sect of the Anvariens; a tribe whose origin is traced to an old man, who lived in the year eight hundred and ninety-one, at a village named *Nasar*, near Kouffa; and, amongst a variety of extraordinary tenets, a principal object of their devotion is the distinctive attribute of the female sex. From hence, as a natural consequence, may be deduced their religious attention to a multiplication of its enjoyments; and, with a pious regard to their opinions upon the subject, they embrace every opportunity thrown in their way by the arrival of strangers, without any kind of attention to their age, their rank, or their religion!

"They hold frequent assemblies, where promiscuous connection is the conclusion of such ceremonies as they have thought proper to adopt in the fulfilment of their worship: but what these previous ceremonies are, seems to be unknown, or involved in doubt and obscurity. The men are of much darker complexion than the women, and pay little attention to the external ornaments of their dress; which is similar to the common habit of the Arabs. Many of the women were not only clean, but much more attractive than has been expressed by several travellers, whose reports were rather grounded upon hearsay than positive evidence. Their limbs are finely formed, as is generally the case where nature is not confined by the trammels of dress; and their teeth are beautifully white."

In this part of Syria they met two of the sect called Yauzdia, who professedly address their devotions to Shitaun, Satan, or the evil spirit. Dr. Griffiths observes that there are other customs in the world as ridiculous, and more atrocious; he might have remarked that we have Yauzdia in England, who not only worship an evil spirit, but give him the name of the deity, and invest him with all the attributes of the deity—except justice, mercy, and goodness.

Dr. Griffiths arrived at Aleppo in so dirty and so *populous* a condition, that he was ashamed to visit the baths till the third day after his arrival, and even then in the

evening. Here he met with an adventure not altogether unlike the custom of sweating in the Spectator. A party of Turkish ladies meeting him alone in the gardens upon the banks of the Kowick, joined hands, and formed a circle round him; while others, who were at liberty within the circle, pushed him on every side, laughing violently at the sport. Had any Moslem come up, he would have been bastinadoed, or imprisoned, for undergoing this diversion, to which he put an end at last by forcing his way through.

Mr. H., one of the English residents at Aleppo, was at this time obliged by business to go to India, and wished Dr. Griffiths to accompany him, saying, indeed, that without him he dared not undertake it. The invitation was readily accepted, for it was indifferent to the traveller which way he went. Mr. H. took with him a daughter only seven years of age, because he could not bear to leave both his children. It is almost inconceivable that any man should thus needlessly have exposed a child to the dangers of such a journey.

"Mr. H. determined to take with us a horse of great value, to which he was partial: and a machine, called *mohaffah*, was fitted up for common use. This is formed of two boxes, about four feet in length, and eighteen or twenty inches in breadth. One of these is slung on each side of the camel; and, by means of uprights or posts fixed at the outside corners, a canvas covering is thrown over them, and shades the travellers from the extreme heat of the sun.

"To render this machine more commodious, the boxes are nearly filled with mattresses, but the movements of the camel prevent all comfort; and every time the forefeet of the animal come to the ground, the shock is similar to that which is experienced in the bow of a vessel when labouring against a head-sea; and in a few hours I was so bruised, that I quitted the *mohaffah*, and ever afterwards, even when the heat was almost insupportable, preferred walking.

"The provident care of Mr. H. had induced him to pack up a very excellent tent, some wines, liqueurs, butter, and a variety of dried articles; not forgetting a quantity of vinegar, alum, and a pair of bellows, for the purpose of purifying the bad water we had reason to expect."

The alum proved useless: it only removed one unpleasant taste, by communicating another which was worse. The journey was dreadful; the *Simoolch** frequently blew, and of the European travellers the child was the one who suffered

* Dr. Griffiths writes the word thus, after the excellent authority of Dr. Russel, changing only the final *y* into *ch*, as more analogous, he says, to the Arabic pronunciation.

least. Their stock of provisions ran low; and the salted tongues, with which they had absurdly provided themselves, proved of no use when water was scarce. The thermometer varied, during the day, from ninety-six to one hundred and four degrees; the nights were frequently cooled by northerly winds.

At length they came in sight of the grand dome and glittering minarets of *Mesched Ali*. Here Dr. Griffiths must relate his own rash and perilous adventure.

"My friend was almost exhausted by the pain and uneasiness he experienced; nor was I much less so: but a desire to explore (as far as was possible for a christian) the renowned tomb of the prophet Ali, held in estimation by the Persians with a zeal equally enthusiastic with that which the Haddgees of Mecca entertain for the shrine of Mahommed, vanquished my disposition for rest, and, contrary to the advice of Mr. H. I set off alone for the village.

"It is seated upon an elevated ridge of sand hills: a tolerably good street runs nearly from south to north about three hundred yards. The houses on each side are flat-roofed; many of them being so constructed that their roofs are but little above the level of the street. To enter the habitable part of them, it is necessary to descend from the streets down several steps; so that one is apt to imagine the street has been formed between two rows of houses already built.

"After proceeding along this street, another turns abruptly to the right; and on the left of the angle is the grand entrance to the celebrated mosque. In a variety of shops, near the gates of the mosque, were exposed to sale water-melons and other fruits, as well as many dried grains: but in almost all of them the proprietors were reposing themselves; and on account of the extreme heat not a single person appeared walking in the streets. Being thirsty, I wished to purchase part of a melon, and addressed myself to a shopkeeper for the purpose; but taking me for a Greek, he loaded me with abuse, and refused to contaminate himself even by selling to me one of the articles on his shop-board. I retired without making him any reply; and, upon my return past his hut, observed he had again laid himself down to sleep. On approaching the gate of the mosque, I perceived that all the good Musulmauns, at each side of the entrance, were in the same drowsy disposition. Stimulated by an irresistible, yet unpardonable curiosity, I hastily walked into the first court. An elegant fountain, ornamented with coloured tiles, and a profusion of Arabic sentences, was constructed in the centre; and a corridor round the area afforded a shady walk to that part of the building, where two handsome doors led to the interior of the mosque. I went to that on the left-hand side; and finding no one at prayers, entered it far enough

to see the whole of the apartment. The dome is very handsome, but by no means so large as that of Saint Paul's, as colonel Capper judged it to be from its appearance at a distance. The mosque is richly ornamented with balls of ivory, glass, ostriches eggs, and a prodigious number of lamps, not only in the centre, but on every side. Very small-sized rich carpets covered the flooring, and two extraordinary large silver candlesticks were placed near the Maharch.

"Apprehension of discovery now began to operate upon me, and I traced back my steps with caution, greatly dissatisfied at having found nothing extraordinary; but, before I could repossess the gate, an old man started up, and called to me in Persian. Not receiving any answer, he awakened two others; when they all jumped from the elevated part where they had been sleeping, and exclaimed most vehemently. One of them, armed with a scimitar (fortunately for me not unsheathed), and another with a short stick, made many blows at me; which parrying in the best manner I was able, although not so successfully as I could have wished, I dashed through these bearded heroes, and was assailed in my flight by many large stones, of which, for many days, I bore the marks."

As they advanced their sufferings became almost intolerable. The sand was so hot, that the horse was actually lamed by the burning heat of his shoes. The *Simoolah* became more frequent and more violent: the thermometer rose to one hundred and sixteen degrees; what little water remained was so thick and contaminated, that, parched as they were, they could not swallow it. For eight and forty hours they were in want of water, at length they reached the well, but not in time to save the life of Mr. H. He lived indeed to taste the water, and almost immediately expired.

The child, probably because she was in the mohaffah, suffered comparatively little from the poisonous wind. At length they reached the Euphrates; but though many of their dangers were over, the heat continued to increase. Fahrenheit's thermometer rose to one hundred and thirty-two degrees under the tent; and when exposed a quarter of an hour to the sun, to one hundred and fifty-six degrees. On the forty-eighth day after their departure from Aleppo they arrived at Bassora. Here Dr. Griffiths consigned his little charge to the commercial resident: she remained a few months there, and re-crossed the desert under the care of captain Currie, who delivered her safely to her mother.

From Bassora Dr. Griffiths sailed for Bombay, and there his volume ends. We wish to see his remarks upon India.

This book is published in a manner unnecessarily expensive, which we notice, because it is becoming too much the practice for authors, or for booksellers, to make the public pay for blank paper. The three hundred and ninety-six pages of this quarto might have been comprised in a thin octavo volume, or even in a duodecimo, and that too in a type which would require no spectacles to magnify it. There is certainly no legal standard for printers' measure, but there is a standard

of honesty to which every thing may be referred.

The prints in this volume are neither beautiful nor useful; they serve no other purpose than to enhance the price of the work. They have a bad custom, in arbitrary governments, of licensing books—they have also a custom of fixing the sum at which they shall be sold—our English publishers are proving that this custom is not quite so bad.

ART. XIII. *Letters from Paraguay: describing the Settlements of Monte Video and Buenos-Ayres; the Presidencies of Rioja Minor, Nombre de Dios, St. Mary and St. John, &c. &c. with the Manners, Customs, and religious Ceremonies, &c. of the Inhabitants. Written during a Residence of seventeen Months in that Country.* By JOHN CONSTANSE DAVIE, Esq. 8vo. pp. 293.

THIS book has, in some parts, a kind of romantic air, which prevents us from trusting implicitly to the information which it contains: it is evident, however, that the writer has described many things from actual inspection; and, as every notice concerning the state of Spanish America is highly interesting, we are much inclined to give the volume before us a welcome reception. The advertisement informs us, that

"The writer of the following letters, a gentleman of liberal education and considerable property, having been disappointed in his hopes of happiness with a beloved female, to relieve the distress of his mind, resolved to travel; and leaving this country for New York, on his arrival commenced a correspondence with his most intimate friend—Yorke, esq. of Taunton-Dean, in the county of Somerset, his half-brother. After remaining at New York a short time, he suddenly formed the resolution of embarking on a trading voyage to Botany Bay—with which these letters begin.

"Soon after they had sailed, a tremendous storm obliged the captain to alter his course, and make for the river Plata. They safely reached Monte Video, and afterwards went up to Buenos-Ayres, to repair the vessel; where Mr. Davie was seized with a dangerous disorder, which usually attacks Europeans upon their first landing in that country; and the captain, having repaired his damages and completed his stock of provisions, was under the disagreeable necessity of leaving him in the care of the fathers of the convent of St. Dominic, by whose unremitted attention he recovered in about three months.

"The jealousy of the Spanish government causing him, upon his recovery, to be confined to the limits of the convent, he, to obtain more liberty, took the dress of a novice; and, in consequence, after a short time was permitted to visit in the town, and soon after to attend father Hernandez on a visit to some

of the presidencies in the interior of the province of Paraguay, which were understood to be in an unsettled state: this enabled him to make many observations, which he took every opportunity of communicating to his friend in this country, through his agent at New York, by means of the American captains trading to South America.

"After his return to Buenos-Ayres, it is certain that he went to Concepcion, in Chili; as he was last heard of from that place, in the year 1803: but whether he lost his life in any insurrection of the natives, or was imprisoned by the government in consequence of his correspondence being detected, is unknown."

From this it is evident, that the friend to whom these letters are addressed is not the editor of them, and, of course, not responsible for their authenticity in the state in which they appear before the public. Another suspicious circumstance is, that the latest letter in this volume is dated May 1798, although we learn from the advertisement, that Mr. Davie was last heard of from Concepcion, in Chili, in 1803. Were no letters received during the whole of this interval, or have they not come into the possession of the editor?

Soon after Mr. Davie's arrival at Monte Video, he was seized with a dangerous fever, accompanied and succeeded by long-continued delirium, during which he was conveyed to Buenos-Ayres, and left at the Dominican convent there, by his friend the American captain, who was obliged to proceed on his voyage. From the monks, to whose hospitality he was entrusted, he received the kindest attentions, and finally got the better of his illness by means of an Indian remedy. Being thus left alone among strangers, and, in consequence of the war between England and Spain, being considered as

a prisoner, Mr. Davie was induced to retain the novice's habit, with which he had been clothed on his first reception into the monastery, in the hope of being allowed a little more liberty, more especially as he was looked upon by the good fathers as a catholic, in consequence of the following mistake.

"These reverend fathers regard me as a very pious and devout catholic. This strange prejudice I can no otherwise account for, than by their finding on my neck the precious cross worn by my lost —. I missed this valuable relic immediately upon regaining my senses, but was diffident of asking for it, as not knowing where or how I had lost it. However, when I was, in their opinion, sufficiently recovered, the jewel was restored to me, and in a transport of joy I seized and carried it to my lips. This motion of mine was attributed by the brethren to a motive of grateful piety, and they very readily conceived that I was one of their own persuasion."

This letter is dated June 1797, so that the subsequent events related by Mr. Davie occupy a period of only eleven months. The discreet conduct of the author, his attentions to his ecclesiastical superiors, and a well-timed present to the monastery, procured him the liberty of visiting a few of the principal families in the town, and of making little excursions into the neighbourhood. The country round is, for the most part, an immense savanna, extremely fertile, especially in those parts that are annually inundated by the river, and covered with luxuriant herbage, supporting large herds of wild cattle and horses, the descendants of those formerly imported hither from Europe. The cattle, however, are not so numerous as they used to be, on account of the devastation committed among them for many years past by the hunters, who destroy them by thousands merely for the sake of their skins, tongues, and fat.

Splendour, dissipation, idleness, and sloth, strikingly characterize the settlement of Buenos-Ayres; and the influence of the clergy being very great, the religious festivals are solemnized with unusual pomp. The account of the celebration of Corpus Christi day deserves to be extracted.

"The morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, and other similar demonstrations of joy. At ten o'clock, upon a signal given at the governor's house, the community prepared to join in the general cavalcade; and now, for the first time, I was to see the outside of the convent. We

were arranged in order, in a large square, within the gates: first, the young choristers were divided into four bands, twelve in each; these are the children under the tuition of the fathers. The first division was to precede the whole, singing a particular service appropriate to the day. On either side these children walked lay-brothers, bearing ensigns, or pictures representing the different achievements of their patron saint. Then followed the novices, among whom was myself; every one bearing some precious relic or another, enclosed in boxes of ebony and ivory, curiously wrought.

"To us succeeded another band of music, accompanied by all the visitors of distinction, of which there were not a few from the distant plantations. Next came the elder fathers of the convent, two and two, each carrying something relative to the festival; and after them the superior, dressed in all the regalia of his office, surrounded by the young students going to Cordova, and six lay-brothers, bearing banners. The remainder of the community, choristers, and several newly-baptized Indians, brought up the rear; every one in this procession being arrayed in their richest and gayest attire. The cavalcade, having cleared the convent-gate, entered a large handsome square; on one side of which stands the cathedral, a very fine well-finished edifice, crowned with a cupola, and open on all sides to the view. Round this square were assembled the societies of several other orders, all dressed in paraphernalia; and a more curious scene I never witnessed. It seemed as if people from all nations of the earth were collected together, presenting every different shade of the complexion, from the silver-haired inhabitant of Denmark to the sable-hued native of Guinea.

"Among the crowd some Indian caciques held a very conspicuous place. They wore party-coloured cotton habits, prettily decorated with a variety of feathers, arranged in a very judicious and elegant manner. Bands of wool, red, purple, and yellow, encircled their heads, and supported some of the most beautiful plumes I ever beheld. Several of the caciques wore glittering ornaments on their chins; others on their necks, arms, and legs. But if these Indians pleased by the gaiety of their attire, another tribe interested me no less by their simplicity. These were clad in white cotton vestments, with no other ornament than large full white feathers, rising one above another round the head. This dress, contrasted with the dark copper colour of their skins, was peculiarly striking, and gave a most singular, though extremely pleasing, appearance to the whole.

"The outsides of the houses round the square were hung with festoons of flowers, and live birds, tied with strings, to prevent their escape, but long enough to admit of their fluttering sufficiently to expand their beautiful plumage; a contrivance which I must confess had a very picturesque effect. The portico of the church was decorated with an uncom-

mon quantity of real and artificial flowers, in the disposal of which a great share of taste had been displayed. Under the principal arch was placed a band of musicians, who sang and played most enchantingly. Indeed there is not a place in the world, not even Italy, where sacred music is more studiously attended to. Upon a volley being fired by some of the soldiers—who were all drawn up on one side of the square—the procession commenced by the military, fully accoutred, marching off two and two, to the sound of drums, trumpets, and other martial music, at intervals halting, to discharge their pieces; the bells of all the churches ringing, and the ships in the harbour returning the fire in the town: so that altogether you may suppose the concert by no means a despicable one. First after the soldiers came the order of St. Francis, arranged in nearly the same manner as ourselves; then followed a second division of the military, and the choristers of the cathedral: to them succeeded the order of St. James; and, thirdly, we came in. Between our rear, and the advanced guard of the fourth community, was borne on a very high altar, richly decorated, the elements of the eucharist, surrounded by a vast number of people of the first rank and quality; some of them bearing lighted wax-candles, highly perfumed; others incense, many banners, and not a few relics: the whole group flanked by soldiers on horseback, in their newest and best attire, firing alternately to the right and left; and wherever a cross was erected, which I believe was at the end of every street, the whole cavalcade halted to sing the appointed service.

"After the eucharist came another division of soldiers, and after them all the remaining religious of the town; while on either side of the street—for we took the middle—marched the mobility, men, women, and children; but, notwithstanding their numbers, all ranged in regular order, and observing a profound silence, except when they joined in the general choruses, and then blessed St. Dominic. What a din was there! Each division of the whole procession was attended by a band of music, which, halting at the crosses, played almost divinely; and sorry enough I was, when the devotion of the multitude, breaking forth into audible sounds, spoiled such excellent harmony.

"The decorations of the houses in magnificence surpassed any thing I ever beheld in Europe on the like occasion. The streets are wide, and most of them in a straight line; the houses in general low, with here and there a very elegant church or public building, finished according to the rules of European architecture. Every habitation was hung either with tapestry or coloured cottons of various dyes, ornamented with feathers in a very ingenious manner; between which were suspended festoons of flowers, articles of plate, and even jewels, according to the riches of the owner. Across the streets, from side to

side, were triumphal arches, composed of boughs of trees artfully interwoven; from which hung, as at the portico of the church, a great variety of living birds, all suspended in the most advantageous point of view, and some of them beyond description beautiful. Between the arches were set out a vast quantity of eatables; such as cakes, pies, fruits, &c. all disposed in a very agreeable manner: and I could not help feeling a kind of peculiar *English pleasure* at this part of the exhibition. Close to the houses, on each side of the streets, were likewise placed living animals—young tigers, lions, wolves, dogs, and even monkeys of a particular large species—secured so carefully as to prevent any possibility of their escaping, or hurting those that might come near them. From the windows were suspended baskets, very neatly wove, of a lovely green colour, containing every kind of seed or grain with which they mean to sow the land, that the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD might bestow his benediction on them as he passes, which they think will undoubtedly procure them a plentiful harvest; and indeed they are seldom, if ever, disappointed.

"There is not a street through which the procession passes but is adorned in this splendid manner: for on this festival the riches of every individual are displayed to the greatest advantage possible, and with a peculiar degree of art; which must, I should think, occupy a considerable time in preparation.

"In one of the streets leading to the great square I saw three of the largest and finest peacocks I ever beheld: also pheasants of an extraordinary size and beauty, not much unlike the peacocks in point of feather, but taller, with more slender legs; and in lieu of a long sweeping tail, small tufts of feathers, composed of dark brown, beautifully shaded with green and gold; but their eyes and plumage, in beauty and variety of colours, far surpassed any of the biped kind that had ever before met my inspection. They all appeared very tame; and, with several other large birds fastened in a similar way, were not in the least disturbed by the firing, the shouts of the multitude, or the trampling of the horses. The ground was all over strewed with herbs and flowers, so regularly disposed as to resemble, in many places, the most delicate Persian carpets. In fine, all the sweets of nature seemed collected in one spot, to honour the sacred festival: and a greater assemblage of people of all ranks, ages, and conditions, I never witnessed, even in the most populous city in Europe; nor so profound a silence and regularity, except when the pious responses were made.

"The governor was dressed in a rich Spanish habit, tastily ornamented with gold, jewels, &c. He was surrounded by a numerous and very splendid retinue, as none but the sick are exempt from assistance at this ceremony.

"When the procession reached the cathedral, the air was almost rent by the multitude

of voices; and we entered the edifice during a heavy discharge of artillery from the garrison and ships in the harbour, also volleys of musquetry from the soldiers in the streets. Here high mass was celebrated, and the sacrament administered; which ceremony, of course, occupied a considerable time, and when ended the different communities retired in the same order to their respective convents. The principal visitors and caciques are invited to the governor's, where a plentiful banquet is provided for them, composed of every delicacy the country affords. The eatables, &c. with which the streets were adorned are taken down, and distributed by the parish priests among the inhabitants, who entertain all strangers that choose to partake of them. At night there is a general rejoicing; when some very ingenious fire-works are displayed, and national games exhibited, such as hunting or baiting the wild bull, &c. and various martial exercises, in which the inhabitants of Buenos-Ayres particularly excel."

We are sorry to observe that the oppression of the Indians still continues in all its rigour, and that this is the cause of the comparatively good treatment experienced by the negro slaves: the cost of a negro is considerable, and therefore his purchaser is induced to use him well; but the poor native Indians, whenever they can be caught, belong to the government, and are consumed, without remorse, in the public works and private employment, by excessive labour and scantiness of food.

The empire established by the jesuits in Paraguay, although its destruction was apparently very complete, has by no means yet ceased to operate: the necessary tendency of this measure was to increase prodigiously the power of the military commanders, at the expence of the influence till that time possessed by the priests; the consequence of which is, that the ecclesiastics, in the distant *presidios* at least, are very discontented, and are intriguing both with the converted and unconverted Indians, to expel the military by force, and throw off their dependence on the governor of Buenos-Ayres. Some seditious movements among the clergy, in the settlements on the Uruguay and the lake Iberi, had particularly attracted the notice of government, and it was thought expedient to send, from the Dominican monastery at Buenos-Ayres, a respectable ecclesiastic, father Hernandez, to conciliate if possible the existing differences. Mr. Davie had the good fortune to prevail on the father to allow him to accompany the mission as secretary, and accordingly, in the month of September, he quitted the

capital with his associates, and commenced his journey. They travelled by land up the banks of the Plata, as far as the little harbour of Rio de las Conchas; here they embarked on board three balsas, or covered double canoes; and crossing the Plata, entered the Uruguay, a deep and rocky stream, and one of the principal contributors to the main river. The Uruguay abounds in fish, and its wooded banks swarm with game, and are infested by tigers, not indeed so formidable as those of Bengal, yet sufficiently fierce to exercise the skill and courage of the Indian hunters. After proceeding for some days up this river, they entered one of its tributaries, the Iber, and at length reached the lake Iberi, out of which the Iber flows in one direction, and an unnamed stream in another, that falls into the Plata at the presidency of Santa Lucia. The lake is above one hundred miles long, and forty wide: it is sprinkled with numerous islands, and on its fertile and wooded shores are established several flourishing settlements, at the principal of which, Rioja Minor, father Hernandez and his company took up their residence.

"This town is pretty large, and very regularly built. The streets, which are in the Roman style, exactly parallel, are divided by plantations of trees thick set, oranges, lemons, citrons, myrtles of every various sort, and scores of other odoriferous shrubs, which as you pass regale the senses most delightfully, and seem to give one a foretaste of those blissful regions where our religion tells us we shall rest for ever. Little currents of the purest water run with gentle ripples underneath the trees, over a smooth bed of small round pebbles. The houses are mostly built of clay, one story high, and covered with tiles; but the dwellings of the commandant, corrigidor, fiscal, and others of note, are higher, made of brick, and fitted up with every convenience. The public storehouse is in the centre of the town; it is one story high, very long and wide, divided into several apartments, so contrived as to receive every different article for use or barter. Formerly this storehouse was under the sole regulation of the rector, and by him only was the produce proportioned out to the different families; but now the Spanish commandant claims a share in the distribution."

The unusual alertness of the military clearly showed that mischief was apprehended, but for some weeks no disturbance took place: in January 1798, father Hernandez, accompanied by Mr. Davie, went, on account of his health, to the mineral waters of Ariciffe, near the presidency of Santa Maria, on the river Pa-

was; from this place he was suddenly recalled in the succeeding month to Rioja Minor, where every thing was in confusion. The father, on his arrival, found the monastery surrounded by a guard of soldiers, and that two of the principal ecclesiastics were under arrest on a charge of treason; this disgraceful circumstance, together with the fatigues of his rapid journey, affected so severely both his health and spirits, that he died in a few days, leaving the two parties in a state of the highest irritation against each other, which shortly concluded in the following tragical manner.

"Father Michael and father Joseph were placed in confinement, until the balsas should be ready to convey them to Buenos-Ayres. I was so much taken up with the illness and death of our good pastor, that I never even bestowed a thought upon these men until the morning after the funeral, when I sent to the commandant to request that I might be permitted to return with the prisoners to the convent of St. Dominic, if they were not already sent off; for not a single person had opened his lips to me on that or any other subject, save the death of the superior, whom every one lamented. The answer I received from Don Policarpo (the governor) was, 'that he should consider of my request; and in the mean time desired I would keep myself quiet with the other two brothers in the monastery,' round which I found the guard was still stationed. This answer of the commandant's somewhat surprised me; and about the middle of the day after that on which it was sent to me, I was sitting in the apartment formerly occupied by the venerable Hernandez, reflecting on my situation, and wondering for what new vicissitudes I was reserved, when I was roused from my reverie by the loud confused din of an approaching multitude. Presently a signal-gun was fired, the drums beat to arms, and the piercing war-shout of the Indians burst upon my ears. I sprang in terror from my seat, and ran to the window; but it only commanded a view of the convent garden. I was therefore hastily returning to the door when it flew open, and the friendly Indian, who made my secret box for me, rushed into the room, followed by about twenty of the town Indians. 'Come with me, father Mathias,' said he—for that is my religious title—'for with us you will be safe.' 'What is the matter?' cried I; 'what does all this mean?' 'Father Michael and father Joseph,' returned he 'have been rescued from the balsas by some tribes of the wild Charuas: they have joined the town Indians, who have risen in a body, and are now surrounding every Spaniard's house; but I will preserve you.' Saying this, he threw part of a tiger's skin across my shoulders, and pulled me after him out of the monastery, and towards the strand. All we passed was tumult, horror,

and confusion; the military were flying in all directions, pursued by the Charuas, armed with long barbed darts, which they sent through the air with amazing celerity. The townsmen had taken possession of the signal post, storehouse, and arsenal, and being at the hour of siesta, all the Spaniards had been taken unprepared. This was the revolt which had been so long dreaded, and which the commandant too securely thought he had effectually circumvented through the intelligence received from the Indian. But this pretended confession, it now appears, was only a deep-laid scheme to deceive the commandant; the conspirators had foreseen the consequences, and provided accordingly. I perceived, as I passed along from the monastery to the water, that all who had not the whole or part of a tiger's skin upon their shoulders were immediately sacrificed either by the town Indians, who wore this symbol, or by the Charuas, who had theirs tied about their waists as their common, and indeed only, covering. When I reached the strand, the first objects I beheld were the dead bodies of the commandant and major-general, pierced in every part with darts and arrows. I have since learned they dragged the former from his bed, and massacred him; his wife and family were killed in much the same manner; and so sudden and unexpected was the blow, that not a single destined victim had escaped."

"On the sixth day in the evening, father Michael came to me, and apologised for not seeing me before, saying, that the many material things he had had to arrange alone prevented him. He then entered into a long dissertation on the necessity the town Indians had been under of adopting the decisive measures they had pursued, to obtain that liberty the state of Spain had so long deprived them of, and which it was their firm determination to secure against whatever steps the crown might have recourse to, to prevent them; for although they respected the laws, they were not disposed to abide by any but those they themselves should frame: their oppressors had reigned long enough, and they were resolved to enjoy their native freedom, or perish in the attempt."

The insurgents offered Mr. Davie a quiet residence among them, and even to secure his escape to England; but expecting to be appointed to a mission to Chili, he declined their offers, and was sent in a balsa to Buenos-Ayres, where he safely arrived in the month of May. Here the volume terminates. Besides the events, of which we have given a sketch, there are interspersed several interesting particulars relative to the manners of the Indians, and the police of the Spaniards; but these we decline to notice, conceiving it to be an injustice to the author to make any more extracts from a small book.

ART. XIV. *A Tour in America, in 1798, 1799, and 1800. Exhibiting Sketches of Society and Manners, and a particular Account of the American System of Agriculture, with its recent Improvements.* By RICHARD PARKINSON, late of Orange Hill, near Baltimore. (Author of the "*Experienced Farmer*," &c. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 735.

MR. PARKINSON ought to have entitled his work an *Agricultural Tour*; for it has no pretensions to have given a satisfactory account of any other phenomena than those which interest the farmer. But for the very reason that it selects for record and discussion such features of the country, as the author was peculiarly qualified to give a critical account of, it exceeds in value those superficial books of travels, which treat of every thing, and of every thing defectively. The farmer, who projects an emigration to North America, should study this work; it will deter him from executing the project, by the satisfactory detail of causes, why the agricultural profession neither is, nor is likely to become a profitable or pleasant employment, in any part of the United States which the writer visited. His tour is confined to the central provinces of the North American States.

The author embarked at Liverpool, landed at Norfolk in Virginia, went to treat with General Washington for a farm near Mount Vernon, and finally settled in the neighbourhood of Baltimore, in which town he sold a great quantity of milk. Concerning this sweep of district the account is ample, minute, instructive, and decisive.

Instead of a survey of the back settlements, some shocking stories are told of the atrocious conduct of the Indians in 1782, when they were said to have been hallooed upon the western settlers by the intrigues of the British: it is more probable that the usurpation of Indian districts, without orderly purchase, gave occasion to this savage warfare.

The author next travels to Philadelphia, Brunswick, and New-York, for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions to his reprinted *Experienced Farmer*. His social introductions are various, and the information collected is considerable for so cursory a three months journey.

His third tour is a circuit of three hundred miles, chiefly along the Chesapeake, through Annapolis; here, if any where, the author finds something to praise. The northern, the southern, the western states were never inspected: but as the tide of emigration from England mostly tends toward the country between New-York and

Baltimore, that territory is described concerning which information is most important on this side the Atlantic.

We learn in general that the soil is every where bad; labour every where dear; demand for produce every where narrow and precarious; necessities every where costly; and comforts wholly unobtainable: that farming on a small scale, or a large scale, is a losing trade; and that a farmer's family in reality subsists, not by the profits on his stock or capital employed, but by personal fagging, which, as all men's labour is well paid, may keep a family from starving. The roads are execrable; but the gentlemen hospitable. The people are insolent, dishonest, and rapacious. There are no poor-laws, no punishments, no schools. Civilization, which always proportions itself to the density of populousness, is retrogressive, and approaches nearer to a Russian than an English level: the symptoms of culture observable in the towns are due to the influx of foreign, chiefly Scottish, merchants. In short, such a picture as Bulow of Hamburg drew, in 1797, of the commercial interest of North America, is here drawn of the landed interest. Both authors agree that the price of land is on the decline; and that the inclemency and unwholsomeness of the climate are unconquerable impediments to the higher stages of cultivation and improvement. The country is not only bad, but unbetterable. The inhabitants are constantly crawling westwards, and at every remove sink lower toward poverty, privation, and barbarism.

In all this delineation there is evidently much of caricature; and a systematic wish and endeavour to curry favour with the Tories of England, by ascribing the evils of North America to its republicanism. To the doctrine of equality is attributed the insolence of the commonalty; to liberty, their improbity; to the want of a distinct exemplary class of noblemen, their vulgarity or rudeness; to the want of an established clergy, their ignorance. The author was pleased with Washington and Jefferson, and therefore omits to mention what they lose by wanting a king.

Those who are curious concerning American agriculture will, of course, consult

the book itself; we shall indicate only a few facts, which may supply hints for improvements at home.

In the Patowmak there are fresh-water oysters, large and fat: "the taste is watery and disagreeable to me, but not so to the Americans." Surely this sort of shell-fish might be reared in the inland lakes of Great Britain.

"There are great numbers of hogs, in general of a very inferior kind. The real American hog is what is termed the wood-hog: they are long in the leg, narrow on the back, short in the body, flat on the sides, with a long snout, very rough in their hair, in make more like the fish called a perch than any thing I can describe. You may as well think of stopping a crow as those hogs. They will go to a distance form a fence, take a run, and leap through the rails, three or four feet from the ground, turning themselves sidewise. These hogs suffer such hardships as no other animal could endure. It is customary to keep them in the woods all winter, as there is no thrashing or fold-yards; and they must live on the roots of trees, or something of that sort; but they are poor beyond any creature that I ever saw. That is probably the cause why the American pork is so very fine. They are something like the forest-sheep. I am not certain, with American keeping and treatment, if they be not the best; for I never saw any animal live without food, except this; and I am pretty sure they nearly do that. When they are fed, the flesh may well be sweet: it is all young, though the pig be ten years old; and, like pigs in general, they only act as a conveyance to carry corn to market. The sort of hogs I left in America pay the most for food I ever saw. I fed some half-bred ones, at six months old, that weighed ten stone each—fourteen pounds to the stone. With very little food and care, they kept fat in their growing state.

"I had a sow that yielded me one hundred and twenty-five pounds fifteen shillings in eleven months. I sold three hogs to general Ridgely for fifty-six pounds five shillings currency. The pigs were all sold from the sow at seven weeks old, except one. At two litters, she had only twelve, to make the sum."

This breed may be worth importing for the northern shires: where food is plentiful, the Java hog is the quickest fatter. A peculiar breed of chickens, which lay eggs all winter, also deserves attention: it is noticed page 299. The soft crab, and the canvas-back duck are mentioned as delicacies, which the curious in eating should import. The early white wheat is described, vol. ii. p. 322: there are many varieties of wheat cultivated in Sicily which are untried in America, or even in Great Britain; one so rapid of growth as to yield thrice in a year. To the hot

countries American farmers should address themselves for seeds and for precedents. Herd-grass, or swamp-grass, merits trial at home; and so does timothy-grass.

"The great advantage of herd grass is that it grows on swampy ground where water is liable to stand: it grows in those sort of swamps with such luxuriance in America, as to produce, it is said, a greater burthen than timothy; and is much superior in quality to either clover or timothy. It is a much finer grass than timothy, is better hay for cattle or sheep, is hardy to harvest; and, in growing, forms a sod, which mats the land over in such a manner, as to cause it to bear the pressure of cattle, horses, &c. though previously so soft as not to bear the footsteps of a man. It is the only grass that forms any kind of sod on land in America; for by nature I never saw a sod in the country, but where the herd grass grew. The earth is so loose as not to cause grasses to form a sod, as in England; the swamps are the very same."

The twenty-fourth section contains valuable reflections on the management of negroes, suggested by the inspection of those belonging to general Washington, of whom these curious particulars are given.

"I think a large number of negroes to require as severe discipline as a company of soldiers: and that may be one and the great cause why general Washington managed his negroes better than any other man, he being brought up to the army, and by nature industrious beyond any description, and in regularity the same. There are several anecdotes related of him, for being methodical. I was told by general Stone that he was travelling with his family in his carriage across the country, and arriving at a ferry belonging to general Washington, he offered the ferryman a moidore. The man said, "I cannot take it." The general asked, "Why, John?" He replied, "I am only a servant to general Washington; and I have no weights to weigh it with: and the general will weigh it; and if it should not be weight, he will not only make me the loser, but he will be angry with me."—"Well, John, you must take it; and I will lose three pence in its value." the ferryman did so; and he carried it to general Washington on the Saturday night following. The general weighed it; and it was not weight: it wanted three half-pence: general Washington carefully lapped up the three half-pence in a piece of paper, and directed it to general Stone, which he received from the ferryman on his return. General Stone told me another of his regularities, that, during the time he was engaged in the army in the American war, and from home, he had a plasterer from Baltimore, to plaster a room for him; and the room was measured, and the plasterer's demand paid by the steward. When the ge-

neral returned home, he measured the room, and found the work to come to less by fifteen shillings than the man had received. Some time after the plasterer died; and the widow married another man, who advertised in the newspapers to receive all and pay all due to or by her former husband. The general, seeing the paper, made a demand of the fifteen shillings, and received them. Another time, a man came to Mount-Vernon to pay rent; and he had not the exact balance due to the general: when the money was counted, the general said "There wants four pence." The man offered him a dollar, and desired him to put it to the next year's account. No, he must get the change, and leave the money on the table until he had got it. The man rode to Alexandria, which is nine miles from Mount-Vernon; and then the general settled the account. It was always his custom, when he travelled, to pay as much for his servant's breakfast, dinner, or supper, as for his own. I was told this by the keeper of a tavern where the general breakfasted; and he made the bill three shillings and ninepence for the master's breakfast, and three shillings the servant's. The general sent for the tavern-keeper into the room, and desired he would make the same charge for his servants as for himself, for he doubted not that they had eaten as much. This shews he was as correct in paying as in receiving.—It is said that he never had any thing bought for his use that was by weight, but he weighed it, or any thing by tale, but he had it counted: and if he did not find the due weight or number, he sent the articles back again to be regulated. There is a striking instance related of his condescendency: he sent to a shoemaker in Alexandria to come to measure him for a pair of shoes; the shoemaker answered by the servant that it was not his custom to go to any one's house to take measure for shoes. The general, being told that, mounted his horse, and went to the shoemaker to be measured.

"It may be worthy the reader's notice to observe what regularity does; since there cannot be any other particular reason given for general Washington's superior powers than his correctness, that made him able to govern that wild country: for it was the opinion of many of his most intimate friends, that his intellects were not brighter than those of many other men. To me he appeared a mild friendly man, in company rather reserved, in private speaking with candour. His behaviour to me was such, that I shall ever revere his name. Before he died, general Washington himself, with his own hands, closed his eyes and mouth."

At page 573 this author says he has recommended to government to prevent the emigration of uncertificated persons: the grant of this certificate to depend on the clergyman and overseers of the parish. The only just method of preventing emigration is to disseminate instruction. Let

extracts from Mr. Parkinson's book be reprinted in a cheap form, and read aloud from the pulpit of every Welsh parish, if it be necessary to resist, by active interference, the roaming tendency of the necessitous classes: but let no laws imprison the Briton in his country. Rather let us repeal those laws which already resist the exportation of mechanics and artisans, under a foolish and tyrannical pretext of their founding elsewhere our manufactures. Skill and industry being more highly recompensed in Britain than abroad will not find their account in emigrating; ignorance and idleness may well be spared, their migration will be an ease to the poor's rate. If they can dispose elsewhere of their reputation to more advantage, they have a natural right to carry it thither. Does Mr. Parkinson secretly mistrust the credibility of his own delineation of North America, that he thinks it needful to corroborate his arguments against emigration by new legislative restrictions?

The English farmer who wishes to remove, would probably find Ireland a more profitable resting-place than North America. There is much good land uncultivated, and still more ill-cultivated, for want of skill and of capital, in the western island. But the most patriotic speculation seems to be the enterprize of tropical agriculture. Trinidad is still to colonize, and the banks of the Essequibo. The same quantity of labour and capital applied in the warm countries increases much more rapidly the mass of produce and of wealth, than applied in the cold countries. We much wish than some such book as Mr. Parkinson's *Experienced Farmer* were drawn up in Jamaica or Demerary (it might be entitled the *Tropical Planter*), containing such plain directions for the culture of maize, cotton, coffee, indigo, sugar, &c. as should facilitate in new settlements the transfer of the agricultural arts. These things travel much too slowly. Mr. Thomas Cooper praised timothy-grass in 1794, Mr. Parkinson confirms the eulogy: yet timothy-hay is still to seek among the productions of English agriculture. A greater quantity of praise, of conspicuity, of noisy gratitude, must be awarded in favour of those men, who have the forethought and take the trouble to bring over useful animals and plants. Lucullus has been immortalized for introducing to Rome the cherry tree; and shall we reserve no recompense, not at least a parsley-wreath, for the brow who will introduce the American hen, that

lays eggs in the Christmas holidays? Perhaps Mr. Parkinson has the merit not merely of observing, but of bringing over several of these useful articles.

This book is not neatly put together. Some facts, as the effect of plaster of Paris on a turnip-crop in its early stage of growth, are repeatedly narrated. Some statements, as that concerning swamp-grass, are awkwardly interrupted to talk about sheep or the weather, and then returned

to again as unexpectedly. Some relations, as those concerning the Indian warfare, which do not repose on personal enquiries, and are disconnected with the chief topic, might have been wholly omitted with advantage. The grouping of topics, the treating of each thing in its proper place, is as favourable to compression as to interest. These two volumes reduced to one would form a completer work.

ART. XV. *A Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels: containing, 1. Translations from Foreign Languages, of Voyages and Travels never before translated; 2. Original Voyages and Travels never before published; 3. Analyses of New Voyages and Travels published in England.* Vol. 1, 8vo.

WHEN books of every kind are become so extravagantly dear, any plan which renders useful works more accessible is sure of our approbation. The plan of the present requires no explanation further than what the title-page conveys; it is a collection of travels, not a compilation, printed in a fair, clear, well-proportioned type, on good paper, each page containing more than two of such quartos as it not unfrequently falls to our lot to notice; yet the page is not crowded, and the letter not unpleasantly small. The contents of the volume must be noticed separately.

Travels in Istria and Dalmatia, drawn up from the Itinerary of L. F. Cassas, Author and Editor of the Picturesque Travels in Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Lower Egypt. By JOSEPH LAVALLÉE, Member of the Polytechnic Society, of the Society of Arts and Sciences of Paris, of the Agricultural Society of the Seine and Marne, &c. Translated from the French.

THE first part of these travels, which contained an historical account of the countries through which M. Cassas travelled, has been omitted by the translator. We do not approve of such mutilations, but as this introduction was the work of M. Lavallée, the French editor, not of the author himself, it is of less consequence. The chapter abridged from it, which relates to the manners and customs of the Morlachians, is the most valuable in the whole.

The origin of this people is uncertain. They are dispersed over Dalmatia, though principally among the mountains in the interior, and extend towards Germany; Hungary, and even Greece. Two distinct races seem to be confounded under one name, the one of Celtic, the other of Asiatic physiognomy and complexion. These latter are the mountaineers, and the

least civilized. They are robbers by profession, but religious enough to prefer robbing Turks to Christians: the science of thieving is carried by them to the greatest possible perfection, and they resemble the Arabs in their inflexible fidelity when once their faith is pledged. They are remarkable also for hospitality, the virtue of barbarians not of savages; the Morlachian who has a good stock of provisions shares them with his neighbours, and partakes of their abundance in his turn; if he is in want he enters his neighbour's house, takes a place at the table, and remains as long as he pleases.

The custom of vowing friendship is very remarkable.

“Two young men, or girls, associate together; and their union is consolidated by a common education, custom, uniformity of character, and sometimes by those unforeseen and sudden emotions of sympathy, which often arise in the human breast. When two young persons agree to live in this kind of harmony, they repair to the church, accompanied by their relations; and the priest offers a benediction on the union, which becomes inviolable. Two girls joined in this manner, are called *posestrimé*; and two men, *pobratimi*. They are then inseparable for the rest of their lives: every circumstance has a common interest between them; pleasures, chagrin, dangers, injuries, and reverse of fortune; all, in short, is divided between the *pobratimi* and his comrade; and the *posestrimé* and her friend. Even the sacrifice of life has often signalled these ardent attachments; and, if two *pobratimi* should happen to dissolve their union, the event is regarded as a public calamity, and as the forerunner of some great misfortune with which the nation is threatened.”

But this singular custom is becoming of less effect as strong liquors become more common among them, and they get infected with the despicable vices of the Italians.

Revenge, a passion which needs no fostering, is inculcated as a duty. In case of a murder the bloody clothes of the slain are preserved by his family, and shown to the children. Forgiveness is unknown; they will in some cantons accept money as the price of blood, but otherwise vengeance is sure to be taken. The death of the offender does not put an end to the feud, his family inherit the danger. Some follow the Greek church, some the Romish, the priests of both sects being equally ignorant. The superstition of Vampirism prevails here as in Hungary and Greece; but the Morlachians, more prudent than their neighbours, take measures to prevent the mischief. Before the funeral they ham-string the corpse, mark certain characters upon it with a hot iron, drive nails into it, repeat charms over it, and then it is as peaceable in the grave as an obstreperous English ghost when laid in the Red Sea. What is the origin and where of this widely-extended and most horrible superstition? Their paganism, whatever it may have been, is not altogether forgotten; the names of their ancient gods are always repeated in the bridal song.

They have their minstrels or ballad-singers, whom M. Cassas calls chaunters, there is never a feast without one.

"The songs, which are in the Illyrian idiom, but corrupted by their transmission through a number of ages, describe the history of some Sclavonian heroes, or relate to some tragical event; the time of which is forgotten. This heroical song is grave, heavy, and monotonous. The instrument with which it is accompanied, is but little calculated to give it animation: it is a miserable monochord guitar; the sound of which is dull, and without modulation. The poetry, however, is not without energy: it does not possess the savage wildness of that of Ossian; but sometimes has that august kind of simplicity, which penetrates to the soul. If a Morlachian travel by night amongst the mountains, he generally sings; and these antique poems are always the songs which he prefers. A long exclamation, or rather a barbarous and prolonged cry, precedes each strophe. It often happens that this song is heard a-far off by some other Morlachian, who never fails to repeat, in the same tone, the couplet which the other has chaunted; and they thus answer each other as long as they can be heard. It is impossible to describe the species of sadness or melancholy, which this kind of musical dialogue spreads through the soul, the doleful expression of which is prolonged in echos by the desert mountains, amidst the profound silence and solitude of night."

Why did not M. Cassas collect some of

these songs? What a hint is here for some Italian Macpherson!

The women are hardly used; in this respect the Morlachians are savages, not barbarians. The wife never partakes her husband's bed, she is obliged to sleep on the floor, and the most disgusting employments and hardest labour is her lot. The children of course in such a state of society receive little attention, they are suffered to crawl about almost naked, and they who survive the seasoning become hardy and agile. Their common drink is milk made into whey with vinegar. Wine and peppet form their febrifuge; pepper and gun-powder infused in brandy their panacea; it will scarcely be believed, says the writer, that this remedy is often attended with success; perhaps, however, they are indebted for their cure to the abundant perspiration which it induces. Red ochre mixed with fat substances is the only ointment they apply to wounds and contusions; and it is a fact, he says, that from the experience of the Morlachians, some men of science have obtained from this ointment, in similar circumstances, the most favourable results. For rheumatism, to which they are very subject, they apply a heated stone wrapped in damp linen.

The travels of M. Cassas were performed in the year 1782; he was sent by a society of admirers of the fine arts to make views of the scenery and architectural remains in the vicinity of Trieste, which were to be engraved at Vienna, under the patronage of the emperor Joseph II. but the artist, finding that the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia abounded with rich remains of antiquity, resolved to extend his labours. The first place of importance which he visited was Pola, whose magnificent amphitheatre is now called the Orlandina; so named, he conjectures, by ignorant banditti, who admired the poem of Ariosto, and this guess is as good as any other. His coasting voyage was endangered not merely by the storms so frequent in those seas, but also by pirates, from whom he once narrowly escaped, lying hid in his vessel in a little creek, covered with trees, while the pirate boat brushed the very branches which concealed it. He examined the remains of antiquity at Zara and at Asseria, now called Podgrage, a place which strongly excited his curiosity, and made a short stay at Sebenico, next to Zara the pleasantest town in Dalmatia. They have a curious custom here of electing a king

at Christmas, whose reign lasts only a fortnight.

"For a length of time, this pantomimical king was chosen from amongst the nobles; but at present, they think it beneath them to amuse themselves with such buffoonery; and this chimerical crown has, therefore, devolved to what is called, in Italy, a man from the drags of the people. M. Cassas, who was at Sebenico only in the summer season, was not, consequently, witness to this ceremony; but Fortis asserts that this king, notwithstanding the short duration of his authority, enjoyed several prerogatives of sovereignty; such, for example, as that of keeping the keys of the town, of having a distinguished place in the cathedral, and of deciding upon all the difficulties or disputes which arise amongst those who compose his court. The town is obliged to provide him with a house suitable to the dignity of his elevated situation. When he leaves his house, he is always forced to wear a crown of wheat-ears; and he cannot appear in public without a robe of purple or scarlet cloth, and surrounded by a great number of officers. The governor, the bishops, and other dignitaries, are obliged to give him a feast; and all who meet him must salute him with respect. When the fortnight is at an end, the king quits his palace, strips off his crown and purple, dismisses his court, and returns to his hovel. On considering this ceremony, in a certain point of view, its folly might seem to have a philosophical end: it might furnish an annual type of the instability of human grandeur; but it is doubtful whether those who instituted it had such an idea in view."

Many instances of similar customs in other parts of Europe might be mentioned, resembling more or less the Saturnalia.

The cascade of Scardona is described at great length, and with much artistical enthusiasm; but mere description can give but very inadequate ideas of such scenery; and here, as indeed in most parts of these travels, we have to regret that the original work is not before us. We cannot form a fair opinion of M. Cassas, who is professionally an artist, when we read his description and do not see his views. The long account of Spalatro occasioned a similar regret, for the few aqua-tints in this publication, though to the full as respectable as can be expected, are of little value. In fact this is one of the books which should not have been included in such a collection as the present. What can be more ill-contrived than to put the volume of an artist of its prints?

One remarkable extract shall conclude our account of these travels; it describes the fall and loss of the Ruecca.

"This river runs between rocks of a considerable height, whose ruggedness is insurmountable, even by the most adventurous herdsman: above these rocks appear the antique and dismantled towers of the old castle of Novoscoglio, exhibiting the vestiges of savage feudality, in the bosom of more savage nature. Not far from this spot is the village of San-Canciano, or Saint-Kosium, which is likewise situated on the summit of the rocks. At the foot of this village, the Ruecca affords to those who take delight in the phenomena of nature, a spectacle the like of which is seldom to be found in the world: in this part the fissure in the rocks is so vertical, that they appear to have been cut by the hand of man, and this steepness is every where alike, however various may be the lines which they follow in their super-position; but what adds still more to their singularity, is their summits, which are cut with a sort of symmetry, and appear like so many square towers, that command and seem to defend those gigantic walls, or they might rather be taken for battlements. At the base, that is to say, in the almost unfathomable abyss formed by these natural ramparts, the Ruecca winds and runs with a sort of majestic slowness, seeming to disdain the opposition of the blocks with which its bed is every where interspersed, till it suddenly arrives at an immense cavity, the frightful and sombre peristyle of a subterraneous gallery, of which the terrified imagination can neither guess nor measure the depth. In fact this gulph may be described as an enormous and inconceivable precipice, in which the waters of the Ruecca fall, with a tremendous noise, and are lost from the observance of man; but whither they go, to what depth they fall, or how long they have disappeared in this receptacle, he has never been able to ascertain, during thousands of generations, and many ages will doubtless yet pass away before this mystery will be discovered. No one can conceive the dreadful and incessant roaring of the waves, in the deep cavities of this impenetrable abyss, nor the terror which seizes on the spectator, at his first view of the gulph. It is here, by his unexpected humiliation, that man is compelled to acknowledge the limited extent of his mind; and though every where else he may be proud to think and act like a god, he here, perhaps for the first time, perceives his information to be only that of a subordinate creature. But this is not all, for the traveller, if he proceed no further, will have but an incomplete idea of the singular destiny of the Ruecca; he must, if possible, pass this mountain, or rather this gigantic wall, the fractured sides of which absorb the river. The other side affords a spectacle not less extraordinary, and perhaps still more wild; the same ruggedness and nudity in the rocks, but more disorder and confusion: the masses, which are equally vertical here, obstruct, intersect, and pass each other in various directions, while the summits frequently come in contact, and at other times appear at a considerable distance

from each other; in short, the whole presents the most shapeless and terrific chaos. It is in the midst of these numerous blocks, that the Ruecca, after meandering through the bowels of the mountain, issues violently from a deep and narrow fissure, and disgorge itself into a large basin, six hundred feet below the level of San-Canciano, which is so shaded by the elevation of the rocks, that it is constantly inaccessible to the rays of the sun. It is even pretended, that all attempts to ascertain its depth by sounding have proved ineffectual. In fact, this may be considered as the tomb of a river, so remarkable for its adventures: the threads of water which trickle from the overflowing of the basin, after having run for some time across the rocks that lie dispersed below this kind of crater, diminish till they at length become imperceptible, and thus the Ruecca disappears for ever."

The language of the translation is disfigured by inflated phrases. We are told that the Romans surrounded the town of Pola with their omnipotence, and we read of the *unfructuosities* of a rock!

Travels through Denmark, Sweden, Austria, and Part of Italy, in 1798 and 1799, by CHARLES GOTTLIEB KÜTTNER. Translated from the German.

Küttner is a good, sensible, plain matter-of-fact German traveller, who tells you all he sees, which is not so much as a man with better eyes would have seen, and all he learns by inquiry, in which he seems never to have been deficient. His book would be an excellent companion for travellers following his track, as it is full of useful information. Here again we have to complain of mutilation. The translator has judged it proper to dispense with the desultory observations on Hamburgh and other well-known parts of Germany, and has conducted the reader at once to the author's entrance into Denmark.

The account of Denmark is in general very favourable—such was the order, cleanliness, and comfort in the isle of Funen, that the traveller could have fancied himself in Holland; the smallest cottages were comfortable; there were no traces of opulence, and scarcely any of poverty. Copenhagen is described as one of the finest capitals in Europe. Every thing is extremely dead there; though I should spend more in the course of a year in London, says the traveller, yet here I consider many articles as dearer, because they are so much worse. Religion, he says, appears to be out of fashion at Copenhagen, as in most other places; this it should be remembered is the remark of a German. The royal library is one of the

most extensive in Christendom; it had just received an accession of one hundred thousand volumes. We have heard since that nearly that number of duplicates have been sold from it. But the most interesting institution is the lying-in hospital, where all midwives in the Danish dominions ought to have studied.

"This institution is properly a kind of foundling-hospital, in which mothers may not only place their children, but where they may also be delivered. All pregnant women of whatever condition, religion, or country, are admitted, without being asked any questions; they are even allowed to come in masks, and to retain them during their residence there. This building formerly had, in an aperture in the wall, a machine similar to those I have seen at Milan, and in other foundling-hospitals, in which a person may place the child, turn the machine inwards, then ring the bell and go away. This has however been removed; and the king has ordered every female who presents herself to be admitted, only with certain limitations as to time. Married women frequently apply for admittance; and, at their departure, are even at liberty to leave their children behind them. Women of rank and property frequently avail themselves of this general licence, because they here find better attendance, and superior conveniences, to what they could possibly enjoy in their own houses; and for which they, of course, pay. The best accommodations for ladies of this description cost fifteen dollars per week. There are other apartments for twelve, and others again as low as eight dollars.

"The lodgings of the unmarried are separate from those of the married women. In this regulation, I thought I discovered that a distinction was made between the children of love and the offspring of the marriage-bed, which, in an institution of this nature, appeared rather improper. I was, however, informed, that this regulation was introduced, lest the single ladies, by living among those who were married, might meet with some of their acquaintance, and thus be discovered. The apartments for twelve and fifteen dollars are handsome, and, in general, spacious and convenient. At my desire, I was shewn several rooms, for the reception of those who are gratuitously admitted into this institution; and found them all clean, commodious, and comfortable."

German is universally understood in this capital; it is but lately that the Danes have taken any pride in their own language; all the laws and public inscriptions are now in Danish, and they will soon have their own poets and historians. On the road to Elsinor he passed through the estate of count Bernstorff, who made all his peasantry free; at first they considered this as no great benefit, but they have felt;

its advantages, and have erected a monument in gratitude to their emancipator.

On entering Sweden an alteration was soon visible; the appearances of comfort and respectability about the cottages were not to be seen. The roads are even better than in England, unnecessarily good and numerous in a country of comparatively little trade, and thin population. In some parts nothing but Swedish was spoken, but Küttner confirms the observation so often made by others, that women understand every compliment paid to them, be it in whatever language it may. At Fredericshall he visited the spot where Charles XII. fell; the trophies and inscriptions which marked it have been all demolished, and in their stead nothing is to be seen but a wooden cross, painted white, on which is written *the siege*, Dec. 11, 1718. The traveller says 'that the king was killed by a musket-shot from the rampart, I have not the smallest doubt; for in my opinion the nearest part of it is scarcely six hundred feet in a direct line from the spot.' Without expressing any opinion upon this much-controverted question, we must remark that Küttner has been very easily satisfied. It is by no means proof enough that he was killed from the ramparts, to tell us that he was within shot.

The scenery in Norway is described as all travellers describe it; nothing can be more exquisitely picturesque. Government, he says, endeavours to prevent the improvement of the country; there seems no proof of the heavy accusation; if they have not thought proper to establish a university at Christiania, it may have been because the place would not support one. Mr. Coxé is often mentioned to be corrected.

Stockholm is well described; the account of the king's character is not pleasant, yet cannot be called unfavourable. He is said to be uncommonly grave, unnaturally it might have been said, if it be true that he has never been seen to laugh; his manners are cold and austere; even his former play-fellows have been severely reprimanded if they ever seemed to recollect that their sovereign had once been their friend. He dreads nothing so much as the idea that any person possesses or seeks to obtain an influence over him. But, on the other hand, he pays due attention to the finances of an impoverished country, and exercises a strict economy, the highest virtue which a king of Sweden can exercise at present, without the slight-

est derogation from a proper dignity and splendour. The opinion of his character may be misconceived, but the favourable account of his conduct rests upon facts which cannot have been mistaken.

The late king is said to have been a complete Frenchman in his taste. There is in the library at Upsal a large box, on which stands a smaller one, both secured with strong chains and locks. They were given by the late king to the university, with the injunction that they should not be opened for fifty years. Thunberg has given his beautiful collection to this university.

The Swedish manufactures are not in a thriving state; English goods are far better, and even when smuggled cheaper.

From Sweden he entered Germany. An account of the Herrnuthers merits transcription.

"The brethren's house, that is the house inhabited by the unmarried men, and where they all work for the general benefit of the society, has a mean appearance, both internally and externally. They have their common dormitory and refectory; but there are tables at different prices, which each is at liberty to chuse, according to his taste and abilities. Most of them are artisans; and the excellence of their work consists in a certain neatness, finish, and durability. But as the articles made here are on the whole better than those manufactured in other places, they are necessarily dearer.

"In the sisters' house every thing appeared to me to be on a better footing and a more extensive scale. The exterior is more respectable, the accommodations are superior, and the whole has a neater and more pleasing appearance. This is the habitation of the unmarried sisters, who are subject to regulations perfectly similar to those of the brethren.

"What made the most impression on me was the burying-ground, which is situated on an eminence, commanding the finest prospect of any in the vicinity of Herrnuth. It forms an extensive square, inclosed by a hedge, and intersected by alleys; over each grave is placed a flat stone recording the name and native country of the deceased, together with the year in which he *went home*, or, as it is more frequently expressed, *fell asleep*. The graves in the principal line, nearly in the centre of this ground, were particularly interesting to me; they contain persons from every country in Europe, and I might almost say from every part of the world. On the most elevated point of this burying-ground a kind of pavilion or small wooden tower has been erected, the view from which is extremely beautiful.

"Do you know that the directors of all the congregations of the evangelical brethren in the world, reside in a village, two miles from this place! It is called

Bethelsdorf, and is by right the birth-place of the congregation, for it was there that count Zinzendorf collected the first Moravian brethren. These directors are called the Unity's Elders' Conference, which is generally composed of from twelve to fourteen persons, who never have any fixed place of residence. These govern the whole fraternity with unlimited power during a certain number of years, at the end of which a synod, composed of deputies from the congregations in every part of the world, is held, and a new *Elders' Conference* appointed. The members of this conference constantly remain together, and the affairs of the unity occupy their whole attention. In this conference the German nation appears to possess the same preponderance as the Italian in the college of cardinals; indeed, I am informed that all the members of the present are Germans."

The linen manufactures of Lusatia are on the decline. Great quantities were formerly exported to Spain and South America, but cotton is superseding linen. It is one proof of Bruce's wisdom that he foresaw this. 'Cotton,' he says, 'after wool should be the favourite manufacture of Great Britain. It will in time take place of that ungrateful culture flax; will employ more hands, and be a more ample field for distinguishing the ingenuity of our manufacturers.' The cloth fabrics flourish in Lusatia, improved by the importation of Spanish rams, and the increased attention paid to the breed of sheep.

The Theresianum at Vienna is justly censured by Küttner. This seminary for the children of the nobility was founded, as its name implies, by the empress Theresa, suppressed by Joseph II., and re-established by the present emperor. A more mischievous institution never was conceived by the spirit of aristocratical absurdity.

"The pupils are here separated, from infancy, from the rest of the world, that they may receive an education which, at every step, announces to them that they are beings of a higher order. On viewing the interior of the institution, the spectator is astonished at the elegant and extensive apartments of the abbot or prelate, who has the inspection of the whole; the vast and splendid halls in which the pupils dine, play at billiards, receive company, and occasionally give balls; the stables, which contain forty-six horses, and room for a greater number; the large riding-school, the spacious garden, the copious library, and the magnificent lecture-rooms. These young gentlemen daily have six dishes for dinner. Many of them will, probably, in the course of their future lives, be obliged to put up with less, and will here lay the foundation of discontent with their circumstances and

situations, that will embitter the remainder of their days. Many a future officer will here make a bad preparation for the want and the hardships which are so often inseparable from a military life."

"The pupils in general are never left by themselves, they are at all times obliged to conduct themselves like gentlemen, and are never suffered to indulge, free from restraint, in those childish sports and innocent diversions which constitute the delight of boyhood. In all the corridors, I observed attendants, and they appear to be watched in the strictest manner. This indeed is a method of preventing the extravagancies which boys in the English schools sometimes commit; but it is the liberty they enjoy that gives the latter that independence and firmness of character, which distinguish the English nation, and which it is impossible that persons educated in this place should possess."

The institution for the deaf and dumb is said to be more successful than that of the abbé de l'Epée. It is not perhaps generally known that the first person who carried this art to perfection, and probably the first who ever practised it, was Fr. Pedro Ponce, a Spanish benedictine of the sixteenth century. One of his pupils was an excellent Latin scholar, and had even acquired some Greek.

The mortality in Vienna exceeds that of any other place in Europe: the annual proportion of deaths is calculated at one in twenty, and Küttner thinks it is underrated. What can be the cause of this prodigious consumption of life?—Some anecdotes of Joseph are related, all highly favourable to his character. What is said of the reigning emperor is also in his favour; he follows the simple unostentatious manners of Joseph, and is beloved by the people. A proportionably greater quantity of animal food is consumed in Vienna than in London, not that the Austrians eat more, but because their poor eat meat, and the English poor do not. At Leoben the traveller heard dreadful anecdotes of the French; their atrocious conduct towards women exceeded any thing he had ever heard before. Throughout Styria the only complaint against the government was that it had agreed to the preliminaries of peace too soon, whereas if it had suffered the peasantry to oppose the French and defend themselves, it was confidently maintained that very few of the invaders could have escaped out of the country. Küttner himself thinks that the French army might have been destroyed.

He proceeded to Trieste and Venice, a city sadly changed from what it was.

"The contrast between the former and present times is no where so striking as on the grand canal, which is now very dead in comparison with what it once was. "What is become of all the gondolas which used to swarm on this canal?"—*La rivoluzione!* they reply, with an Italian shrug. "But there must yet be a great number of opulent families who pay visits, or go abroad to take the air!"—*Stanno in casa*.—"They remain at home," is the answer.—"And the numerous boats and gondolas, which formerly rowed for wagers, while a crowd of loiterers ran after them? And the many gondoliers and boatmen who used to sing and laugh and joke of an evening?"—*Non hanno piu spirito*.—"They have no spirits, or life."—I frequently become impatient at such unsatisfactory answers; but it is certain, that in these respects a great alteration has taken place at Venice."

From thence Kùttner returned by way of Padua, Verona, the Tyrol, Munich, and Ratisbon, to Hamburgh, where he concludes his travels. The book contains so much good sound information, that we are sorry it has been in the slightest degree abridged.

Travels to the westward of the Allegany Mountains, &c. By F. A. MICHAX.

A separate publication having been made

ART. XVI. *Travels to the westward of the Allegany Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee: in the Year 1802.* By F. A. MICHAX, M. D. translated from the original French, by B. Lambert. 8vo. pp. 350.

THE name of Michaux is well known to the lovers of botany; and will ever be gratefully remembered by all who know how to appreciate the value of an enterprising and laborious life, devoted to the pursuit of natural science, with a continual regard to the general good of mankind. André Michaux, the father of our present traveller, having visited England, and traversed the mountains of Auvergne, the Pyrenees, and part of Spain, for the sake of improving his botanical knowledge, and as a preparation for more distant and more hazardous expeditions, in the year 1782 accompanied the French consul to Persia, under the patronage of Monsieur the present claimant of the crown of France; and spent two years in exploring the vegetable riches of that country, from the gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea. In 1785 he was sent by the French government to North America, with a commission to collect the seeds and roots of such plants as promised to be either useful, ornamental, or curious, if cultivated and naturalised in France. For this purpose he established gardens in the neighbourhood of New York and Charles-town in South Carolina, and, during a

of another translation of this work, we shall refer the reader for an account of it to the next article.

The next portion of the volume is occupied by an itinerary from London to Constantinople in sixty days, taken in the suite of his excellency the British ambassador to the Ottoman Porte in 1794. It may be advantageously consulted by future travellers, but requires no farther notice.

The remaining articles are analyses of new voyages and travels lately published in London, a portion of the work which ought to be omitted. The editor asserts that his abstract of captain Woodward's narrative contains in the small compass of thirty-two pages every passage worthy of preservation in the whole work. How far this may accord with the custom of the more respectable London publishers we know not, but to us these kind of abridgments appear little better than piracies. These analyses should be dispensed with, and no retrenchments made from the other works—the publication would then really be valuable.

period of more than ten years, made numerous excursions over different parts of that vast continent, from the coast of the Atlantic to the banks of the Ohio; and from the Bahama islands and Florida to the upper part of the river which falls into Hudson's bay; and sent to his employers, from time to time, large quantities of seeds and young trees which have been propagated in France and other countries of Europe; these also he cultivated in his two American gardens, with the addition of many plants from the old continent, which he thought likely to flourish and become useful in the new. The disturbances occasioned by the French revolution obliged him to return home in the year 1796. But his ardent love of science did not permit him to rest satisfied with a state of inaction. Disappointed in his desire of a new appointment to North-America, he was induced to engage in a voyage to the Isle of France; and, unfortunately for the interests of science and mankind, in the year 1803 died of the country fever in the island of Madagascar.

Dr. F. A. Michaux, with whom we are at present more immediately concerned, appears to have inherited the public spirit

and intrepidity of his father, whom he had accompanied in his travels through several parts of North America. On that account he was selected by M. Chaptal, minister of the interior, to take another voyage to North America, for the purpose of sending to France the plants which remained in the two gardens, and of finally disposing of the ground. The garden in the neighbourhood of Charlestown, we are happy to learn, has been purchased by the agricultural society of South Carolina, and is still applied to the use for which it was formed by its philanthropic founder.

Dr. Michaux having some months to spare, availed himself of the opportunity to pass through the new western states, which, though traversed in part by his father, had not been visited by himself during his former residence in North America. The result is the work now before us. He modestly presents it to the public, not as a complete account, but as a relation of such particulars as occurred to him in a circuitous journey of eighteen hundred miles, through the country beyond the Allegany mountains, performed in the course of three months and a half, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, and for 348 miles in a pirogue or canoe on the Ohio, either alone, or accompanied by such travellers as he accidentally met with on the way. As a further apology for the brevity of his narrative, he adds, that when he undertook the journey he had no intention of publishing his observations, and therefore omitted collecting a multitude of facts, which would now be pleasant to read, but which at that time he felt no inducement to write. His readers, however, will have the satisfaction to find, that though there are many things which they may wish had been told, they will meet with nothing that is trifling or of dubious authority. Dr. Michaux possesses a mind accustomed to accurate and extensive observation, which having taken for its ruling principle the benevolent sentiment of the comic poet, *humani nihil a me ulicunum puto*, is always awake to whatever may be conducive to the benefit of his fellow-men. In every part of his travels he attends to the natural advantages and disadvantages of the country, the direction and character of its rivers and mountains, its spontaneous productions, its population, agriculture, and commerce, the manners of its inhabitants, and the means which he thinks likely to better their situation, and make them more respectable and happy. His remarks are the more valuable, as

they relate to a country which has only just begun to be reclaimed from a state of savage nature, and is now advancing with unexampled celerity in the arts of civilized life.

From Philadelphia to Pittsburg, the place of his first destination, is three hundred and ten miles. As far as Shippensburg, one hundred and forty miles from Philadelphia, there is the convenience of a public carriage, of which, as that part of the road did not promise much that would be new, Dr. Michaux availed himself. At Shippensburg he joined in the purchase of a horse with an American officer, who had been a fellow-passenger in the stage, and they agreed to ride and walk by turns. After travelling ten miles they came to Strasburg, situated at the foot of the first chain of the blue ridges. This chain consists of three parallel ridges of equal height, separated by two small valleys thinly peopled, and distantly cultivated. The ascent of the first ridge is steep; and it cost our travellers three quarters of an hour to reach the top. Other ridges soon succeed, the intervals between which are filled with small hills, till at length the Juniata, one of the streams tributary to the Susquehannah, forms a larger valley, and affords room for a more numerous population. Beyond the Juniata are other ridges, the highest of which is the Allegany, the boundary of the eastern and western waters. It is ascended by a road extremely steep, which required a laborious march of two hours. On the western side the soil improves, and the trees in the woods are of a better kind and greater size. The Laurel hill, a ridge parallel to the former, derives its name from the *kalmia latifolia*, and *rhododendron maximum*, both of which are called laurels by the inhabitants, the former, eight or ten feet high, exclusively occupying every spot a little open, and the latter covering the banks of the torrents.

Dr. Michaux having been told that in Ligonier's valley, on the west side of Laurel hill, a shrub is to be found, the fruit of which yields good oil, his ever-active benevolence impelled him to go in search of a production which cannot fail to be of great utility, if to the valuable property of the olive there be added that of being able to bear the cold of the most northern countries. His account of the success of his expedition shall be given in his own words.

"The day after my arrival, I proceeded into the woods, and at my first excursion found the shrub which was the object of my

search. I recognized it as being the same which my father had discovered fifteen years before in the mountains of South Carolina, and which, notwithstanding his care, he could not make succeed in his garden near Charleston. Mr. W. Hamilton, who had also received seeds and shoots from this part of Pennsylvania, had not been more successful. The seeds become so soon rancid, that, in a few days, they lose their germinating property, and acquire an extraordinary acrimony. This shrub, which seldom rises more than four feet above the ground, is dioecious. It grows exclusively on mountains, and is only found in cool, shady places, where the soil is very fertile. Its roots, which are of a citron colour, are not divided: they extend horizontally to a great distance, and give birth to off-sets, which seldom rise to more than eighteen inches in height. The roots and bark yield a disagreeable smell on being bruised. I charged my host to collect half a bushel of the seeds, and to send them to Mr. W. Hamilton, pointing out to him the precautions it would be necessary to take to keep them fresh until they could reach him."

In the neighbourhood of Greensburgh, thirty-two miles short of Pittsburgh, Dr. Michaux discovered unequivocal marks of a mine of pitcoal, and was informed that this substance is so easily procured as to induce some of the inhabitants both of Greensburgh and Pittsburgh to burn it for cheapness. The road continues mountainous to Pittsburg, which is situated at the confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegany, whose united streams constitute the Ohio. The former of these rivers rises in Virginia, at the foot of what is there called the laurel mountain, which forms part of the western side of the Allegany chain, and is navigable to Morgan's town, one hundred and seven miles above Pittsburg. The settlements on its banks are numerous, and there are several small towns in which commerce is carried on with great activity. The source of the latter is fifteen or twenty miles from lake Erie. It is navigable two hundred miles above its junction with the Monongahela, and its banks begin to be tolerably peopled. The sugar maple, which is always a sign of a fertile soil, is very common in all the country, watered by the two rivers.

The Ohio at Pittsburgh is about four hundred yards wide, and vessels of a considerable tonnage are built upon it and the Monongahela. One of two hundred tons burden was launched at Elizabeth town, twenty-three miles above Pittsburg. When Dr. Michaux was at Pittsburg, there was on the stocks a three-masted vessel of two hundred and fifty tons burden, which he

afterwards learnt had arrived safe at Philadelphia, and which, before it reached the gulf of Mexico, had to make a river voyage of two thousand two hundred miles: and eleven hundred to the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi, and nearly as much to new Orleans. The Ohio as far as Limestone, four hundred and twenty-five miles from Pittsburgh, is navigable for large vessels only in the spring and autumn, that is, during the months of April, March, May, October, and December: at other times boats of a moderate size pass with difficulty: but at these two seasons, the waters are raised to such a height that vessels of three hundred tons burden, steered by men well acquainted with the river, may descend with perfect safety. The passage up the river is of course difficult, and has not yet been much practised. When Dr. Michaux was passing down in 1802, they were sending cotton from Tennessee by the Ohio to Pittsburg for the first time, to be afterwards dispersed through the back part of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The boats were pushed up the river by poles, and went about twenty miles a day. The men who conduct the boats from Pittsburg to New Orleans have on their return either a fatiguing journey of fourteen or fifteen hundred miles by land, in six hundred miles of which they pass no white settlement, and only two or three Indian villages, or, which is generally preferred, take their passage by sea to Baltimore or Philadelphia. The principal articles sent down the Ohio to be exported from New Orleans to the West Indies are flour, hams, and smoked pork; and for the consumption of Louisiana bar-iron, coarse cloths, bottles made at Pittsburg, whiskey, and barrelled butter.

The current of the Ohio is extremely rapid in the spring; and the form of the boats which navigate it is calculated, not to accelerate their progress, but to counteract the swiftness of the stream. They are from forty to forty-five days in making the passage, but a canoe with two or three men will accomplish it in twenty-five. In the summer, on the other hand, except in the straits formed by islands, the current is slow. It was judged by Dr. Michaux, when he went down it, to be about a mile and half an hour. At this season its waters, owing to the heat of the climate and the slowness of the current, acquire so great a degree of heat, that they are not drinkable till they have been kept four and twenty hours in the shade; so that the navigator of a fresh

water river at the distance of two thousand miles from the sea, and compared with which our boasted Thames is but a brook, often suffers greatly from thirst.

Its banks, although from twenty to sixty feet in height, afford scarcely any stony substance in the upper part of its course. With the exception of some large, detached, soft, grey stones for ten or twelve miles, they appear to consist entirely of vegetable earth. A few miles above Limestone a calcareous rock of great thickness begins to appear. Two kinds of rounded flints are found in the bed of the river; one of a dark colour, easily broken, the other of a white semi-transparent quartz, smaller and less beautiful.

From Pittsburgh, for nearly three hundred miles, the Ohio runs between two ridges of hills of near equal elevation, which Dr. Michaux judged to be from three to four hundred yards. They are sometimes undulated at their summits, but often seem perfectly level for several miles, with occasional intervals, which afford a passage for the streams that fall into the main river. Their direction is parallel to the great chain of the Alleghenies, with which they are considered by Dr. Michaux to be connected, though sometimes from forty to a hundred miles distant from them. Between them and the river there are often flat spaces five or six miles broad, which are generally known by the name of *Rivers-bottoms*. They are covered with wood, and exceed in fertility, perhaps, every other part of the western territory. The greater part of the large and small rivers, which fall into the Ohio, have also their rivers-bottoms, but generally less rich than those on the main river. Dr. Michaux saw a plane tree, *platanus occidentalis*, on the right bank of the Ohio, which at the height of four feet from the ground, was forty-seven feet in circumference. It appeared to keep the same dimension to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and then divided into several branches of a proportional thickness. The tulip-tree, *liriodendron tulipifera*, perversely called poplar by the inhabitants; is, next to the plane the largest tree of North America.

The banks of the river on both sides are covered with trees, which often constitute beautiful vistas. Dr. Michaux gives a lively picture of one near the mouth of the great Kenneway.

"For four or five miles the Ohio preserves its breadth, which is about eight hundred yards; and exhibits the most perfect alignment

on each side. Its shelving banks, rising from five-and-twenty to forty feet, as in the rest of its course, are planted at the bottom with willows, the pendant branches of which, and the clear green of their foliage, form a very pleasing contrast with the sugar-maples, red maples, and ash-trees, situated immediately above them; and these, in their turn, are overtopped by the plane, the tulip-tree, the beech, and the magnolia, which occupy the highest elevation; the large branches of these, attracted by the brighter light, and the more easy expansion, incline towards the sides, covering the trees situated below them entirely, and even stretching much farther over the river. This natural disposition, which prevails on both banks of the river, forms a regular sweep on each side, the image of which, reflected by the crystal of the water, embellishes this magnificent prospect."

Both banks of the lower part of the Monongahela, as well as those of the Ohio, till it takes a southerly direction, belong to the state of Pennsylvania, and are advancing fast in population. The town of Pittsburg in 1802 contained about four hundred houses. The remainder of the country between the Alleghenies and the Ohio to its junction with the big sandy river, where its course becomes westerly, is in the state of Virginia. The greater part of it is so mountainous, that it is settled only a little way up the subordinate river. But the banks of the Ohio, which till 1796 and 1797 were so thinly peopled, that there were not more than twenty-five or thirty families in a space of near four hundred miles, have since that time attracted so many emigrants, that the plantations are at present not more than from one to three miles asunder; and some of them are always within sight from the middle of the river. Dr. Michaux is persuaded that its future progress will keep pace with its late rapid increase.

"The position of this river, the most happy which can be found in the United States, will cause it to be considered as the centre of activity of the commerce between the eastern and western states: it is by it that the latter receive the manufactured articles furnished to the first by Europe, India, and the Antilles; and it is the only channel of communication open with the ocean, for exporting the produce of that vast and fertile part of the United States, comprized between the Allegheny mountains, the lakes, and the left bank of the Mississippi.

"All these advantages, added to the salubrity of the climate, and the beauty of its situations, enlivened, in the spring, by crowds of loaded boats, hurried on with incredible rapidity by the current, and by the extraordinary spectacle of vessels of heavy burden,

which proceed directly from the middle of this vast continent to the West Indies: all these advantages, I say, make me look to the banks of the Ohio, from Pittsburgh to Louisville, both included, as being likely to be, within twenty years, the most populous and most commercial part of the United States. It is also that to which I should not hesitate to give the preference, in chusing my place of residence."

Of the state of Ohio, which has but lately been received into the union, Dr. Michaux saw only the settlements on the right bank of the river, its boundary from the states of Virginia and Kentucky. Marietta, situated at the confluence of the great Muskingum with the Ohio, one hundred and eighty miles from Pittsburgh by water, is the chief establishment in this state. It has not existed fifteen years, and the number of its houses was in 1802 more than a hundred. The Muskingum rises near lake Erie, is navigable two hundred and fifty miles from its influx into the Ohio, and is there three hundred and forty yards broad. The seat of government is at Chillicothe, on the great Scioto, about 60 miles from its mouth. The banks of this river are said to be almost as fertile as those of the Ohio: but as they are lower and more humid, the inhabitants are subject to obstinate intermitting fevers in the autumn, which do not cease till the approach of winter. Chillicothe contains about a hundred and fifty houses.

At Limestone Dr. Michaux left the Ohio, and proceeded by land through the state of Kentucky to Nashville in the state of Tennessee. Kentucky was discovered in 1770 by some Virginia hunters. At that time it was not occupied by any Indian nation, but left by general consent as a common hunting ground for the Indians, who carried on a war of extermination against all who attempted to settle there: on this account it was called Kentucky, which in their language signifies the land of blood. No fixed establishment was formed in it till 1780. In 1782 the number of its white inhabitants was about three thousand: in 1790, one hundred thousand: at the general census taken in 1800, it was two hundred and twenty thousand: and when Dr. Michaux was there in 1802, the population was estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand, including about twenty thousand negro slaves. This rapid increase would have been still greater, if it had not been for the growing difficulty of ascertaining the titles to the land, occasioned partly by the knavery of the land-dealers, and partly

by the unskilfulness of the surveyors. Frankfort is the seat of government, but is less populous than Lexington, which contains about three thousand inhabitants, and is the oldest and most considerable town in the three new states. The greatest length of the state is four hundred miles, and its greatest breadth about two hundred. In its whole extent it seems to rest on a bed of perfectly homogeneous limestone, which in some of the deep channels of the rivers is exposed to view to the height of three hundred feet perpendicular: the vegetable earth varies in thickness from a few inches to twelve or fifteen feet. There are also numerous explored mines of coal, but with the exception of a few iron mines, there is scarcely any other mineral substance in the country.

The land in Kentucky, as well as in some of the Atlantic states, is divided into three classes, which are differently assessed to the land-tax: but the same kind of land is there put in the second class, which east of the mountains would belong to the first; and in the third, which in Georgia and Carolina would be assigned to the second. There is, indeed, some land in the eastern states as fertile as any in the west; but it is not common, and is seldom met with but by the sides of rivers and in the vallies.

"In Kentucky and Cumberland independently of a few trees, which are peculiar to these countries, the mass of the forests, in lands of the first class, is composed of those species which are very rarely met with, to the east of the mountains, in the most fertile soils: these species are principally the following: *Cerasus virginiana*, cherry tree; *Juglans oblonga*, white walnut; *Paria lutea*, buck eye; *Fraxinus alba*, *nigra*, *cerulea*, white, black, and blue ash; *Celtis foliis villosis*, ackberry; *Ulmus viscosa*, slippery elm; *Quercus imbricaria*, black-jack oak; *Guilandina dioica*, coffee-tree; *Gleditsia triacanthos*, honeylocust; and, *Annona triloba*, papaw, which rises to the height of thirty feet. These three last species, in particular, denote the richest lands. In cool mountainous places, and by the sides of the rivers which have not steep banks, there are also found the *Quercus macrocarpa*, over cup white oak, the acorns of which are as large as a hen's egg; the *Acer saccharinum*, sugar maple; the *Fagus sylvatica*, beech; and also the *Platanus Occidentalis*, plane; the *Liriodendrum tulipifera*, white and yellow tulip-tree; and the *Magnolia acuminata*, cucumber-tree, the three last of which attain to a circumference of eighteen or twenty feet. The plane, as has been mentioned before, grows to a larger size. The two species of tulip-tree, with white and yel-

low wood, have no external character, either in the leaves, or in the flowers, by which they can be distinguished from each other, and as the yellow wood is most used, before a tree is felled, a piece is cut out, to ascertain whether it is of this species.

"In the lands of the second class, are found *Fagus castanea*, chesnut; *Quercus rubra*, red oak; *Quercus tinctoria*, quercitron; *Laurus sassafras*, sassafras; *Diospyros virginiana*, persimon; *Liquidambar styraciflua*, *Nyssa villosa*, gum-tree, a tree which neither yields gum, nor resin, as its name seems to imply.

"Those of the third class, which are generally arid and mountainous, scarcely produce any but the black and red oak; the *Quercus prinus montana*, rocky oak, some pines, and sometimes Virginian cedars.

"The *Juglans pacane* is not met with nearer than the mouths of the rivers Cumberland and Tennessee, from whence the fruit is sometimes brought to Lexington market. Neither does this tree grow to the eastward of the Alleghany mountains. The *Lobelia cardinalis* grows abundantly in all the cool humid spots, as well as the *Lobelia spilitica*; this is more common in Kentucky than in any part of the United States which I have seen. The *Laurus Benzoin*, spice-wood, is also plentiful here. The two genera, *Vaccinium* and *Andromeda*, which constitute a series of more than thirty species, and are very abundant in the eastern states, seem, in some degree, excluded from those of the west, and the calcareous district, in which only the *Andromeda arborea* is found."

The barrens or meadows of Kentucky comprize an extent of sixty or seventy miles in length, to fifty or sixty in breadth.

"From the signification of the word," says Dr. Michaux, "I expected to cross a bare tract, with a few plants scattered here and there upon it: and in this opinion, I was supported by the notion which some of the inhabitants had given me of these meadows, before I reached them. They told me, that, at this season, I should perish with heat and thirst, and that I should not meet with any shade the whole length of the road; for, the greater number of the Americans, who live in woods, have no conception that countries can exist which are entirely free from them, and still less that they can be habitable. Instead of finding a country such as had been described to me, I was agreeably surprized to see a beautiful meadow, well covered with grass, of two or three feet in height, which is used to feed cattle. A great variety of plants also grow here, among which the *Gerardia flara*, gall of the earth, the *Gnaphalium dioicum*, white plantain, and the *Rudbeckia purpurea*, were at this time predominant. I noticed that the roots of the latter plant have, in a certain degree, the acrid taste of the leaves of the *Splanthus oleracea*. When I crossed these meadows, three-fourths of the plants had

done flowering, and the period of the maturity of the greater part of their seeds was still far distant; I, however, collected about ninety specimens, which I have brought to France.

"In some parts of these meadows, several species of wild creeping vines are met with, and particularly that called by the inhabitants, *summer grapes*. These grapes are as large, and of as good a quality, as those from the vineyards in the neighbourhood of Paris, with this difference, that they are not so close upon the bunches."

The remarkable nakedness of this and some other similar tracts of a country, which in its natural state is one thick forest, had before been attributed by Volney to the custom of burning the grass every spring, practised time out of mind by the Indians, and continued by the white settlers. Dr. Michaux, who does not seem to have been acquainted with Volney's conjecture, was led to form the same conclusion by an observation which occurred to him incidentally, in a future part of his journey.

"At a short distance from Machy, on the river Holston, fifteen miles from Knoxville, the road, for the space of a mile or two, runs beside a coppice; very thickly set with trees, the largest clumps being twenty or twenty-five feet across. I had never seen any part of a forest in a similar state; and I made this observation to the inhabitants of the country, who informed me that this spot was formerly part of a *barren*, or meadow, which had become naturally recovered with wood within the last twelve or fifteen years, since the bad custom of setting fire to them, as is practised in all the southern states, had been discontinued. This example seems to prove, that the extensive meadows of Kentucky and Tennessee are indebted to some conflagration, which had consumed the forests, for their origin, and that they are preserved in that state by the custom, which still prevails, of setting fire to them annually. When on these occasions chance preserves any spots of them for a few years from the ravages of the flames, the trees spring up again; but, being extremely close, the fire, which at length catches them, burns them completely, and reduces them to the state of meadows again. Hence it may be concluded that, in these countries, the meadows must continually encroach upon the forests; and, in all probability, this was the case in Upper Louisiana and New Mexico, which are only vast plains, to which the savages set fire annually, and where there is not any tree."

The elks and bisons, which formerly abounded in this country, are almost all gone over to the right bank of the Mississippi: the only species of wild animals which are now common are the deer; the bear; the wolf; the grey and the red.

haired foxes; the wild cat, which is either the Canadian lynx or a variety of it, and not, as has sometimes been supposed, the origin of the domestic cat of Europe; the racoon; the opossum, and three or four species of squirrels.

"The wild turkies, which begin to be very scarce in the southern states are plentiful in those to the westward. In the most uninhabited parts they are so tame as to be easily killed with a pistol-shot. In the east, on the contrary, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the sea-ports, they cannot be approached without difficulty: they are not alarmed by a noise, but they have a very quick sight, and as soon as they discover the hunter, fly away with such rapidity, that it takes a dog several minutes to come up with them; and when they see themselves on the point of being caught, they escape by taking to flight. The wild turkies generally remain in the swamps, and by the sides of rivers and creeks, and only come out in the morning and evening. They perch on the tops of the highest trees, where, notwithstanding their bulk, it is not always easy to see them. When they have not been frightened, they return to the same trees for several weeks in succession.

"To the east of the Mississippi, in a space of more than eight hundred leagues, this is the only species of wild turkey which is met with.* They are larger than those reared in our poultry yards. In autumn and in winter they feed chiefly on chestnuts and acorns; and some of those killed at this season weigh thirty-five or forty pounds. The variety of domestic turkies, to which the name of English turkies is given, in France, came originally from this species of wild turkey; and when they are not crossed with the common species, they retain the primitive colour of their plumage, as well as that of their legs, which is a deep red. If, subsequent to 1525, our domestic turkies were naturalized in Spain, and from thence were introduced into the rest of Europe, it is probable that they were originally from some of the more southern parts of America, where there doubtless exists a species different from that of the United States."

Many horses are bred in Kentucky which find a good market in the southern states, particularly South Carolina: the number of horned cattle is also considerable; but very few sheep are reared. Dr. Michaux travelled upwards of two hundred miles in this state, and saw but four plantations at which there were any. Their flesh is not much in esteem, and the wool is of the same quality as that of the sheep in the eastern states.

The cultivated produce is chiefly tobacco, hemp, flax, and the different grains of Europe, but principally maize and wheat.

Whisky is distilled from oats, and brandy from peaches. Except a few apple-trees, the peach is the only fruit-tree which has hitherto been raised in the country. An attempt, indeed, has been made by a Swiss settler to establish a vineyard, and great expectations were formed concerning it; but the experiment has not succeeded, in consequence of the humidity of the atmosphere occasioned by the vicinity of the forests. Dr. Michaux is of opinion that the barrens are much better adapted to this purpose than the spot which has been chosen on the banks of the river Kentucky.

The manufactures carried on at Lexington are those of writing paper, ropes, tanned leather, nails, pottery ware and gunpowder. The sulphur for the last is obtained from Philadelphia, but the saltpetre is the produce of Kentucky and Tennessee, and has hitherto been fabricated in no other part of the United States. The earths which yield the livia are obtained from the grottoes and caverns, formed on the declivities of high hills, in the most mountainous parts. They are very rich in the nitrous principles, which is evidently owing to the calcareous rock, from the decay of which all these excavations are formed, as well as from the vegetable substances which are accidentally driven into them. This, Dr. Michaux observes, seems to show that the assimilation of animal matters is not absolutely necessary to produce a greater degree of nitrification even in the formation of artificial nitre-beds.

These manufactures are said to answer notwithstanding the extreme high price of labour, and the scarcity of handicraft workmen, owing to the general preference given to agriculture. To render the defect of artizans in the west country more perceptible, Dr. Michaux gives the following comparison:

"At Charlestown in Carolina, and at Savannah in Georgia, a white workman, such as a joiner, carpenter, mason, white-smith, taylor, shoe-maker, &c. earns two piasters a day, and cannot live a week for less than six. At New York and Philadelphia he receives only one piaster, and it costs him four per week. At Marietta, Lexington, and Nashville in Tennessee, this workman receives a piaster, or a piaster and a half per day, and can live a week upon one day's wages.

The state of Tennessee is bounded to the north by Kentucky, to the west by the Ohio, to the south by that nominal part of Georgia which is reserved for the territory

* There is one specimen of a female in the collection of the Museum of Natural History.

of the Cherokee and Chactaw Indians, and to the east by the Allegany mountains, which separate it from Virginia and North Carolina. It had not acquired population enough before 1796 to be admitted into the union as a separate state: till then it belonged to North Carolina. Its principal rivers are the Cumberland and the Tennessee, both which fall into the Ohio at the distance of ten miles from each other, and are separated for nearly the whole of their course by the Cumberland mountains, which are a process from the Alleghanies. Cumberland river rises in Kentucky, among the mountains which separate it from Virginia. It has a course of about four hundred and fifty miles, and is navigable in winter and spring as far as three hundred and fifty miles from its afflux; but in summer it cannot be ascended more than two hundred and thirty, i. e. fifty above Nashville. The Tennessee is the largest river that falls into the Ohio. It commences at a place called West Point, on the south-east side of the Cumberland mountains, and is formed by the junction of the Clinch and Holston, both which rise in the Allegany mountains: they are each near two hundred yards wide at their confluence, and are navigable to a great distance. The Holston, in particular, is so for nearly two hundred miles; so that the Tennessee, in conjunction with it, would have a navigable course of about eight hundred miles, if it were not for the muscleshoals which, for six months in the year, obstruct the passage about two hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. The greater part of the Tennessee, running through the Indian territory, has scarcely any settlements on its banks.

The Cumberland mountains divide the state of Tennessee into two parts, which have so little connection with each other, and differ so much in their products and interests, that they will probably soon become separate states. They were originally known by the names of Cumberland and Holston. West Tennessee, or Cumberland, is in extent about two-thirds of the whole, and though it had few settlers before 1789, is now supposed to contain about thirty thousand white inhabitants. Nashville, its principal and oldest town, consists of about one hundred and twenty houses, of which seven or eight are built of brick. The vegetable earth rests chiefly on a horizontal calcareous rock, but is not so deep as in Kentucky, and partakes more of an argillaceous nature, without any mixture of stony substances. On the high

banks of some of the rivers the upper rocks cover thick beds of ferruginous schistus lying horizontally, the laminae of which, on the slightest touch, break off in pieces a foot long, and fall spontaneously to powder; and on such as are the least exposed to the water and the light, there is a white efflorescence of an extreme tenuity, and greatly resembling snow. In these banks there are also deep caverns, in which are found masses of an aluminous substance, so near the degree of purity required for the operations of dying, that the inhabitants not only collect it for their own use, but also send it to Kentucky.

As greater care has been taken to render the titles to property clear and uncontroversible, this part of Tennessee is now generally preferred to Kentucky. The superior warmth of the climate, moreover, is favourable to the growth of cotton, a much more profitable produce than either grain, hemp or tobacco; stuffs of a fine quality are already fabricated in the country from the raw material.

East Tennessee or Holston is situated between the Cumberland mountains and the highest part of the Alleghanies. Its limestone appears to be deeper than in West Tennessee, and the beds which incline to the horizon, are divided at small intervals by strata of quartz; it is watered also by a great number of small rivers, which cross it in all directions. The best land is on their banks; the remainder is of an indifferent quality; and as the climate is considerably colder than that of West Tennessee, none of it is favourable to the cultivation of cotton. Dr. Michaux, satisfied with stating the fact, has assigned no reason for the latter difference; but it may probably be owing to the opposition made by the Cumberland mountains to the passage of the warm current of air from the gulph of Mexico, to which Volney has ingeniously attributed the superior temperature of the countries on the Mississippi to that of places on the same parallel of latitude in the Atlantic states.

East Tennessee began to be settled as early as 1775, and the number of its inhabitants is now estimated at about seventy thousand, including three or four thousand negroe slaves. On account of the bad navigation of the river, its trading concerns are nearly all carried on by land with the sea ports on the Atlantic; it is, therefore, thought by Dr. Michaux to be the most unfavourably situated of all the parts of the United States that are now inhabited, being surrounded by extensive tracts of

country which yield the same products, and are either more fertile or nearer the sea-side. The seat of government for the whole state is at Knoxville, on the Holston, which contains about two hundred houses.

The mountains on the east of Tennessee are generally allowed, by the emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia, to be higher than any others to the south of Hudson's river. They place the great father mountain in the first rank, then the iron mountain, the yellow mountain, the black mountain, and the table mountain. In support of this opinion it is alleged, that between the 10th and 20th of September, the cold becomes so severe on the mountains, that the inhabitants are obliged to have fires, which is not the case with any of those in Virginia, although they are some degrees farther north. Dr. Michaux has also seen in his father's notes that he found trees and shrubs on the yellow and great father mountains which he never met with afterwards, except in Lower Canada. These mountains do not form part of the grand chain, but are strictly within the district of the western waters. They have also a peculiar character, and instead of forming a regular ridge with little or no undulation, they are insulated mountains contiguous only at the base. The real dividing ridge, which is truly a continuance of what are called the Alleghanies in Pennsylvania, is known in North Carolina by the name of the blue ridge. It is much lower than

the Tennessee mountains, and was passed by Dr. Michaux to the east of the iron mountain on his return to Charlestown.

In the whole of the western states thirty years ago, there were scarcely three thousand inhabitants: at present there are more than four hundred thousand. There are two printing presses, both at Pittsburgh and Lexington, each of which publishes two newspapers every week. At Knoxville one is published twice a week, and at Chillicotte, Nashville, and at Jonesborough and Holston once. And so desirous is the federal government to propagate instruction and a knowledge of the laws among the people, that it allows the editors of the periodical papers, published through the whole extent of the United States, to receive those which they exchange with each other, or which are directed to them, post free.

We have endeavoured to condense and to digest into as small a compass as possible, what appeared most important with respect to the rising states, that it may serve as a kind of fixed point from which their farther progress may be estimated. An abundant and rich gleanings, we are very sensible, may be gathered after us: but for this, as well as for our author's observations on his way through North and South Carolina to Charlestown, we must refer our reader to the work itself: and shall only add, that the narrative is illustrated by a distinct map of the southern, western, and middle states.

ART. XVII. *Familiar Letters from Italy to a Friend in England.* By PETER BECKFORD, Esq. In Two Volumes, 8vo. pp. 904.

IT is not very easy to throw the charm of novelty over a tale which has been so often told. These letters were, many of them, written so long ago as the year 1787, and most of them before the invasion of Italy by the French. Mr. Beckford seems to have passed much of his time on the continent, and to have had abundant leisure to complete his memoranda. We cannot, however, think that the present work was much wanted: it contains a great deal of unnecessary matter; matter which presumes much upon the ignorance of the reader. What in the name of good taste or common sense should an epitome of the ancient History of Rome be intro-

duced for? Almost every town he enters Mr. Beckford thinks demands from him a sketch of its classic days! The familiarity of the style displeases us: Mr. Beckford introduces too many silly stories and jokes from Joe Miller, many of them are coarse and vulgar, and some of them scarcely decent. If on the one hand, however, we complain that these letters contain much irrelevant and tiresome matter, it must, on the other hand, be conceded, that every thing is described which admits of description: now and then a leisure hour may be employed, not unprofitably, in perusing them.

ART. XVIII. *Naufragia; or Historical Memoirs of Shipwrecks, and of the Providential Deliverance of Vessels.* By JAMES STANIER CLARKE, F. R. S. Chaplain of the Prince's Household, and Librarian to his Royal Highness. 12mo. pp. 421.

WE are sorry that so useful a design as that of this volume should have been

executed by Mr. Stanier Clarke. Any thing like a judicious selection we could not expect from this gentleman, after his *History of Maritime Discovery*; but we did expect that he would have shown more knowledge of the subject upon which he was writing. Not one of the most extraordinary shipwrecks which have taken place are to be found in his collection: but the novels of Robert A-Machin, and Captain Richard Falconer, are unobtrusively inserted as true history; Philip Quarle is just as credible, and just as authentic as either.

Here we might dismiss this meagre compilation, were there not in the first section a 'Dissertation' on the real author of *Robinson Crusoe*, which requires some comment. The following extract is the whole of this dissertation:

"Before I conclude this section, I wish to make the admirers of this Nautical Romance mindful of a report, which prevailed many years ago; that *Defoe*, after all, was not the real author of *Robinson Crusoe*. This assertion is noticed in an article in the seventh volume of the *Edinburgh Magazine*. Dr. *Towers* in his *Life of Defoe* in the *Biographia*, is inclined to pay no attention to it: but was that writer aware of the following letter, which also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine** for 1788? at least no notice is taken of it in his *Life of Defoe*.

"MR. URBAN, *Dublin, Feb. 25.*

In the course of a late conversation with a nobleman of the first consequence and information in this kingdom, he assured me, that Mr. *Benjamin Holloway*, of Middleton Stony, assured him, some time ago, that he knew for fact, that the celebrated romance of *Robinson Crusoe* was really written by the *Earl of Oxford*, when confined in the tower of London; that his lordship gave the manuscript to *Daniel Defoe*, who frequently visited him during his confinement: and that *Defoe*, having afterwards added the second volume, published the whole as his own production.—This anecdote I would not venture to send to your valuable magazine, if I did not think my information good, and imagine it might be acceptable to your numerous readers; notwithstanding the work has heretofore been generally attributed to the latter."

W. W.

"It is impossible for me to enter on a discussion of this literary subject; though I thought the circumstance ought to be more generally known. And yet I must observe, that I always discerned a very striking falling off between the composition of the first and second volumes of this Romance—they seem to bear evident marks of having been the work of different writers."

Mr. W. W. dating from Dublin, informs Mr. Urban of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that an Irish nobleman assured him that he was assured by Mr. Benjamin Holloway, of Middleton Stony, that he, the said Mr. Benjamin Holloway knew, for fact, that the earl of Oxford wrote the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe*! Admirable evidence! Mr. W. W. one; the Irish nobleman two; Mr. Benjamin Holloway three—here there is a gap, and we know not through how many generations this ridiculous falsehood had passed before it reached Middleton Stony. And Mr. Clarke, though it is impossible for him to enter into the subject, thought this testimony ought to be more generally known, and adds, in support of it, that he always thought the second volume of *Robinson Crusoe* inferior to the first. Admirable critic!

Nothing can more strongly characterize a mean and little mind than an eagerness to believe and propagate such idle calumnies as this! What would a court of justice say to Mr. Stanier Clarke if he were to make his appearance before them with a story that Mr. A. B. had written him an anonymous letter, to say that a worthy friend of his had assured him that John-a-Nokes knew for fact that John-a-Stiles had picked his pocket! False accusation in the present case is as much heavier an offence as the value of a good name is greater than gold. Mr. Clarke's memory may help him to this comparison in verse.

Something is said of Alexander Selkirk in this same section. The reader who would wish to know every thing that can be known concerning him, may consult a little volume upon the subject, published four or five years ago, by Mr. Isaac James of Bristol. The account is authentic, and highly curious.

ART. XIX. *A Northern Summer; or Travels Round the Baltic; through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and part of Germany, in the Year 1804. By JOHN CARR, ESQ. Author of the Stranger in France, &c. &c.* 4to. pp. 480.

MR. CARR gave a light and agreeable account of his excursion into France, and he has now given us a light and agreeable account of his travels through the less fre-

quented countries which surround the Baltic. To afford amusement seems to have been a prime object with the author; he writes, *currente calamo*, and enters but slightly into the politics, religion, history, or statistics of the countries he visited. Mr. Carr is an *artist*, and the delineation of national characteristics is congenial with his taste and pursuits: his anecdotes are numerous and oftentimes illustrative.

The first capital town worth stopping at is Copenhagen: *en passant*, we have a good picture at Husum. The fair was held at the time Mr. Carr was there; the buckrammed bosoms of the women, together with the vast protuberant rotundities which they display behind, form a whimsical contrast to the fashionable dress of our English beauties. 'In the evening, a crazy violin and drum allured me into a public room, in which the merry peasants were dancing waltzes. Heavens! what movements! A Frenchman who resolves every thing into operatic effect, would have felt each particular hair stand erect had he contemplated the heavy solemnity of the performers. The females looked like so many tubs turning round, and their gallant partners never moved their pipes from their mouths.' This is not a bad picture; a Danish Jupiter making love to some tender female, fire issuing from his mouth, and the god himself, 'invisible, or dimly seen,' through clouds of smoke that curl around him. Bunbury might give it to our print shops.

Dancing is a favourite diversion with our northern as well as our southern neighbours: if the poorer classes of this country meet together it is to drink! A memorable day for Denmark was the 2d of April, 1801: we claim the honours of that hard-earned, if not dubious victory, and certainly in its consequences we had every reason for triumph; the battle off Copenhagen dissolved the confederacy of the northern powers, and produced the convention, in 1803, between his Britannic Majesty, and the king of Sweden, respecting the search of neutral vessels, and regulating what should in future be deemed legitimate cargoes. The Danes, however, fought so valorously, and with such terrible effect, that for two years they commemorated their victory by an anniversary rejoicing.

"On our return to the city, and about a mile from it, a turf'd hillock of small poplars attracted our notice: it was the national tomb of the heroes who fell in the memorable battle of Copenhagen roads, on the 2d of April,

1801, and stood in a meadow about two hundred yards from the road, and looked towards the crown battery. As we approached it we saw a small monumental obelisk which was raised to the memory of captain Albert Thurah, by the Crown Prince. It appeared by the inscription, that during the heat of that sanguinary battle, a signal was made from one of the block ships, that all the officers on board were killed; the Crown Prince, who behaved with distinguished judgment and composure during the whole of that terrific and anxious day, and was giving his orders on shore, exclaimed, 'who will take the command?' The gallant Thurah replied, 'I will, my Prince,' and immediately leaped into a boat, and as he was mounting the deck of the block ship, a British shot numbered him amongst the dead, which formed a ghastly pile before him, and consigned his spirit and his glory to the regions of immortality."

A larger tomb is erected by their grateful country over her fallen heroes:

"It is a pyramidal hillock, neatly turf'd and planted with sapling poplars, corresponding with the number of officers who fell. At the base of the principal front are tomb stones recording the names of each of these officers, and their respective ships. A little above is an obelisk of grey northern marble, raised upon a pedestal of granite bearing this inscription:

"To the memory of those who fell for their country, their grateful fellow citizens raise this monument, April 2, 1801.

"And beneath, on a white marble tablet, under a wreath of laurel oak, and cypress bound together, is inscribed:

"The wreath which the country bestows never withers over the grave of the fallen warrior.

"The whole is enclosed in a square palisado: as a national monument, it is too diminutive."

The following anecdote is worthy to be recorded: after the preliminaries of pacification were adjusted, at the impressive interview between lord Nelson and the Crown Prince, the latter took some refreshment at the palace:

"During the repast Lord Nelson spoke in raptures of the bravery of the Danes, and particularly requested the prince to introduce him to a very young officer, whom he described as having performed wonders during the battle, by attacking his own ship immediately under her lower guns. It proved to be the gallant young Welinos, a stripling of seventeen; the British hero embraced him with the enthusiasm of a brother, and delicately intimated to the prince that he ought to make him an admiral, to which the prince very happily replied, 'If, my lord, I were to make all my brave officers admirals, I should have no captains or lieutenants in my service.' This he-

roic youth had volunteered the command of a *præm*, which is a sort of raft, carrying six small cannon, and manned with twenty-four men, who pushed off from shore, and in the fury of the battle placed themselves under the stern of lord Nelson's ship, which they most successfully attacked, in such a manner that, although they were below the reach of his stern chasers, the British marines made terrible slaughter amongst them: twenty of these gallant men fell by their bullets, but their young commander continued knee-deep in dead at his post, until the truce was announced. He has been honoured, as he most eminently deserved to be, with the grateful remembrance of his country and of his prince, who, as a mark of his regard, presented him with a medallion commemorative of his gallantry, and has appointed him to the command of his yacht, in which he makes his annual visit to Holstein."

Copenhagen does not present many objects of high interest and curiosity: the city is between four and five English miles in circumference, containing about four thousand houses: the royal palace fell a victim to the flames in the year 1794; it was an immense and splendid pile of building. Its internal decorations were of the highest magnificence: the *ritta saal*, or knight's saloon, was one hundred and eighteen feet long, and fifty-eight feet broad: nine windows lighted it by day, and at night twelve hundred wax-lights, distributed in three lustres, shed a brilliant blaze over the room; on each side was a gallery richly gilded, and supported by forty-four columns of cinnamon wood, the base and capitals of which were also richly gilded. The paintings of Abilgaard on subjects of Danish history embellished the hall: the library of the king contained one hundred and thirty thousand volumes, and three thousand manuscripts, and was much injured by the fire. Part of the castle of Charlottenburg is devoted to the royal academy of painting, architecture, and sculpture. Those of its productions which Mr. Carr had an opportunity of seeing, gave him no very high opinion of the fine arts in Denmark. The palace of Fredericksberg, where the king resides, is small, and the gardens are tastefully arranged; his majesty has for many years been unable, from the infirmity of his mind, to perform the royal functions, which devolve on the crown prince, who is deservedly beloved by all his subjects. The Danes are a grateful people: a few miles from the capital on one side of the public road is a plain and simple monument, erected by the peasants of the late count Bernstorff, in gratitude of their liberation.

The crown battery is an interesting object: it is square, stands about half an English mile from the shore, the water flowing into it. It is undergoing alteration and enlargement; government has it also in contemplation to raise a fresh battery to the southward.

Among the charitable institutions is an hospital where pregnant women, who have reason for seeking concealment, are received upon paying a small stipend: they enter at night in masks, and are never seen but by those who are necessary to their comfort, nor are their names ever required. This interesting asylum seems far preferable to foundling hospitals, which offer a premium to the violation of maternal feelings: it is said to have produced a visible diminution in the crime of infanticide. The mild laws of Denmark punish not even the murderer with death.

Taking leave of Denmark, we cross the Sound, and enter into the Swedish territories: the sight of Cronenberg castle recalls to mind the unhappy fate of the amiable Matilda, who fell a sacrifice to the political jealousy of Juliana Maria, the monster step-mother of his present majesty. The story of her misfortunes excited so deep an interest at the time that Mr. Carr has introduced it. Cronenberg castle now forms the residence of the governor of Elsinour: it mounts three hundred and sixty-five pieces of cannon, and its subterranean apartments will hold more than a regiment of men. Its strength, however, is not so formidable as its appearance: the British fleet under admirals Parker and Nelson passed it with perfect impunity, and disdained to return a shot: it stands on a peninsular spot, the nearest to Sweden.

The next place we stop at is Stockholm, but in travelling from capital to capital we must not forget the intermediate country: the appearance of the peasantry and of their cottages, indicates poverty:

"Sweden is one continued rock of granite, covered with fir: hence the cottages, which are only one story high, and many of the superior houses, are constructed of wood, the planks of which are let into each other in a layer of moss, and the outside is painted of a red colour; the roof is formed with the bark of the birch, and covered with turf, which generally presents a bed of grass sufficiently high for the scythe of the mower. The floors of the rooms are strewn with the slips of young fir, which give them the appearance of litter and disorder, and the smell is far from being pleasant. Nothing can be more dreary than winding through the forests, which every now

and then present to the weary eye little patches of cleared ground, where firs had been felled by fire, the stumps of which, to a considerable height, were left in the ground, and, at a distance, resembled so many large stones. Inexhaustible abundance of wood induces the peasant to think it labour lost to root them up, and they remain to augment the general bleakness of the scenery.

"The population in both the provinces of Scania and Smaland is very thinly diffused: except in the very few towns between Flensburg and Stockholm, the abode of man but rarely refreshes the eye of the weary traveller. At dawn of day, and all day long, he moves in a forest, and at night he sleeps in one. The only birds we saw were woodpeckers. The peasantry are poorly housed and clad; yet, amidst such discouraging appearances, their cheek boasts the bloom of health and the smile of content. Their clothes and stockings are generally of light cloth; their hats raised in the crown, pointed at top, with large broad brims, and round their waist they frequently wear a leathern girdle, to which are fastened two knives in a leather case. The country in these provinces appeared to be very sterile; only small portions of its rocky surface were covered with a sprinkling of vegetable mould."

The peasants bake their bread only once, or, at most, twice in the year: in times of scarcity they add the bark of the birch well pounded; and Mr. Carr says, that thus prepared, their cakes require the jaws of a stone-eater to penetrate them. They are made round and flat, with a hole in the middle, through which a stick or string is passed, and they are suspended from the ceilings,

Stockholm is under infinite obligations to the taste and genius of the late illustrious monarch Gustavus III. who not merely gave encouragement to science and the fine arts in his metropolis, but to commerce and agriculture throughout his kingdom. The manner, however, in which he effected the revolution of 1772, and the absolute power with which he invested himself at the expence of the aristocracy, are not consistent with the character to which he aspired, namely, that of a patriot king. The power which Gustavus gained he employed for the benefit of his people; this cannot be questioned; but to effect a revolution by his sole intrigues, and in that revolution to destroy the legitimate, though abused power, of the states, and make himself a despot, was an act of violent hostility against the principles of liberty. Mr. Carr is dazzled by the splendour of his genius and the exhaustless resources of his mind; he is lost in astonishment and admiration.

In a temporary building at the house of

Sergell the statuary, Mr. Carr saw the colossal pedestrian statue of this monarch, in bronze, which had just been cast, and was then polishing. It is a present from the citizens of Stockholm, and will cost forty thousand pounds; it is, perhaps, the last effort of the art of Sergell, who, although every tribute of honour has been paid to the sublimity of his genius, and the delicacy of his taste, is now become insensible to admiration, disgusted with himself, and disgusted with the world. His Cupid and Psyche is not to be sold till after his death.

The palace at Stockholm is an elegant edifice, begun by Charles XI. and finished by Gustavus III; within its walls is the king's museum, which Mr. Carr was fortunate enough to see, immediately after the opening of several packages containing five hundred valuable paintings and antique statues from Italy, where they had been purchased by the latter sovereign about eleven years since, and had been prevented from reaching their destination by the French revolution. They lay in great confusion, and some of them were much damaged. In the palace of Drottingholm there are also some exquisite statues in alabaster and marble, and Etrurian vases, purchased in Italy by Gustavus III. Haga was the favourite retreat of this illustrious monarch: the little palace, or rather chateau, which is of wood, and is extremely elegant, was built after his designs, with the assistance of Masrelie. The gardens are laid out with great taste, and the surrounding scenery is remarkably picturesque. Haga is about a mile and a half from Stockholm: in the year 1791 Gustavus laid there the foundation of a vast palace, but the undertaking was discontinued at his death, as being on too large a scale, and too expensive for the country.

The laws of Sweden are mild and simple; capital punishments are seldom inflicted, and the prosecutor sustains no share of the expence of prosecuting a criminal. England would do well to adopt this system of indemnification, as Sweden would to imitate from her the adjustment of costs in civil causes by reference to a jury. In Sweden each party pays his own costs.

Mr. Carr made an excursion to Upsala, and paid a visit to the mines of Danmora, which, notwithstanding they have been wrought for three hundred years, yet produce a vast quantity of ore of a superior quality, much used in the British steel.

manufactories. The ancient town of Upsala was once the capital of Sweden, and the residence of the high-priest of Odin: in the cathedral, which is a prodigious and unwieldy pile of brick and of heterogeneous architecture, repose the ashes of Linnæus. The following simple epitaph points out the spot:

"Ossa
CAROLI A LINNÆ
equitis aurati
marito optimo
filio unico

CAROLO A LINNÆ
patris successori
et
sibi

SARA ELIZBETHA MORÆA.

"The affectionate reverence of the pupils of this distinguished expounder of nature, and the powers of his celebrated friend Sergell, have endeavoured to supply the humility of the preceding tribute, by raising, in a little recess, a monument of Swedish porphyry, supporting a large medallion of the head of the illustrious naturalist, which is said to be an admirable likeness of him; under it is the following inscription:

CAROLO A LINNÆ
Botanicorum
principi
Amici et discipuli,
1798."

In a private chapel of the cathedral is the tomb of Gustavus Vasa, whose effigy is placed between that of his two wives, Catherine and Margaret. Mr. Carr should have transcribed the inscription which is sacred to the memory of such a hero, such a patriot, and such a man.

From the Swedish Mr. Carr proceeds to the Russian territories: his talents for description are pleasingly displayed in the following passage:

"At five o'clock in the evening of the sixth of July, with very little wind, we slowly withdrew from Stockholm. Before night we were completely becalmed; our captain rowed us up to a rock, and throwing out a gang-board, tied the vessel to a fir-tree for the night. Here we landed, and ascended the rocks, which, sparingly clothed with grey moss, rose from the water's edge in the most grand, romantic, and picturesque disorder. Before us the rich crimson suffusion of the sun, just sunk behind a dark undulating line of fir forests, gave at once tranquillity and tone to the lake appearance of this arm of the Baltic, which was enlivened by the white-lagging sails of a few boats, that on the opposite side softly and slowly crept through the deep shadows of the shores, crowned with the woods of Liston-

cottage; whilst in the south, the tower of St Catherine's, mounted upon her airy summit the houses, the palace, and the spires, seemed composed of light cloud and mist. The silence of this delicious repose of nature was only faintly broken by the dashing of the oars and the carol of the distant boatmen; in the language of the divine Milton:

'Now came still evening on, and twilight gray

Had in her sober livery all things clad:
Silence accompanied; for beast and bird,
They to their grassy couch, these to their
nests,

Were slunk——— now glowed the firmament
With living saphirs.'

"Seated upon a rock, we for a long time contemplated this exquisite scene, till at length the call of sleep induced us to descend into our cabin, where our accommodations were very comfortable. With the sun, which was an early riser, we unmoored, and advanced, but very slowly; as we proceeded, misery in a new shape presented itself. From a wretched hovel, upon one of the islands which began to appear in clusters, hanging over the edge of the water, and ready to drop into it, an old man in rags, and nearly blind, put off in a little crazy boat, and rowing towards us implored our charity in the most touching manner, and seemed very grateful for the trifle we gave him.

"In the evening, having made but little way, the master again moored the vessel to another island for the night: as I found was the custom, on account of the danger and difficulty of the navigation. This island was indeed a most enchanting scene; upon its romantic summit of grey rock we found a little cottage, embowered in trees of fir, ash, and elder, that might well be called 'the peasant's nest.' A fisherman, his aged mother his wife and his children, formed the population of this beautiful spot. A little field of grass, in which a cow was grazing, another of corn, a garden, and the waters of the Baltic, which again resembled a lake, supplied them with all their wants, and all their riches. Here it seemed as if the heart could no longer ache, as if ambition might wish to be what he beheld, and that love might ponder on the past without a pang. The inside of the cottage was neat and cheerful; the good old lady, with the children in their shirts playing round her, sat knitting by the light of a sprightly fire, and under locks of snow presented a face at peace with all the world. Upon hearing that we wished to have some supper, the fisherman, with a countenance of health and gaiety, descended into a little creek, where his boats were moored, for some perch, confined in a wicker well in the water, whilst his young wife, who had a pair of very sweet expressive eyes, laid the cloth in a detached room facing the cottage. Whilst supper was preparing I rambled over this little paradise. Night came

and all the beauties of the proceeding evening, with some variety of new forms, returned; the same bright bespangled heaven! the same serenity; the same silence! yielding only to the unceasing rippling of a little stream of rock water, to which, as it gushed from a bed of long moss, and as our fair hostess presented her pitcher, thriftily fenced with wicker, might be applied the beautiful inscription of Bosquillon, on the fountain in the street of Notre Dame des Victoires in Paris:

"La nymphe qui donne de cette eau
Au plus creux du rocher se cache:
Suivre un exemple si beau;
Donnez sans vouloir qu'on le sache."

Or thus in English:

"Prompt to relieve, tho' *virtuous* wrapp'd
In stone,
The nymph of waters pours her generous
stream:
Go, gentle reader, do as she has done;
See while you bless, but *blessing be unseen*."
J. C.

"It was just such a spot as the poetical spirit of Cowper would have coveted: his eye would have penetrated, and his pen could alone have painted every beauty."

Bad as the inns are in Sweden, they are still worse in Russia—poor as the peasants are in Sweden, still poorer is the peasantry in Russia. Swedish and Russian Finland are the confines of the two countries, and rival each other in sterility, gloom, and wretchedness.

The capital of the Russian empire has been described by so many travellers of various tastes, countries, and pursuits, that we have hardly a right to expect much novelty from a transient visit. Mr. Storch's 'Picture of Petersburg' is spread upon such an ample canvass, and executed with so accurate a pencil, as to have left comparatively little for succeeding artists. On the other hand, the imperial city, from the unbounded power and resources of the monarch, is ever presenting some new object of admiration to the observer: in the course of the last year five hundred noble houses were erected within its walls! Its population has nevertheless declined, whilst, as appears from the last estimate, that of the country has increased.

A metropolis is the centre from which civilization radiates, shedding on the remoter provinces its weakened beams, fainter and more faint, as the line of distance lengthens. To the genius of Peter the Great and the late Catherine, Russia is indebted for every thing: for the creation and extent of her commerce, and for her elevation to that rank and power which

she now holds among the nations of the earth: they taught the barren wilderness to smile, and formed the statue from the unhewn rock. The present emperor is treading in the steps of his illustrious ancestors, and there is hope that, in a long reign, he may succeed in rubbing off many of the asperities which still characterize his subjects. The arts are highly encouraged and cultivated in Petersburg; architecture with more success than statuary: statuary with more success than painting, which seems to demand a milder climate. The great obstacle to civilization is the ignominious and grinding vassalage of the peasantry: the late Catherine made some attempts to mitigate its severity, and Alexander will better deserve the appellation of GREAT than his Macedonian namesake, if he subdues that pride and prejudice of his nobility which are nourished to the injury of his people.

A Russian peasant is in a state of the lowest degradation:

"What of good he has he owes to himself; his foibles, and they are few, originate elsewhere: he is the absolute slave of his lord, and ranks with the sod of his domains; of a lord whose despotism is frequently more biting than the Siberian blast. Never illumined by education, bruised with ignoble blows, the object and frequently the victim of baronial rapacity, with a wide world before him, this oppressed child of nature is denied the common right of raising his shed where his condition may be ameliorated, *permitted* only to toil in a distant district under the protection of that disgraceful badge of vassalage, a *certificate of leave*, and upon his return compellable to lay the scanty fruits of his labour at the feet of his master; and finally, he is excluded from the common privilege which nature has bestowed upon the birds of the air, and the beasts of the wilderness, of chusing his mate; he must marry when and whom his master orders. Yet under all this pressure, enough to destroy the marvellous elasticity of a Frenchman's mind, the Russian is what I have depicted him. If the reader is not pleased with the portrait, the painter is in fault."

It is a vulgar apophthegm, 'take care of the pence, and the pounds will take care of themselves:' it may be applied in politics, 'take care of the poor, the rich will take of themselves.' The Russians, according to Mr. Carr, are not bad materials to work upon: he over-rates them however. To 'bear the curse and scorn, and frequently the blows of his superior with mildness,' proves only that his spirit is broken, and his manhood mutilated; the individual Russian, perhaps this 'poor

slave of the north,' may have displayed 'the most heroic valour in the field, and the most gentle moderation in success;' but the victories of Suwarrow were the indiscriminate desolations of a beast of prey: the relentless massacre of thirty thousand Turks at Ismael, and almost of an equal number of Poles at Praga and Warsaw, displayed more of ferocity than 'heroic valour,' and certainly evinced as little 'moderation in success' as a naturalist could have expected from any monsters in the shape of man.

It is an encouraging trait of character, that the Russian is mild and humane towards the animals over which he has dominion: if his horse is sluggish, he cheers him by a few exhilarating sounds. If the jaded beast proceeds no faster, still patient, he sings; if this does not answer the purpose, he talks to him, reasons with him, but is rarely seen to strike the animal, whose services are only withholden when the force of nature is exhausted.

"A Russian, in the ebullition of passion, may do a ferocious thing, but never an *ill-natured* one. No being under heaven surpasses him in the gaiety of the heart. His little national song cheers him wherever he goes. Where a German would snore for comfort, the Russian sings. There is nothing cold about him but his wintry climate; whenever he speaks, it is with good humour and vivacity, accompanied by the most animated gestures; and although I do not think that the Graces would at first pull caps about him, yet, in the dance, for spirit and agility, I would match and back him against any one of the most agile sons of carelessness in the *Champs Elysées*."

An Englishman feels the flush of honourable and patriotic pride, that whithersoever his countrymen go, they are received with cordiality and respect; in their person a willing homage is paid to the intellectual and moral character of the British nation. Whoever has travelled on the continent knows this: Mr. Carr relates many little anecdotes indicative of the deference paid to Englishmen in Russia. Many are settled at Petersburg, which owes some of its architectural ornaments to their genius and taste: particularly to Mr. Cameron, the present imperial architect, who has a superb suite of apartments in the Michaelisky palace.

* It is to be regretted that any considerations of delicacy or prudence should exist, sufficiently well-grounded to prohibit the disclosure of every particular which is known on so interesting an event. The time may arrive when Mr. Carr will deem these restraints no longer necessary; in which case he will no doubt supply us with that important desideratum, the name of the person who *beheld the catastrophe*, and from whom his information is derived.

Mr. Gould yet holds the office of imperial gardener at the Taurida palace; he enjoys a munificent salary, and beholds this 'little paradise, which he created from a mephitic bog, flourishing and exciting the admiration of foreigners, and in the shade of which Potemkin, Catherine the Great, and two succeeding emperors of Russia, have sought tranquillity and repose from the oppressive weight of public duty.' The Russian navy is supplied with several English officers: the late emperor offered the command of a vessel to the noted pirate Paul Jones; on hearing it, all the Englishmen in his service instantly sent in their resignations. This anecdote must be recorded to their honour.

The Taurida palace was built by Catherine II., and presented to her favourite, prince Potemkin: here it was that he gave to his imperial mistress that costly *fête* which beggars all description, and even baffles imagination to conceive of. In the gorgeous magnificence of their palaces, and the splendor of their entertainments, the Russians far surpass the feeble pomp of more southern princes: to the banks of the Neva seem to have been transferred all the riches, grandeur, and luxury of Asia. Mr. Carr was an eye-witness of the brilliant festivities which took place at the nuptials of the grand duchess of Russia and the prince of Saxe-Weimar.

Within the massy walls of Michaelisky palace perished the unhappy Paul: Mr. Carr has devoted a chapter to this gloomy subject, and thrown an interest over the fate of the emperor, which the violence and eccentricities of his character and conduct had almost forbidden to be excited in his favour. 'The original source of my information,' says he, 'is from one who *beheld the catastrophe* which I am about to relate, whom I can neither name nor doubt; a catastrophe which is too near the period in which I write not to render an unrestrained disclosure of all the particulars with which I have been furnished unfair, if not imprudent.'

The causes which first produced the unnatural estrangement of Paul from his mother are unknown: it is not unknown, however, that, for many years past, he was kept in a state of the most mortifying and

humiliating degradation. He was not only deprived of the honours due to his high rank, but even cut off from the ordinary felicities of life: 'the pressure of his hand excited suspicion; peril was in his attachment, and in his confidence guilt and treason. He could not have a friend without furnishing a victim.'

Paul is said, by a gentleman who had the honour of spending a short time at his secluded little court of Gatschina, to have displayed 'a mind very elegantly inclined, and, without being brilliant, highly cultivated, accomplished, and informed, frank and generous, brave and magnanimous, a heart tender and affectionate, and a disposition very sweet, though most acutely and poignantly susceptible: his person was not handsome, but his eye was penetrating, and his manners such as denoted the finished gentleman.' He loved, even to indulgence, his family and servants, who, in return, were most devotedly attached to him. His ardour in military pursuits was enthusiastic: his celebrated challenge to the crowned heads of Europe was worthy the age of chivalry.

It was the intention of Catherine that Paul should be passed over in the succession, and that the grand duke Alexander should mount the vacant throne on her demise. A short time before this event, she had committed to count P— Z— a declaration of her will to this effect, addressed to the senate. This last favourite of Catherine's, however, immediately on learning the death of his royal mistress, flew to Pavlovsk, where Paul then resided, and delivered up to him this important document. The new emperor rewarded the courtier's well-timed zeal, by allowing him alone, of all the panders to his mother's loose and voluptuous excesses, to retain his honours and his fortunes.

Paul, however, soon repented of his liberality: every spot which had been polluted with Catherine's licentious orgies became hateful in his eyes, and every person who had been associated in them was to the last degree disgusting. Paul had been elevated to the imperial dignity but a very short time before he gave alarming symptoms of occasional derangement: so

utter was his abhorrence against those palaces which had been the favourite residences of his mother, that, in his delirium, he had determined to level every one of them to the ground, and actually built for himself that gloomy and enormous pile, the palace of Michaelisky, which was the scene of his own murder.* With these strong feelings, it was impossible that the sight of count P— Z— should not have been odious to him: to effect his ruin, he was denounced as a defaulter to the imperial treasury of half a million of rubles, and Paul proceeded to sequester his estates, and those of his two brothers. In despair, one of the latter walked boldly up to the emperor on parade, and represented to him the injustice of his measures: it marks the inconsistency of Paul's character that he listened to him with attention, and restored the property. The original disgust soon returned, and P— Z— was ordered to reside on his estate: this rustication was borne with impatience; and madame Chevalier—a French actress of resistless fascination, who had been purposely introduced on the boards of the French theatre at Petersburg, by Messrs. Otto, Sieyes, and Talleyrand, to seduce the emperor, and decoy him into a political snare—madame Chevalier was bribed, by a magnificent aigrette of diamonds, valued at sixty thousand rubles, to intercede, in some unguarded hour of dalliance, for the restoration of the count. The artifice succeeded, and the count was graciously received by his imperial master, against whom, whatever private pique the former might have cherished, Mr. Carr believes it was wholly lost in his review of the dreadful condition of the empire, and in those awful measures which were afterwards resorted to. However that may be, it seems to have been in the bosom of P— Z— that originated the idea of saving the empire by destroying the sovereign. Several noblemen, and persons of high rank and consequence, among them was the governor of the city, engaged in this fearful business; and, according to the merciful and generous assurance of Mr. Carr, who one would suppose derived his information from the partial account of a conspirator,† none of them was actuated by any other motive

* During his temporary aversion against the English, Paul ordered the celebrated bust of Mr. Fox, which was modelled from life at the express desire of the late empress, to be carried into the cellar. The present emperor has done himself the honour to place it in the magnificent gardens of the Taurida palace, in company with a great number of beautiful statues and colossal casts.

† On the borders of Poland, Mr. Carr met this identical count P— Z— at a post-house;

than to prevent the final ruin of their country, and for this purpose they determined to place in peril their own lives and fortunes.

"The palace of St. Michael is an enormous fabric: the whole is moated round, and, when the stranger surveys its bastions of granite, and numerous draw-bridges, he is naturally led to conclude, that it was intended for the last asylum of a prince at war with his subjects. Those who have seen its massy walls, and the capaciousness and variety of its chambers, will easily admit that an act of violence might be committed in one room, and not be heard by those who occupy the adjoining one; and that a massacre might be perpetrated at one end, and not known at the other. Paul took possession of this palace as a place of strength, and beheld it with rapture, because his imperial mother had never even seen it. Whilst his family were here, by every act of tenderness endeavouring to soothe the terrible perturbation of his mind, there were not wanting those who exerted every stratagem to inflame and encrease it. These people were constantly insinuating, that every hand was armed against him. With this impression, which added fuel to his burning brain, he ordered a secret staircase to be constructed, which, leading from his own chamber, passed under a false stove in the anti-room, and led by a small door to the terrace.

"It was the custom of the emperor to sleep in an outer apartment next to the empress's, upon a sofa, in his regimentals and boots, whilst the grand duke and duchess, and the rest of the imperial family, were lodged at various distances, in apartments below the story which he occupied. On the tenth day of March, O. S. 1801, the day preceding the fatal night, whether Paul's apprehension, or anonymous information, suggested the idea, is not known; but conceiving that a storm was ready to burst upon him, he sent to count P—, the governor of the city, one of the noblemen who had resolved on his destruction: 'I am informed, P—,' said the emperor, 'that there is a conspiracy on foot against me; do you think it necessary to take any precaution?' The count, without betraying the least emotion, replied, 'Sire, do not suffer such apprehensions to haunt your mind; if there were any combinations forming against your majesty's person, I am sure I should be acquainted with it.' 'Then I am satisfied,' said the emperor, and the governor withdrew. Before Paul retired to rest, he unexpectedly expressed the most tender solicitude for the empress and his children, kissed them with all the warmth of farewell fondness, and remained with them longer than usual; and, after he had visited the centinels at their different posts, he retired to his cham-

ber, where he had not long remained, before, under some colourable pretext that satisfied the men, the guard was changed by the officers who had the command for the night, and were engaged in the confederacy. An hussar, whom the emperor had particularly honoured by his notice and attention, always at night slept at his bed-room door, in the anti-room. It was impossible to remove this faithful soldier by any fair means. At this momentous period, silence reigned throughout the palace, except where it was disturbed by the pacing of the centinels, or at a distance by the murmurs of the Neva, and only a few lights were to be seen distantly and irregularly gleaming through the windows of this dark colossal abode. In the dead of the night, Z— and his friends, amounting to eight or nine persons, passed the draw-bridge, easily ascended the stair-case which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when the faithful hussar, awakened by the noise, challenged them, and presented his fusée: much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circumstances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan. Z— drew his sabre and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awakened by the noise, sprung from his sofa: at this moment the whole party rushed into his room; the unhappy sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to entrench himself in the chairs and tables, then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender. Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to spare his life, declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms which they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and to give them estates, and titles, and orders, without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window: in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would only have put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort he very severely cut his hand with the glass; and, as they drew him back, he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that, notwithstanding the massy walls, and thick double folding-doors which divided the apartments, the empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise, if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death. Whilst the emperor was thus making a last struggle, the prince Y— struck him on one of his temples with his fist, and laid him upon

they seem to have passed the evening in company, and to have breakfasted together on the following morning, when the count gave the party a cordial invitation to his seat at Moscow.

the floor; Paul, recovering from the blow, again implored his life; at this moment the heart of P—Z— relented, and upon being observed to tremble and hesitate, a young Hanoverian resolutely exclaimed, 'We have passed the rubicon: if we spare his life, before the setting of to-morrow's sun, we shall be his victims!' upon which he took off his sash, turned it twice round the naked neck of the emperor; and giving one end to Z—, and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more: they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes. What occurred after their departure can be better conceived than depicted: medical aid was resorted to, but in vain; and upon the breathless body of the emperor fell the tears of his widowed empress and children, and domestics; nor was genuine grief ever more forcibly or feelingly displayed than by him on whose brow this melancholy event had planted the crown. So passed away this night of horror, and thus perished a prince, to whom nature was *severely* bountiful. The acuteness and pungency of his feelings was incompatible with happiness: unnatural prejudice pressed upon the fibre, too finely spun, and snapped it.

"'Tis not as heads that never ache suppose,
 Forgery of fancy, and a dream of woes;
 Man is a harp, whose chords elude the sight,
 Each yielding harmony, disposed aright;
 The screws reverse'd (a task which, if he please,
 God in a moment executes with ease),
 Ten thousand thousand strings at once go
 loose,

Lost, till he tune them, all their power and
 use."

COWPER.

"The sun shone upon a new order of things. At seven o'clock the intelligence of the demise of Paul spread through the capital. The interval of time from its first communication to its diffusion over every part of Petersburg, was scarcely perceptible. At the parade Alexander presented himself on horseback, when the troops, with tears rolling down their rugged and sun-browned faces, hailed him with loud and cordial acclamations. The young emperor was overwhelmed, and, at the moment of mounting the throne of the most extensive empire under heaven, he was seen to turn from the grand and affecting spectacle, and weep.

"What followed is of a very subordinate consideration; but perhaps it will be eagerly asked, to what extremity did the avenging arm of justice pursue the perpetrators of the deed? Mercy, the brightest jewel of every crown, and a forlorn and melancholy convic-

tion, that the reigning motive was the salvation of the empire, prevented her from being vindictive. Never upon the theatre of life was there presented a scene of more affecting magnanimity; decency, not revenge, governed the sacrifice. P—Z— was ordered not to approach the imperial residence, and the governor of the city was transferred to Riga. As soon as madame Chevalier was informed of the demise of her imperial patron, she prepared, under the protection of her brother, a dancer, for flight, with a booty of nearly a million of rubles. A police officer was sent to inspect and report upon her property: amongst a pile of valuable articles, he discovered a diamond cross of no great intrinsic value, which had been given by Peter I. to a branch of the imperial family, and on that account much esteemed; it was to recover this that the officer was sent, who obtained it, after the most indecent and unprincipled resistance on her part. Passports were then granted to madame Chevalier and her brother. Thus terminated this extraordinary and impressive tragedy."

Numerous are the anecdotes of Alexander, which testify to the excellence of his understanding, and the benevolence of his heart; we had noted two or three of these, with a view of presenting them to our readers, but we are limited by the nature of our work. Mr. Carr took leave of Petersburg, passed through Livonia, and skirted the Baltic through the Prussian dominions till he reached Berlin. Here he halted a short time, and, of course, paid a visit to the great Frederick's favourite retreat at Potsdam: the picture gallery at *Sans Souci* is a noble room; and contains a very choice and precious collection. Military discipline seems to have relaxed nothing of its severity since the days of Frederick: on the other hand, it is pleasing to reflect that, throughout the Prussian dominions, and the vast empire of Russia, complete toleration in religious subjects is allowed.

After having rested himself from the fatigues of a long journey, Mr. Carr left the delightful Linden walk of Berlin, and that elegant specimen of architecture, the Brandenburg-gate, and returned to his native land. The account which he has given of his travels, displays a cultivated taste and an inquisitive mind. Several engravings adorn this volume from drawings, taken on the spot by the tasteful pencil of Mr. Carr.

ART. XX. *Sketch of his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada.* By D'ARCY BOULTON, Barrister at Law. 4to. pp. 99.

TO this volume is prefixed a map, but on so small a scale, and so scantily dotted

with towns, that not half the places or even subdivisions mentioned in the narra-

tive can therein be found; it is worse than useless, it is perplexing: we recommend, as an important improvement, attaching the narrative to a good map, and charging half-a-guinea for the volume. Where the extension of geographical knowledge is the chief object of a writer, he ought to provide the essential assistance of linear description.

The land-surveyors of Upper Canada, who have dissected its forests and marshes into rectangular shires, without setting up station-staves or rattling a polechain, are distributing, by the theodolite, such masses of property, as will outmeasure the estates of Russian nobles, and found rivals to British peers. With as little ceremony as one petitions for a clerkship in the excise-office, his majesty's patent is solicited for the grant of counties, which will place one's grandson among the lords of the world, and prepare new American wars from the ambitious ingratitude of over-fostered children. There is rashness in these grants. No quit-rents are reserved. No taxes levied. The expence of protection ought progressively to be asked of the dependent state; and the wisest form of obtaining the indemnity is not by the levies of the custom-house, but by the assessment of the tenantry. Let the rent to the state amount but to a shilling the square mile, while the difficulties of settlement continue; but let it be progressive with the produce, and commensurate with the prosperity of the country.

With the circumstances and wants of North America a new division of human labour has grown up; an army of wood-clearers. These anti-savages sell their farms in the states of New York and Vermont to European emigrants, or agricultural neighbours, and undertake to reduce into the like saleable state the untouched acres of Upper Canada. To them the sway of a republican master or a distant king, is alike indifferent. Where profit comes, lies their country. They purchase on five year bonds a lot of two hundred acres. The men come by themselves at first, fell or girdle the inconvenient timber, rear a log-house, harrow the cleared intervals, sow wheat, and then return for their families and cattle. The next year they bring their stock, their waggons, and their women, and improve their new houses into decent residences. In five years they have paid for the five simple of their farms; they have increased their stock; they are ready to hitch with added powers to the repetition of a simi-

lar enterprise; and they again sell with a large profit to the second order of settlers. So many of these primary colonists are now in organized movement, that some thousand families in a year will cross the lakes which separate America from British territory, and re-commence, on the opposite shore, their levelling operations. They perforate a wilderness in a summer, mince timber into wheat-halm, and lead bullocks to browse where the bear growled.

Care is taken not to move beyond reach of water-carriage, as there must be an annual exchange of the superfluous produce for the clothing, the metallic utensils, the glass and pottery of Europe. Farmers of skill and capital succeed with advantage to these inclosures; they combine more than one allotment, and place dependents in the supernumerary log-houses. The climate of Upper Canada is mild and inviting; the soil rich and productive; the winter useless to any purpose but amusement; and journeys are undertaken in sleighs or sledges of four or five hundred miles to visit the neighbours. The distance between Edinburgh and London is within the beat of regular acquaintance.

In such a country, population is constantly tending to dispersion, and no where to accumulation. Of course, manners are tending to rudeness, not to refinement. Education is confined to the ordinary utilities of milking cows, feeding poultry, killing sheep, flaying bullocks, ploughing land, and buying and selling. The last occupation has some tendency to preserve the knowledge of letters and figures; but where the labour of the youngest is valuable, and the distance of tolerable schools immense, there is a risk of the whites relapsing into Mohawk ignorance, and of having to bargain at talks for want of being able to sign a contract. Much land has been set apart in Canada for the church: why not grant it under the double tenure of performing worship on the Sunday afternoon, and keeping school on the Sunday morning? Parents will perhaps travel to worship, if their children are to be taught to spell and to cipher. A vernacular liturgy, in which the people take part, favours the diffusion of the art of reading. To so much of encroachment on the habits, whether catholic or presbyterian, of the Canadians, as tends to secure the loud reading of the forms of worship, one would wish the exemplary classes to incline. Yet we understand that the clerical situations in Ca-

and are so uninviting to any educated man, that the English clergy, who are mostly well born, the younger sons of our eminent families, and hence accustomed to the best society, unwillingly listen to offers of transatlantic preferment.

In Great Britain the press supersedes the importance of oral instruction; but in North America the antique provisions for a learned order are not less necessary now than during the feudal ages of Europe. Nor can a profuse removal into colonies which are just arrived at the maturity to require an insertion of European improvement, be any way so efficaciously stimulated as by inducing the chieftains of petty sects to become the leaders of migratory flocks. Whether this can be accomplished without a repeal of the act of uniformity, may be contentedly abandoned to the discussion of parliament or of the convocation.

Whatever may be the objections to the clerical order, as at present constituted in Europe, there is no doubt that in Canada it would be an impediment not to wisdom and tolerance, but to ignorance and fanaticism: it would keep alive a pious attachment to the mother country; it would import and diffuse both knowledge and manners. Barbarism and civilization are equally natural to man, and bear a pretty regular proportion to the rarity or density of populousness: barbarism is the name given to that set of manners which prevails where men are thinly scattered; and civilization is the name given to that set of manners which prevails where men are thickly scattered: retrogression takes place whenever populousness grows thinner, progression whenever it grows denser. European families transported to Canada must wilder in a generation or two: the precautions of the lawgiver ought chiefly to be directed toward securing those arts of life which are in danger of being abandoned there.

An important service might be rendered to Upper Canada not only by sending pastors, but flocks. Why not repeal the laws against *swaling*, and permit the exportation of our best breeds of sheep into Canada? The wool would return hither to be manufactured, and at a price which would facilitate to our manufacturers the supply of distant markets. The higher stages of cultivation are encroaching on our domestic sheep-walks; and wool is gradually ascending to a price which endangers our staple industry. Hides and tallow, as well as wool, might be brought

from Canada in greater abundance, and so might hemp and flax. The foundation of a naval arsenal in the river Saint Lawrence would give an expedient direction to the contiguous industry.

A curious delineation is that of the settling of wild land.

"Wild lands, that is, lands in a state of nature, have been sold as low as a quarter of a dollar per acre, for prompt payment; and much has been sold from that price to half a dollar per acre. In other situations, similar lands have produced from one dollar to two; but such prices in money are rare, and can only be obtained where a person happens to be settled in the neighbourhood, and to own adjoining land. But a new settler, or a person desirous of making a purchase, can always do it to great advantage if he can command money.

"The lands are usually divided into lots of two hundred acres each, forming a complete farm; that quantity of land being fully sufficient for any one farmer. Much land in this country is purchased with no other view than to sell again, a traffic concerning which I do not feel competent to decide, whether it should be considered as advantageous to the country or not. In many instances it has a good tendency, in others the reverse. Thousands of poor people come into this country to settle, without being able to advance money, not being possessed of any capital. A person so circumstanced is of course constrained to purchase on credit, which he does to great disadvantage, unless he happen to deal with a man of peculiar honesty. The terms usually are, to pay the purchase money by instalments, sometimes embracing a period of four or five years. In such cases, the vender usually gives the purchaser a bond, with condition to give a deed of conveyance at a certain period, provided the purchaser shall fulfil his several payments. Sometimes, in case of non-performance of these payments, the obligee in the bond avails himself of his advantage, and takes back the land with four or five years improvement upon it, and resells it to a fresh purchaser to a great profit. In truth, any person capable of advancing money may purchase very low, and sell at an advance of one or even two hundred per cent. profit, payable by instalments. This system affords an excessive advantage to the monied man, who takes security of the purchaser for the purchase money, with interest, which at once affords him an immoderate advance.

"The plan I here state is daily followed; and I can instance cases where people have actually improved their interest in the course of seven years more than one thousand per cent. The local situation of Upper Canada is such that it will ever be the most thriving country in America. The Americans are perpetually removing into this province, which produces a regular system of trade in that way. I could instance some few cases

where persons have purchased land for ten or twelve dollars a lot (of two hundred acres); who, in the course of twelve or fourteen years, have refused three hundred pounds for the same land. This may be termed land speculation; but however obnoxious the system may be to some minds, it does and ever will prevail in this country; and, upon the whole, I am much inclined to think that it is a beneficial traffic for the country. The bulk of the inhabitants are Americans, whose natural turn of mind leads to variety; for which reason they no sooner improve a new farm than they are desirous of selling it. No set of men on earth, perhaps, are so competent as Americans to engage in the difficulties of a new country; and Europeans, unacquainted with such a course of life, will find it better policy to purchase small improvements than to engage in such difficulties. I know of no method by which a capital can be improved to so great advantage as by adopting this system; but it requires some knowledge of the country before a person can form a just opinion either of the situation or value of lands. It may appear almost necessary to say what sort of persons, under these circumstances, can become purchasers. But my reply will be very general: almost every one. If a man has great industry, and a family sufficiently advanced to aid instead of encumbering him, he can, without any money, make a purchase of a single lot of two hundred acres; and, to use a common expression, make the land pay for itself, that is, from its own produce. If a farmer has three or four boys old enough to help him, they can easily clear twenty acres of new land; and, if they have ordinary luck, the first crop will yield five hundred bushels of good wheat, which, if the market price is a dollar, will produce one hundred and twenty-five pounds currency, that is, double the value of the land. Many persons have become purchasers of land, with no other view than that of selling on credit for large profit. Many hundreds indeed there are in this country who own from eight hundred to two thousand acres, yet began without any capital. I could enumerate many instances of individuals having maintained their families, and, in the course of seven years, collected from six to twelve hundred acres of land. True it is that this cannot at present be called a large property; but when a parent can reflect that he has secured for each of his family after him a comfortable farm, how satisfied must such a one feel. It has not been the lot of every one to be forced to these reflections: happy are they who have no necessity for them; but much more happy they who by their industry have rendered themselves independent, and their families after them."

If geographers would pay some attention to euphony in the imposition of new names, they would greatly facilitate to foreigners the pronunciation and recollection.

of such names. Why spell *Gwilliamsburg*: the *g* is no part of the Saxon *willhelm*, whence the English name *William* has been corruptly formed: this initial letter answers the double purpose of displaying ignorance and puzzling utterance. Why preserve unshortened the French names of places? Let *point au galop* become *Point Gallop*; let *point au barril* become *Point Barrel*; and *point au cardinal* become *Point Cardinal*. Let us amalgamate the French topical nomenclature, and the other remains of their language, with our own, but so as to efface that appearance of strangeness, of quotation, which yet adheres to some of the phraseology adopted in this sketch. To revive the names familiar in the mother country may be natural. When the Persians colonized Egypt, they founded another Babylon and another Ecbatana; but these double nominations produce inconvenience. Baltimore cannot be spoken or written of without a descriptive qualification: contiguity suggests Baltimore in Ireland; celebrity suggests Baltimore in Maryland. Diminutive appellations would sometimes be more respectful as well as more convenient; Londonetta instead of London. Vowel terminations would suffice to discriminate, and would preserve every desirable recollection. The grand subdivisions ought every where to be named from the contiguous lakes and rivers, for this plain reason, that their situation is thus suggested by their name: the name of a French department instantly tells you where to look for it on the map. A system of geographical nomenclature might be contrived, which would greatly facilitate the remembrance of names and sites, by giving to names of mountains one termination, to names of rivers another, to names of provinces a third, to names of towns a fourth. Thus the province watered by the Niagara might be called Niagria, the chief town Niagaron, and the mountain down which it falls Niagar.

At the peace of 1793 the Americans would probably have been content with a line of demarcation allotting the whole territory north and west of the Ohio to the owners of Upper Canada. Perhaps it is become worth the while of the British government to open a negotiation for exchanging New Brunswick and Nova Scotia against this unoccupied district. The coast thrives better under the free trade and maritime privileges of the United States: the interior settles faster under

the patronage of British capital, and the preference of British custom for produce. These provinces therefore would be served by an exchange, which, for a century to

come, will not be of importance to either government as a fund of taxation; and before that time the Canadas will have attained the age of emancipation.

ART. XXI. *A Sketch of the present State of France. By an English Gentleman, who escaped from Paris in the Month of May 1805. 8vo. pp 124.*

PEACE was unfavourable to the reputation of Bonaparte, and, had it lasted, would have occasioned his deposition. He is too ignorant in literature to appreciate the merit by which he is surrounded, too religious to be a welcome chieftain for the philosophic world, and too despotic to be obeyed with a disinterested alacrity. He has not the dextrous affability of Augustus, who could substitute the equalizations of politeness for those of republicanism. His internal government was harsh, unjust, and cruel; it united the mistrust of a Venetian with the severity of a Spanish inquisition.

War has restored to Bonaparte, in the eyes of Frenchmen, his original and peculiar value. His superiority as a general renders him the most desirable chieftain for his country. The odium which was laid against his assumption, his caprice, and his petulance, is become mute. Public gratitude and public confidence have superseded the sneers, and frowns, and sighs of a refined displeasure.

This writer speaks of him with the artificial ill-will of a sufferer, not with the indifference of a mere observer. He who determines to live free or die, will commonly domineer: he stakes more on his purpose than his antagonists. Moreau feared infamy, and feared the scaffold: without the senate he would not begin, and with the senate he would have shrunk from some of the *sine quâ non*s of usurpation. Singleness of view, however incompatible with the interest of mankind, where the cosmopolitical passion is not the ruling one, is almost a necessary ingredient of successful ambition. This character of greatness belongs to Bonaparte. Whatever actions are essential to his success should be criticised tolerantly. He is not to be compared with other men, but with other usurpers. To Septimius Severus he bears a close resemblance by his personal character and his innovative institutions; but being more adventurous and less accommodating, he is unlikely to bring his fortunes to an anchor: he must continue in full sail or be wrecked.

The conquests of the ancient Romans, like those of the British in Hindostan,

were rendered subservient to national opulence: the generals and proconsuls, like our nabobs, brought home fortunes which adorned the metropolis with edifices, and scattered a demand for luxuries. But the conquests of the French, although accompanied with profligate extortions, have not sensibly increased the proportion of rich residents in their metropolis. Paris does not flourish. Bridges are built, market-places and quays are cleared, public monuments are erected and embellished; but new houses, new streets, new villas, are no where climbing. The patronage of government is parcelled out in small shares among the civilized necessitous: it is not employed to attract the residence of provincial opulence. By the profuse confiscations, by the breach of entails, the consequent absolute tenure of land, its divisibility among mortgagees, and among heirs without preference of primogeniture, the huge estates have been crumbled, and the nobility has been minced into a yeomanry. There may be more ease, but there is less splendor. The country is thriving, not the chief city.

If Bonaparte wishes for trade, ships, and colonies, he must transplant his metropolis to Bordeaux. Commerce can do nothing for a town situate like Paris. It is inaccessible to shipping; and inconveniently approached even by boats: the Seine is a rapid stream, and in some degree a torrent: in dry seasons the shoals are hardly evitable. Many advantages would attend the transfer of the seat of government. Instead of the profligate population of an idle metropolis, Bordeaux would offer an orderly multitude, accustomed to maritime and industrious habits. A less vigilant and intolerant police would suffice to preserve order; the prevalence of occupation would check the tendency to revolutionary fanaticism. In a commercial town, public opinion operates habitually in favour of peace, of justice, of respect for property; not in favour of mutations that will supply talk. The tendency to French encroachment will eventually spend itself on Spain, and through Spain on the coast of Africa,

Bordeaux is a more convenient site of sway for an empire growing in that direction; and it is securer from the approach of German or Russian armies. Paris was built while civil architecture was in its infancy: the private houses are inconvenient beyond corrigibility; no water is laid in to the apartments; no stair-case is private; no room but is a thoroughfare. The loss of labour occasioned by the perverse distribution of the apartments makes the difference of a servant per family. The streets are as absurdly contrived as the houses: they are all narrow, and without foot-ways: there is no remedy but to rebuild. This reconstruction might as well take place elsewhere. Paris might remain the Athens of the French empire, the seat of colleges and museums, of literature and art; but the Rome, the imperial city, should be stationed on the imperial river, open to the ocean, should have navigable access to the interior, and be the natural mart of interchange for every thing domestic with every thing foreign. Paris has seen its acme: demolitions may awhile conceal the progress of ruin and desertion, and embellish the increasing vacancy; but commerce is become so much more powerful a principle in the creation or annihilation of cities, than the expenditure of courts, that the return of an eminent prosperity is improbable to a place so ill situate for traffic and circulation.

The state of public welfare and opinion is thus sketched:

"A new quay has been opened from the *Pont Notre Dame* to the *Pont au Change* on the Isle of Paris, called the *Quai Dessaix*, in memory of the general of that name, to whom a monument has also been erected in the *Place Dauphin*, on a round pedestal, ornamented with the names of all the contributors to the expence on marble tablets.

"But these public edifices and decorations have nothing to do with the comforts of the people, and cannot be taken for the signs of a prosperous city. There are not ten houses now building in Paris and its suburbs; and some lately finished, in the best part of the town, near the *Fauxbourg* (or Suburb) *St. Honoré*, on the site of the Convent of the *Jacobins*, are without occupants.

"Nearly a twelvemonth has elapsed since the ground on the north side of the Garden of the Tuilleries has been cleared, from the *Place Louis XV.* to the *Carrousel*; and a carriage-way paved, with the name *Rue de Rivoli* pompously fixed up on handsome stone tablets.

"The ground of this intended street, lying on the side of the garden of the Tuilleries,

and opposite to the imperial palace (the best and indeed the only desirable situation in Paris), has to the present moment continued to be offered to let for the purpose of building; yet such is the want of capital and spirit, or such the apathy or doubt on the public mind, that not one stone has been laid.

"The Morgue, an edifice for the reception and exhibition to public view of the numerous bodies of nightly assassinated individuals, and of people found dead and deposited there to be owned, is a well contrived new building, lately opened, and is never empty of unfortunate objects.

"Great part of Paris exhibits nothing but raggedness and dirt. The inhabitants, however, contend, that it is cleaner since the revolution than before. They have therefore derived one advantage from this event, and one which they very much wanted; but much improvement will still be required to bring it into a state of wholesome cleanliness.

"A project is in contemplation to bring water to Paris, somewhat on the plan of the New River of London; but Paris, as it now exists, can never be supplied, in every house and in every family, with water.

"The height of the buildings, and the number of families in each house; the dearth of manual labour and of lead; and, above all, the little inclination a Frenchman has to lay out a sum of money, unless on the certainty of immediate profit, must prevent the distribution of water by pipes, cocks, and cisterns; the first expence of which could only be reimbursed by gradual savings, and by the comfort and convenience of the improvement.

"It is not the custom in Paris to take or grant a longer lease than for nine years: three is the usual term; and if the proprietor of a house sells it after having granted a lease, this is immediately void between the tenant and the landlord. To guard against this practice, it is usual to insert in the leases a fine on the landlords in case of their selling the property before the expiration of the term.

"This custom of short leases operates very powerfully in aid of the natural disposition of the Parisians to uncleanness in their houses, and inattention to repair them. They justify the continuance of the practice of only taking three, six, or nine years' term, in a building, by pleading the uncertainty of things, and the apprehension of changes in their political system and situation, and the consequent fluctuations in the value of property.

THEATRES.

"New theatres are still adding to the great number already existing in Paris, to gratify the taste of the inhabitants for dramatic entertainments.

"The *Théâtre Français*, the grand opera, and the comic opera, do honour to the scenic art, and are perfect exhibitions in their kind. The grand opera (not Italian) is a most magnificent spectacle.

"Being immediately under the controul and direction of the government, who contribute largely to their support, the theatres of Paris are in its hands great means of lulling and amusing the people, and of attracting foreigners to a place so dangerous to them in every respect, but particularly so since the revolution of Bonaparte.

"The small and very inferior theatres and shows situated in the *Boulevards* (ramparts), near the Gate St. Martin, many of them not to be ranked in some respects with Sadler's Wells, are well frequented by even the higher class of the city of Paris. These places of amusement, as well as the many public dancing-rooms, the open gaming-tables, and the innumerable coffee-houses, are always filled by this vivacious people.

"Attention to dress is more observed at the theatres of Paris by the audience than it was three years ago. Men who dress well universally adopt the English mode; but the embroidered liveries introduced by the courtiers of Bonaparte, may give for a time a new direction to the public taste in this respect.

"At the theatre of the Gate St. Martin, at the representation of a piece on the *taking of Seringapatam*, the audience clapped on the recital of a very illiberal assertion put by the author into the mouth of one of his personages of the play. 'The English are traitors,' said the actor; and the house applauded.

"Notwithstanding this symptom of prejudice, the war with England is not popular in France; though some among the few that think, believe it in some measure the cause of their country, or at least feel that it ought to be supported *as a war*: and though they reckon upon the talents of Bonaparte as a general, they certainly do not honour him *as an emperor*.

"A little piece is played at the theatre of *L'Amigu Comique*, called *Tekili*, in which the health of a new-made emperor is drank on the stage. After the coronation of Bonaparte, a kind of pause seemed to be made at this passage, in order to observe whether the people would applaud with an allusion to the recent coronation of their Napoleon, but there was not *even a whisper of approbation*.

"A play under the title of Henry the Eighth had been forbidden on account of the marked applause which every passage alluding to the destruction of tyrants excited. After his coronation, Bonaparte ordered it, and appeared himself. His impudence, however, was not proof against the ordeal; for the house rang with redoubled and continued peals of applause at every sentence pointing at tyrants, and he quitted his box before the conclusion of the performance."

In a similar unaffected manner many other passing phenomena are related by this author, whose observations include the government, the army, the police, the law, the manners, the newspapers, and the trade of Paris. He speculates a

little about the revolution and its consequences, gives new particulars of Georges, Fichetru, and Moreau, and a scanty sketch of the general state of France. He describes the coronation; he treats of the pope and religion, and of the legion of honour. An important chapter is that which respects our suffering and imprisoned countrymen.

"The peculiar situation of the English now detained in France under the name of *hostages*, ought to excite the attention of their countrymen at home, who enjoy the privilege of personal liberty, the advantages of exercising their talents for the improvement of their fortunes, and the society of their friends, in a country of freemen. They were taken by surprise by the unexampled measure of Bonaparte's *arrête* for their detention, which was put in force while many of them were travelling in different parts of France at a distance from the capital, and where they could not know of the departure of the ambassador; and some of them were actually on their journey to leave the country.

"It is surely a reproach to a great and generous nation that the poor among their countrymen, unfortunate prisoners in an enemy's land, shut out from even the ordinary hopes of men whom the chance of war detains, should not experience the hand of liberality alleviating the misery of their helpless situation, except in the persons of their own countrymen in more easy circumstances detained in prison like themselves, who lately performed a play for their benefit. Are they forgotten?—as too often happens to those who languish in prisons!

"Let it now be known to the British public, that many of their countrymen are in extreme distress; and not a few are shut up in military prisons, by military authority, for having incurred debts for the ordinary comforts of life, which they are unable to discharge. Certainly our government could not treat on this basis till after a general peace: but the liberation of the hostages, now so cruelly detained, might be solicited, and in the cause of humanity, and to release such captives, it would not be a dishonourable or unpardonable submission for government to solicit justice as a favour, doing so *with dignity*.

"Till the late escape of his fleet from their confinement, Bonaparte has waged war on only those unfortunate men whom he has got within his power, and on the finances of England. Shall the people who have, in the latter respect, so nobly sustained the credit of their country against the attacks of an unprincipled enemy, suffer their defenceless countrymen, whom mere chance, and events which human foresight could not guard against, have put into his hands, to sustain in poverty the effects of his anger, and the malicious suggestions of his disappointments, without contributing to remove the evil of *want*, heaped on

them in addition to their other hopeless and melancholy circumstances?

"If the etiquette of government prevents them from being an object of its attention, it becomes more particularly the duty of spirited and liberal *individuals* to think of some effectual measure to alleviate the misery of their unprecedented situation.

"It has excited the wonder of the French people, to whom the active benevolence of the English character is known, that nothing has been done on this subject; for they particularly recollect how liberally the people of this country contributed to the support of the *French emigrants* in the beginning of the revolution.

"That there are indigent and worthy men among them, let the circumstance of the exertions made for them by *their fellow prisoners* be a proof to those who have no other means of judging.

"No doubt can be entertained that any sum which might be contributed by the people of England for the relief of the necessitous part of the hostages in France, would be well and judiciously applied and distributed. The care of managing it would be cheerfully undertaken by some of the gentlemen of fortune, rank, and consequence, who are detained with them."

In our opinion, this government ought to offer to exchange the prisoners of regular war against the detained English. The injustice of the detainer is a disgrace to Bonaparte; but it ought not, under a notion of protesting against such injustice, to be made unnecessarily grievous to the individuals seized. The wisest revenge for injustice is the affectation of an opposite generosity: the fear of shame accomplishes what retaliation cannot effect.

Release without ransom, parole, or exchange, as many Frenchmen as there are Englishmen confined at Verdun; and desire these Frenchmen, on their return, to solicit the release of the detained English. Such at least, at the beginning of the contest, would have been the noblest and the wisest course: but magnanimity comes with ill grace as an after-thought.

There is the more reason to hope that, if any pretext were afforded to the French government for the release of the hostages, they would immediately be set free, as the real object of detention is at an end. While the invasion of Great Britain was in project, the English newspapers threw out the abominable proposal to take no prisoners among the invaders. This refusal of quarter to the conquered and the suppliant is so contrary to the usages of civilized war, and so outrageous to every feeling of humanity, that a French army refused to put it in practice when decreed under Robespierre by their government. Against the threatened and possible massacre of prisoners the seizure of these hostages was intended as a precaution. It was felt that few English would be taken on land or sea, and that the guests, who confided in the rights of hospitality, were perhaps the only ones whom their power could reach: they were seized, that the means of retaliation for any irregularity might exist. Now that invasion is postponed indefinitely, a release would probably be acceded to, especially if a little private bribery were to corroborate official arguments.

CHAPTER II.

T H E O L O G Y

AND

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE articles in this department will be found less numerous and less valuable than usual. The strength of our theologians has been spent upon sermons; but, we are happy to add, not spent in vain.

I. A single work appears in our first class. *Dr. Stock*, whose translation of *Isaiah* was noticed in our second volume, has undertaken a *New Version of Job*, in which, if he has not been completely successful, he has continued to exhibit himself as an able scholar in Jewish literature.

II. In sacred criticism, *Mr. Winstanley* claims the first post. His *Vindication of certain Passages in the common English Version, addressed to Gran. Sharp*, though short, is honourable to his character as a scholar and a divine. *Mr. Nisbett* appears again, with credit, in defence of the hypothesis he has long been labouring to prove respecting the *Second Coming of Christ*. *Mrs. Trimmer* has published a bulky volume of *Annotations upon the Old and New Testament*, which she has entitled, "*A Help to the Unlearned*," but which we fear will, in many respects, be found a hindrance to them in the proper study of the scriptures. *Mr. Parker* has compiled from the best authors, and for the use of young persons, *Explications of remarkable Facts and Passages in the Jewish Scriptures, which have been objected to by Unbelievers*; and *Mr. Granville Sharp* has opened again his formidable battery against the church of Rome, in *An Enquiry whether the Description of Babylon, in the 18th chapter of Revelations, agrees perfectly with that of Rome as a city*.

III. Two works only, and those of very different merit, have appeared in support of natural and revealed religion: *Mr. Watson's popular Evidences of Natural Religion and Christianity*, and *Mr. Nares's connected and chronological View of the Prophecies*.

IV. Nor is our list of controversial theology, for the present year, long, or marked by any work of extraordinary value. *Mr. Robinson*, of Leicester, has stood forth the champion of modern calvinism, with three volumes, entitled, "*The Christian System unfolded*." A short but interesting controversy has taken place between *Mr. Smith* and *Mr. Belsham*, in consequence of some reflections upon calvinism in the sermon preached by the latter on occasion of the death of *Dr. Priestley*. An ironical writer, who calls himself *Basanistes*, has attacked the trinitarian hypothesis, in a work quaintly entitled, *Αἰρετικὴν Ἀναστασιν, or a new Way of deciding old Controversies*; and *Mr. Wright*, of Wisbech, also a unitarian writer, has published a work on the doctrine of the Atonement, and which he has called "*The Anti-satisfactionist*."

V. Our catalogue of sermons is larger and more valuable than usual. *Wellwood, Cappe, Kenrick, Napleton, Gilpin, Townsend*, are names that will appear with honour

amongst the most eloquent or the most instructive of English preachers. *Monkhouse, Adams, Morton, Partridge, and Dore*, will not be generally thought to have contributed much to the large and valuable stock of this branch of theological literature, which we already possess.

Single sermons upon various subjects have been published by *Headlam, Phillpots, Gardiner, Mosely, Hall, Poulter, Belsham*, and others.

In *practical theology* we have *Hawtreys Guide to Heaven; Oakley's Holy Family*, and an excellent little *Treatise*, by Mr. Fellowes, on *Death*.

VI. It is not yet ascertained who are the true churchmen. *Dr. Lawrence*, in *Eight Sermons preached at the Lecture founded by Mr. Bampton*, has endeavoured to vindicate that character to those who give an arminian interpretation to the thirty-nine articles. An *anonymous writer* has re-published, from a respectable monthly work, a "*Candid Examination of Mr. Daubeny's Vindicia Ecclesie Anglicanæ*," on the contrary side. *Mr. Overton* himself also has again come forward in *reply to some occasional strictures on his former Work* in the preceding article, with *incidental Remarks on Dr. Kipling*, &c.

The schism in the society of Friends is not, nor, we fear, is it likely to be, healed. The only tracts connected with this curious and not important part of modern ecclesiastical history, which have this year come before us, are a *Memoir by Mr. Rathbone*, author of a *Narrative of Events in Ireland*, &c. and *Bevan's Defence of the Christian Doctrine*, &c. Two other publications relating to the society of Friends are noticed, the one in our political, the other in our miscellaneous chapter. The most important work, however, relative to ecclesiastical history, in our present volume, is an *Essay on the Reformation*, by *Villars*, written originally in French, and of which two English translations have been published.

VII. To these may be added the following miscellaneous articles: *the First Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society; Lavalers Letters of St. Paul the Apostle; and The Christian Mirror*.

Of all these works we shall now, according to the best of our judgment and ability, proceed to give such an account as shall convey to our readers some just notion of their respective value. Paying all due regard to the feelings of the different authors; and anxious rather to shew the opinions of others than to obtrude our own, we shall carefully refrain from all unnecessary censure, and confine ourselves as much as possible to the method of analysis. There may be means of making works of this nature more amusing; but none, we are firmly persuaded, by which the end in view can be more properly and surely obtained. We could, perhaps, have entered into controversy with most of the writers that have appeared before us; we could have combated many of their principles, and proposed and defended our own; but how often would our duty have been fulfilled? We do not consider ourselves as the guardians of any particular creed, but as pledged to give a fair statement of the design and execution of the theological works of the year. For ourselves, we are accustomed to read, to reflect, and to judge; and in the exercise of this right, we have embraced sentiments which we highly esteem, and which, on all proper occasions, we are prepared openly to avow, and strenuously to defend. But to the public it is of little moment whether we belong to the school of Geneva, of Leyden, or of Cracow: our private sentiments, when we appear as reviewers, shall as much as pos-

able be confined to our own breasts, and in no case be made the standard by which the sentiments of others shall be tried.

THE SCRIPTURES.

ART. I. *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis Lectionibus. Edidit ROBERTUS HOLMES. Folio.*

ΔΑΝΙΗΛ, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΕ Ο.

Daniel kata ton Theodotiona kai kata tous 'Ebdomekonta.

DR. HOLMES has long been known in the literary world by a sermon on the Resurrection; by his Bampton Lectures; by four Tracts; by an Ode to the Duke of Portland; but especially by his Epistle to Bishop Barrington, which, in the year 1788, we believe, announced and introduced his intended collation of the best manuscript copies and printed editions of the Greek Old Testament; and by the subsequent but leisurely progress made in the execution of that laborious task. Whether the oil of patronage, or the bur- nish of praise has been wanting to overcome the natural friction of weariness or indolence, we know not. We regret, for the honour of British theology, that so splendid and meritorious an enterprise should not animate to more active perseverance, but, like a wounded snake, drag its slow length along.

Even the first tome of the *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis Lectionibus* made its appearance at the Clarendon press only in 1798. The general character of the edition has so amply been discussed and so willingly commended in those journals which could commemorate its birth, that we can no longer hope to enhance its celebrity, or to influence its conduct. The collators have now travelled on to Daniel: there will be more of novelty in discussing the fitness of thus comprehending this book in the canon of scripture, than in transcribing from Scharf- fenberg, *Specimen animadversionum, quibus loci nonnulli Danielis et interpretum ejus veterum præsertim Græcorum illustrantur, emendantur*. That is the most useful sort of commentary on the sacred writings, which enquires concerning their antiquity and their readings, with a view to their historic value.

The present edition professes to contain the Greek translation of Daniel by Theodotion, which is arranged first; and the prior Greek translation of Daniel, made at Alexandria, which is arranged last. From Theodotion's version has been lopped the story of Susanna; from the Alexandrian version has been lopped

the song of the three holy children: thus neither of the promised texts are honestly given, both having been garbled into resemblance with the canonical Daniel.

Theodotion of Sinope was born of orthodox christian parents, and educated in their religion, which he professed awhile at Ephesus. Having read the book of his fellow-citizen, Marcion, entitled, *The Antitheses*, which attempted to point out inconsistencies and contradictions between the Old and the New Testament, he became, like Marcion, a believer in the christian scriptures only. Afterwards, conceiving these christian scriptures to be the less strongly authenticated of the two, he renounced christianity, and turned a Jew, in which faith he died. His translations from the Old Testament are thought to have been made about the year 185, under Commodus, and are said to have been imposed as a penance or expiation for his having been once a christian.

The Alexandrian version was made nobody knows when, nobody knows by whom: the newest authorities incline to the suspicion that it was completed during the reign of Augustus, with the patronage of Agrippa, under the superintendence of Philo-Judæus. Aristæus says that seventy men were shut up separately by king Ptolemy in seventy cells, and that all the seventy translated all the bible precisely in the same words: from this silly legend results the denomination of the *Septuagint*, or seventy men's version; an appellation, which only popish credulity should condescend to repeat, and which we are shocked to observe in the title-page of a protestant publication.

To the curtailed texts of these two Greek versions are appended in this edition a laborious collection of readings, derived from various manuscripts, and editions of manuscripts, especially the Chigian. We observe no citation of the version of Daniel, edited at Strasburg in 1784, by J. B. G. d'Anse de Villosion, along with the Proverbs.

Some persons have supposed that the

mention of Daniel the prophet, by the founder of christianity (Matthew xxiv. 15) confers a sanction on the specific application of passages in Daniel to the times of Christ. The work in question was certainly a sacred book of the Jews, appointed or allowed to be read in synagogues, a national classic, and therefore adapted to supply the orator with allusions: but the specific application, as professor Paulus observes (*Commentar über das neue Testament*, vol. III. p. 406) amounts to no more than this—*ut verbis Danieliticis utar*—and does not in the least imply any ascription of foresight to the author, whose phraseology is quoted. There is no irreverence therefore in discussing the real origin of the book.

The proper canon of Jewish scripture appears to have been closed by Nehemiah, who (11 Maccabees, II. 13) 'founding a library, gathered together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.' To this collection Judas Maccabeus added some apocryphal books; for it is further said (v. 14), 'in like manner also Judas gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the war we had, and they remain with us.' It is a question of some curiosity whether the book here published with the superscription 'Daniel' can have been extant in the time of Nehemiah; or whether it be one of the deutero-canonical writings first deposited in the temple-archives, under Judas Maccabeus.

A short recapitulation of the leading circumstances in the life of Daniel will point out those events and ideas, which were most likely to be strongly impressed on his mind, and familiarly alluded to in his writings. The date of Daniel's birth is not precisely known. He was taken captive by Nebuchadrezzar, in the third year of Jehoiakim, carried to Babylon, and brought up in the schools there. Whiston, in a note to Josephus, suggests with probability that he and his companions were made eunuchs; indeed the fourth and fifth verses lvi. Isaiah, apparently apply to these captives, or hostages. As the Persians were accustomed to make eunuchs only of the immature, Daniel could hardly be more than twelve years of age at the time of his translation. He was consequently born about the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year of the reign of Josiah. That he was son to this king is nowhere stated; there is even an apocryphal text which calls his father Abai: yet the

words ascribed to Isaiah in 2nd Kings (xx. 18.) as well as the passage in Daniel (1. 3.) render it evident that it was systematic with the Babylonian court to extinguish among subdued princely families the hope of further posterity, fearing the rebellious adolescence of hereditary claimants; and that among the children of the royal family of Palestine were selected the clients of this mortifying patronage. Daniel (ix. 24.) was born at Jerusalem.

If Xerxes, as well as Artaxerxes, (Josephus Ant. xi. 6.) was called Cyrus among the orientals, and if Daniel continued (i. 21.) until the first year of this prince, he lived in all about eighty-six years: twelve at Jerusalem; thirty-seven at Babylon, Ecbatana, and elsewhere, under Cyrus the great; thirty-six at Susa and Persepolis, chiefly under Darius I; and one under Xerxes.

When Cambyzes undertook the invasion of Palestine, it was natural for the court of Babylon to attach Daniel to that army; as his local knowledge and powerful connexions in Jerusalem were likely to facilitate essentially its success. Daniel does not appear to have approached Jerusalem during the siege, but to have staid at Riblah with Cambyzes.

Cyrus the great was killed in warring against the Visigoths who then occupied the northern skirts of the Persian empire: his descendants had not that personal reputation which was necessary in his successor. Cambyzes learnt his father's death in Egypt, and hastened toward Babylon to claim the sovereignty: he died suddenly on his way of a wound, which was conveniently ascribed to accident. Merodach the second son, or as Æschylus calls him Mardys, next ascended the throne; but was hurled from it by the management of Otanes, under the pretext of his being an impostor. (Herodotus, Thalia 68). Seven leading men declared for Darius; but the Babylonians, faithful to the posterity of Cyrus, defended their city against Darius, in favour of Belshazzar, or Balthasar, a minor son of Cambyzes. The people of Nineveh too, attempted to re-establish there an independent sovereignty under the Nebu-saradan, or Sardanapalus, whom Cambyzes had employed against Jerusalem. Darius, who was a Mede, took both Babylon and Nineveh, and became sole master of the Persian empire.

This success he owed principally to Daniel; who, though courted by Belshazzar (v. 29.) gave to this prince unwelcome

oracles (v. 26.) and from his immediately subsequent promotion (vi. 2.) under the usurper, must long have been a secret friend of the son of Hystaspes. The new division of the provinces by this prince (vi. 1.) and by Daniel, is also noticed in Herodotus (Thalia, 89) who makes twenty larger divisions, including no doubt the one hundred and twenty smaller ones of the Jewish account.

Throughout the Persian empire the fire-worshippers and idolaters, the monotheists and polytheists, had long formed two inveterately hostile but nearly equiponderant sects, who were perpetually caballing for the patronage of the sovereign: as was nearly the case also in Palestine under the Jewish kings. With Darius the idolaters came into disfavour; and the massacre of their priests by his party (Thalia, 79) was commemorated in an anniversary festival. The Jews (Esther ix. 15-19.) lent zealous assistance on this occasion. Arioch, chieftain (Judith i. 6.) of the Elamites, a Jewish clan (Nehemiah vii. 12.), who was captain of the king's guard (Daniel ii. 14.) and intrusted with the execution of this severe measure in Babylon, appears to have been on very courteous terms with Daniel (ii. 15.), and to have concerted with him (ii. 24.) various exemptions from the proscription.

Nor was Daniel less active in securing the allegiance of Nineveh. Diodorus Siculus records his interference under the name of Belesis. He was named Belteshazzar (Daniel v. 12.) by his sovereign: the termination *tsar* appears from Forster's letter to Michaelis, to have been a Medic title; Beltesh therefore is the name represented by the Greek Belesis. After the subjugation of the whole empire by Darius, no further mention is made of Daniel. When Darius, by taking Esther to wife, married into the royal family of Palestine, one would have expected to find Daniel attached to her fortunes, as well as his kinsman Mordecai: perhaps the whole revolution which overthrew Haman or Intaphernes, which divorced Vashti, and made empress the Jewish princess, was the work of the powerful mind of Daniel. The influencing ministers of Persia were often derived from the schools of the eunuchs.

Let us now turn to review the various composition ascribed to him, which, in the form given to it by Theodotion, is a translation from a work partly written in Hebrew, and partly in Chaldee. If Daniel had been drawing up a book for the

people of Palestine, he would employ their vernacular language, that is the Chaldee (as we absurdly call it) or Syriac; if he was drawing up a book for the instruction of the Persian empire, he would employ the Hebrew, which was the language of Babylon in his time: but he would not employ both, that would unfit his book for either purpose. Still less would a man during his boyhood familiar with the one, and during his education with the other dialect, think of editing a book in Greek (a language to which he was born and bred a stranger) and then of translating it first into Chaldee, and next in part into Hebrew. Yet such is the history of the biblical book superscribed Daniel. Not only the Greek words *πρωτιμοι, φθηνμα, κηρυξ, κηρυσσειν, κιθαρς, κιθαρα, σαμβυκη, ψαλτηριον, πετασος*, occur in the Hebrew, or rather macaronic Daniel; but even the word *συμφωνια* which cannot have presented itself to a person, who was not translating from a Greek text. Nor would any of these words have mingled in the vernacular dialect of Palestine, before the Macedonian conquest. Neither the text of Theodotion, nor the prior text of the Alexandrian version, can have preserved the archetypal Greek Daniel; for both contain marked orientalisms of diction. The text of Theodotion is borrowed from that Daniel which is included in the received canon; that of the Septuagint has variations, which indicate, that very different editions, or copies, passed for original in early times.

Not only the dialect but other circumstances prove that this book must have been drawn up in Palestine, by a person ignorant of the Babylonian court. Both Cyrus and Darius were monotheists, or fire-worshippers, like the Persians and Medes, among whom they originated. The viands set on their tables were not offered to idols. But here Daniel (i. 8.) and his companions are made to object generally to the food on the king's table, as if to partake it was a breach of the Mosaic law. Had they refused only pork, their conduct would be in costume; but they are described as refusing wine, which could to them be unclean food only in case it had been partly shed in libation to idols. This passage is symptomatic of the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Maccabees, when every faithful Jew was called on to bear habitual testimony against polytheism, and to abstain from meats offered to heathen gods. Yet this passage is in the Hebrew portion of the book.

The image of gold set up by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura is sixty cubits high and six cubits thick: it is not a miraculous production, but a work of human art. Michaelis has been at the pains to calculate its solid contents, and estimates the worth of the gold at three thousand four hundred and eighty millions of dollars. There is hardly so much in the whole world: this wonderful effort of foundry cannot therefore have been described by an eye-witness, if it has been described by a man of veracity. It is a statue, which, if coined into darics, would more than discharge the national debt of Great Britain. Darius was no maker of golden statues; the pecuniary wants of his ambition tempted him to invade the sepulchres of the dead (Clio, 187), and the temples of religion (Clio, 183); and, although he is stated to have replaced the statue of Bel, which he coveted and had ventured to remove; yet if there be a historical basis in this extraordinary narrative, that very seizure of the statue of Bel, which, according to Herodotus, was only twelve cubits high, must be the basis.

The transformation of Nebuchadnezzar for seven years into a wild beast is narrated in the fourth chapter; this chapter offers a fine harvest of various readings: but those only which affect historical statements can merit discussion.

At the close of the fifth chapter, instead of Darius the Mede, as in the common version, Artaxerxes the Mede is made in the Alexandrian version to acquire the kingdom; Darius being fall of days. It is evident that the phrase Darius the Mede cannot have come into use, until there had been a second Darius who was not a Mede; and consequently that the Chaldaic text is subsequent to the reign of Darius the second. It is also evident that the author of the Alexandrian text must have flourished after the accession of Artaxerxes Memnon, who followed Darius II; for he makes an Artaxerxes succeed to a Darius, an order of names which had not occurred in the list of Babylonian emperors before that date. These circumstances however do not quite suffice to prove that the book of Daniel was composed after the time of Nehemiah's compiling the canon; because Nehemiah in the received chronology is placed too soon.

The new division of the provinces of the Persian empire (vi. 1.) is rightly ascribed by the text of Theodotion to Darius the Mede (Herodotus, Thalia, 89) and

wrongly by the Septuagint text, as it is here called, to Artaxerxes. The Septuagint text of the 28th verse also contains an historical blunder, and makes Cyrus succeed to Darius instead of Darius succeeding to Cyrus. This verse has been the real cause of that wild supposition advanced by sir Isaac Newton and others, that Cyaxares and Darius are one.

The seventh chapter, like the first, is written in Hebrew; but its oracular allusions so closely resemble those contained in the Chaldaic portion of the second chapter, that one cannot well avoid ascribing a common origin to them both. An attempt may have been made to translate the whole book out of the vernacular Chaldaic into the sacred language, or Hebrew, which began with the seventh chapter, as the prophet is there first introduced speaking in his own person; and this attempt may next have been extended to the biographical or legendary part of the book, but have been broken off by some accident, before two chapters were gone through with. The Greek texts conceal this solution of continuity. The oracular passages have been well commented by Grotius, and, after him, by Collins, in his scheme of literal prophecy considered (p. 148 to 200); the clue, or key, through this labyrinth of hieroglyphic imagery is to be found in the 8th chapter (v. 20-25), which though a sufficient passport in Ptolemy's time, is so no longer. Michaelis, by a more industrious consultation of the first book of Maccabees, has added several satisfactory elucidations to those of Grotius and Collins; but at the ninth chapter he abandons the literal, or natural, for a mystical and supernatural scheme of interpretation: he avoids to perceive the punctuality with which the author of Daniel (ix. 24-27.) paints the condition of Jerusalem under Antiochus (1 Maccabees, i. 54.) and under the short but enthusiastically welcomed toleration of Lysias (1 Maccabees, vi. 58.) who is described as a Messiah, *who was to be cut off, but not for himself* (Daniel ix. 26.) and who in fact suffered (1 Maccabees, vii. 2-4.) for the son of Antiochus. The author of Daniel also alludes to the destruction of the sanctuary (Daniel, ix. 26.) which was probably accomplished by the people of Demetrius, when they encamped before Jerusalem (1 Maccabees, ix. 3.) and slew Judas. Thus it appears that all the allusions to real events in this oracular composition center on the times of Antiochus and the Maccabees, and no where stretch beyond

them: and this so exactly, that the destruction of the sanctuary, of which Judas Maccabeus was a witness shortly before his death, is mentioned in Daniel, whereas the death of Judas Maccabeus is not mentioned. It seems therefore as if Judas Maccabeus himself, or somebody under his immediate inspection and direction, was engaged in accommodating the book of Daniel to the events of his own times, for the purpose of ingratulating that religious loyalty for which his partizans were distinguished. So confidently may it be classed as a portion of his secondary canon. That the book of Daniel was in great request among his followers may be further inferred from the second chapter (v. 59-60.) of the first book of Maccabees.

The commentary of Michaelis on the concluding chapters of Daniel is as satisfactory as it is learned: he apologizes honestly for his difficulties after the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, where the narrative of Polybius quits him. He corroborates the main inference that every historical allusion descends only to the time of Judas Maccabeus. Of Michael, (Daniel xii. 1.) Michaelis makes an allegorical personage, a guardian angel of Palestine: from Ouseley's epitome of the ancient history of Persia, it may be suspected that Ardavan became powerful at this era, and supported the Jews against the Greek sovereigns of Babylon. Michaelis concludes his exposition with this remarkable sentence '*In der That, kaum eine Weissagung ist so wunderbar verstanden worden, als diese, so dass wir, wie ich schon mehrmals gesagt habe, die Erklärung ihrer letzten Hälfte nicht den Kirchenvätern, die sie aufs wunderbarste erklärten, sondern in der Hauptsache dem Feinde der Religion Porphyrio zu danken haben.*' Indeed scarcely any prophecy has been so strangely expounded as this: so that, as I have often observed, we are not indebted to the fathers of the church, who expound it most wildly, but to Porphyry, the foe of religion, for the main groundwork of explanation.'

Having shown that this second Daniel must be referred to the times, if not to the hand of Judas Maccabeus, it merits enquiry which are the poems that may with probability be ascribed to the first and real Daniel. Doubts may rationally be entertained concerning the appropriation of the Hebrew oracles. Jeremiah he whose appears to have collected his own elegies, not Ezekiel his satires, nor

Zechariah his panegyrics. Odes are scattered among the productions of these writers of loftier tone and more studious composition than the works which they intersperse.

In the time of Nehemiah all these writings were probably deposited in arks, or chests, belonging to the temple of Jerusalem; each on the separate *napkin* which had been hung up for its original promulgation. In Arabia it was long an habitual form of publication to suspend a new poem for perusal (sir W. Jones's works, iv. 245) at the gate of some public building. Cotton cloth (Arrian, 717) and linen cloth (Pliny, xiii. 11) was in early use to write on throughout the east. The squareness of the Babylonian character adapted it peculiarly for nations who wrote on a woven material: now this alphabet, in the time of the prophets was still in use; and consequently the connected practice of writing on linen. Baruch (Jeremiah, xxxvi. 18-28.) writes with ink on a roll, which could be burned in the king's presence, and was therefore not of parchment. Isaiah, or more probably Jeremiah, alludes (Isaiah, xxii. 25.) to the nailing up of burdens, or oracles. Habakkuk (ii. 2.) undertakes to write his oracles in letters so large that he who runs may read. A misarrangement of such autographs may easily have given occasion to erroneous superscriptions; when these napkins or literary fragments, were first transcribed on continuous rolls of linen.

It remains to be enquired whether any internal characteristics will authorize a partial correction of the received distribution.

Whoever reads the first twenty-four chapters of Ezekiel will be struck with the identity of manner which pervades them. The poet is evidently a man of vigorous and busy imagination, but of low and ignoble taste. He appears to know Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, and the banks of the Chebar (Chaboras) from Carchemish to Tel-abib: with the rest of the world he betrays little acquaintance. His favourite formula is to begin with a parable or allegory, which he leaves awhile wholly enigmatical, and then explains by the narration of a corresponding event. He is a diffuse writer: not content to indicate he completes all his images, describes from head to foot with needless detail, and instead of selecting the finer groupes, parades before us the entire procession of his thoughts. Of his writings the tenour is didactic chiefly, although

the nineteenth chapter might pass for a fragment of Jeremiah, and they seem intended for the perusal of fellow-captives.

From the xxvth to the xxxiind chapter inclusive, a distinct and loftier vein of poetry prevails. Nothing low or spun out here requires apology. All is dignified, simple, concise, sublime. A profusion of geographical knowledge is sedulously displayed, such as might be expected from a professed historiographer of the campaigns of Nebuchadrezzar. These poems all relate to one or other enterprise of the kings of Babylon, and are rather adapted to metropolitan readers than to captive jews. They were evidently written on the spur of the occasion; since, at the moment of the blockade of Tyre, the poet does not hesitate to threaten, or announce, its capture (c. xxvii.); but in a subsequent poem (xxix. 18.) he owns that the siege had been unsuccessful, and that the king was marched forwards to Egypt. For this miscalculation, for this want of foresight, the poet apologizes, and, apostrophizing Ethbaal, the king of Tyre, says nearly: 'It is true, I called your resistance proud; but I perceive you estimated rightly your strength: you were wiser than I.' And on this occasion the poet names himself (xxvii. 3.) Daniel.

The xxxvth, the xxxviii, and xxxix chapters are composed in a similar strain: the two latter evidently relate to some expedition against the Scythians, and probably to that defeat of them which Herodotus (Clio, 105.) places in the reign of Psammetichus, or So, king of Egypt: in which case the poem cannot well be cotemporary with the victory celebrated. It may have originated on a recent view of the whitening bones of the Gothic invaders.

Again; if the first forty-five chapters of Jeremiah be attentively perused, the reader will be struck with much identity of character. An unrelenting hostility to idolatrous rites, and an anxiety to transfer the allegiance of his countrymen from the Egyptians to the Persians, distinguish the matter of this author: a love of paraphrase and tautology, his manner. A complaining, evil-boding strain characterizes the whole. His finest passages are the pathetic descriptions of occurring misery during and after the siege of Jerusalem. The habitual want of bright and bold imagery tallies with his unvaried wailing cast of expostulation. Very few

exceptions offer. The xxxiind chapter indeed seems more modern than the preceding one, and of opposite tenour, and it brings out those trains of idea and allusion in which Zechariah delights. The xxvth chapter, from the 15th verse onwards, might be thought to form a distinct oracle. The Lamentations, which are in the best manner of Jeremiah, partake closely the same general character of composition as these forty-five chapters.

But from the 13th verse of the xlvi chapter, to the 58th verse of the fifty-first chapter, intervenes a spirited, vigorous, concise vein of poetry, full of boldness and sublimity, delighting in images of war, and descriptions of conquest, and occasionally borrowing decoration from idolatrous mythology. Geographical allusions are profusely scattered: names of places are accumulated with triumphal complacency: and the poems all relate (there are nine distinct odes concerning Egypt, the Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Elam, and Babylon) to one or other achievement of the armies of the Persian emperor. Now as these nine oracles occupy, in the Alexandrian version, a different order and place, in the book of Jeremiah from that assigned, to them in the established version, it is natural to infer that they have been hesitatingly and arbitrarily ascribed to this prophet by his posthumous editor, and that they belong, like the minutely similar matter scattered in Ezekiel, to Daniel.

Thirdly; of the many poems ascribed to Isaiah, who flourished under the kings Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, few allude to contemporaneous events, or to persons of his æra. Most exhibit symptoms of a posterior date. Thus the xlii chapter, by mentioning the branch of the stem of Jesse, announces itself as from the times, if not from the hand of Zechariah, who was the poet of the restoration. The xlvth and xlvth chapters, which profess to have been written within *three* years (xlvth 14.) of the destruction of Moab, must consequently be by a whole century posterior to Isaiah: Moab having been overthrown (Josephus, Ant. x. 9.) about five years later than Jerusalem. The liiind chapter is probably a lamentation of Jeremiah for the death of Zedekiah. Other chapters, as the lixth and following, abound with trains of sentiment natural and usual only to prophets who, like Zechariah, wrote after the return of the jews from captivity. Here also occur some poems closely resembling the war-

songs scattered in Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Such are the xliith to xliith chapters inclusive; the xxist and xliind chapters, the xlvth chapter to the 12th verse of the liind chapter, and perhaps some other fragments. These poems share more or less that loftiness, that art, that proneness to geographic allusion, and that concentration of attention on the Babylonian sovereign, which characterize, it seems, the other odes of Daniel. It is moreover evident, that the xvth and xvith chapters of Isaiah have the same author as the xliind chapter of Jeremiah; and that the xliind chapter of Isaiah has the same author as the xxvth and xxviith chapters of Ezekiel; so great a resemblance and conformity would have been avoided as plagiarism by two distinct writers; but the same poet may well be supposed, in a subsequent edition, to have indulged this ample variation. It follows that these poems may, with much confidence, be ascribed to Daniel.

Were a chronological arrangement of these compositions to be attempted, it would be necessary to consult the historical order of the events which they celebrate. Cyrus is named in some of them, and forms a leading hero. This prince (Herodotus, Clio, 177.), after the conquest of Sardis, raised the army which was led against Labynitus, leaving Harpagus, the Mede, in Asia Minor, with the forces requisite to keep under the newly conquered Lydians. After the taking of Babylon (Clio, 191.) Cyrus interfered in the affairs of Egypt, and favoured the rebellion of Amasis against Apries, or Hophra. Jerusalem being at that time a satrapy dependent on Egypt, was probably the price of this assistance; and hence the first siege, in which Daniel and others were made captives, and taken to the Chaldean schools. Jerusalem was first acquired by the Babylonians in the reign of Manasseh (ii Chronicles, xxxiii. 11.), and was conquered from them by Necho, king of Egypt, at the close of Josiah's reign (ii Kings, xxiii. 29.). After some years, Cyrus, choosing to march against the Massagetai, or Visigoths (Clio, 208.), invested Cambyses with the vica-royalty of all the region dependent on Babylon, under the title apparently of king of the Chaldees (ii Chronicles, xxxvi. 17.). This prince, dissatisfied with the equivocal allegiance both of Zedekiah and of Amasis, undertook the regular subjugation of Syria and Egypt, summoning to his aid some troops from Asia Minor. If Harpagus

still commanded these troops, he must be the Holofernes whom Judith slew. They will have taken Damascus in their way to the rendezvous at Riblah, and will thence have proceeded conjointly with the troops from Babylon, and under the command of Nebuzaradan (Jeremiah, lii. 30.), to the conquest first of Jerusalem, then of Ammon and Moab, next of Gaza and Ascalon, and finally of Egypt. Cambyses joined the army in person at a more advanced period of the war, after the commencement of the siege of Tyre, and by a march through the Arabian desert (Thalia, 7.). Many of these incidents are mentioned by the prophet.

First should occur among his works, if arranged according to the order of event; the xvith Isaiah, and so much of xliind Jeremiah (23—27.) as relates to the misfortune of Damascus: these compositions appear however to be considerably subsequent to the siege which forms their theme: they confirm the account in the book of Judith (ii. 27.), that the plain of Damascus was laid waste in harvest-time.

The second siege of Jerusalem is not sung: the patriotism of the poet could not bear to triumph, his loyalty did not dare to lament.

The expeditions against Ammon, Moab, Seir, Hazor, Bozra, Edom, and other contiguous places, are noticed in the xvth and xvith Isaiah, xliind and xliind Jeremiah, xxvth and xxxvth Ezekiel. The march of Cambyses through the desert (xxist Isaiah, 13—17.) is commemorated as by an eye-witness and companion.

If any specific purpose invited the composition of the xxxviiith and xxxixth chapters of Ezekiel, it was probably that of inflaming, by the recital of former conflicts, the passions of such Jewish recruits as were to join Cyrus against the Scythians. A newly conquered country, from the diminished means of maintenance, has always afforded numerous levies to the conqueror; and such troops are studiously employed at a distance from their original frontier.

The encampment before Tyre seems to have lasted during the whole war, and eventually to have become rather a bazar than a blockade. It was resorted to by the Persians for the sale of captives (Joel, iii. 6.), and for the purchase of military stores (Thalia, 19.), and was employed to compel the co-operation of Ethbaal, then king of Tyre (Philostratus, as quoted by Josephus, Ant. x. 11.) in various undertakings of Cambyses. To this intima-

every siege allude the xxvth and xxviii Ezekiel, the xxxiii Isaiah, and the xxviii of Ezekiel.

To the march through Gaza, Ashkelon, and other towns of the Philistines, apply the xxvth Ezekiel, v. 15, &c. and the xlviii Jeremiah.

The xixth and xviii Isaiah, the xxixth and xxxth, and the xxxi and Ezekiel, and the xlvth Jeremiah, v. 14—26, concern the war in Egypt and Æthiopia: these poems, like the lamentation for Tyre, must have preceded the historical catastrophe, as they vary from the real event.

The xxxist Ezekiel is evidently an elegy on the death of Cyrus, defeated and killed by the Massagetæ (Clio, 214.): the 11th and 12th verses are very appropriate: and the whole poem is solemn, sublime, and worthy of the majesty of its hero.

On the death of Cyrus, one Smerdis, or Mardys, or Merodach, assumed the empire, while Cambyzes hastened homewards to claim it. The conspirators in the interest of Darius probably dispatched both these princes; Cambyzes at some obscure place, where he was said to have killed himself accidentally (Thalia, 64.); and Merodach later (Thalia, 70.) at Susa.

The xvth Isaiah is another elegy, and on the decease of Cambyzes, to whose death and burial, in a foreign land, the 20th verse alludes. It must have been written during the supremacy of Merodach; as the 17th verse contains an indirect praise of the liberation of Jehoiakim (Jeremiah, lxi. 31.). This ode is superlatively grand.

The Babylonians, instigated by the idolatrous priesthood, as may be inferred from the eventual massacre of that order (Thalia, 79.), determined to defend their city against Darius, in behalf of Balthazar, a minor son of the prince (Baruch, i. 11.) who had brought Daniel out of Palestine. This young sovereign was soon besieged by Darius in his metropolis: and, the city having been taken after nineteen months investiture (Thalia, 152.), the king was thrust through in the streets.

To these events appertain the xixth

The following passage, which we shall quote as one of the more remarkable instances of variation between the two texts here edited, will furnish our readers with the opportunity of comparison.

From the Daniel ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΤΙΟΝ, ΚΕΦ. ΙΙΙ. 23—33.

“23. Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄνθρωποι, Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, καὶ Ἀβδοναγου, ἔστησαν εἰς μέσους τῆς

and xlvth Isaiah, and the 1th and 1st Jeremiah.

Darius, after the capture, rased the fortifications of Babylon (Thalia, 159.) which had been spared by Cyrus, and augmented by Cambyzes (Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, Ant. x. 11.). This circumstance is accordingly specified (Jeremiah, li. 44.) by the Hebrew bard. The expulsion of supernumerary women is another peculiarity of this siege of Babylon by the son of Hystaspes; and it is noted by the Hebrew (Isaiah, xlvii. 9.), as well as by the Greek (Thalia, 150.) authorities. Inattentive to these two discriminating marks, some commentators have erroneously supposed that a prior siege of Babylon by Cyrus is referred to in these poems.

In the capture of Nineveh, as well as of Babylon, Daniel must have taken an interest which, in other similar instances, made him endeavour to immortalize the event in song. There are no historical traces of such a prophet as Nahum. There is an allusion in this oracle (Nahum, iii. 8.) to a passage in the xlvth Jeremiah (v. 25.), which indicates identity of authorship. The internal evidence of style, manner, power of mind, also favour the ascription of this vision of consolation to Daniel.

Suppose the poems here enumerated to have been separated from the other scriptures on grounds sufficiently convincing, they will be found to contain poetry of superior quality. This Daniel would be far the greatest of the Hebrew bards, and worthy to have his odes inscribed on the walls of the palace of Persepolis. Nor is it unlikely that the decyphers of the arrow head characters there engraven are actually making an addition to the circulating mass of his productions. Education and intellect of that high order, which distinguish Daniel, were too rare in the times of Darius, to allow much range of choice in the selection of his panegyrist.

Enough, we trust, has been said to prove that the book, commonly attributed to Daniel, may with more probability be ranked among those which were composed about or after the times of the Maccabees, than among the older scriptures of the Jews.

From the Daniel ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΚΕ Σ', ΚΕΦ. ΙΙΙ. 23—33.

“23. Τους μὲν ἄνδρας, τους συνθεστας της περι του Ἀζαριας, ἐξελεσα

ART. II. *The Book of Job: metrically arranged according to the Masora, and newly translated into English; with Notes critical and explanatory: accompanied on the opposite Page by the authorized English Version. By the Right Reverend JOSEPH STOCK, D. D. Bishop of Killala and M. R. I. A.* 4to. pp. 246.

WE congratulated our readers in a former volume, that the learned bishop of Killala having been induced by his friend and relation archbishop Newcome to turn his attention to sacred criticism, had, after the death of that eminent scholar, entered upon the same walk of useful learning, which he had trodden so long and with so much honour and advantage; and prepared himself to add to those valuable translations which have proceeded from the labours of some of the brightest ornaments of our country. The first specimen of Dr. Stock's abilities as a translator has been—as it deserved, very favourably received. The version of Isaiah proved him an able successor of his venerated friend, and raised expectations, which we trust will be fully realized. We strongly recommended that work to the attention of biblical students—and a frequent use of it has confirmed the opinion of its merits which we at first formed, and without hesitation expressed. The work which now claims the notice of the public, though it be not destitute of considerable merit, is not equally free from imperfection. Many passages, obscure in the common English version, are here indeed elucidated—many beauties hitherto concealed are here brought to light—but dark passages still remain to perplex the reader, which are capable of being illuminated—and many alterations are introduced which have far less excellence than the passages for which they are substituted. This has arisen in part from the difficulties with which, owing to various causes, the book of Job abounds—in part also—though the right reverend translator will not perhaps, upon his hypothesis allow it, from his not having had recourse to the literature of Arabia; and in part, we fear, in no small part, from the haste, together with the afflictive circumstances, in which this version appears to have been made.

That the translation of the book of Job is no easy task, has been admitted on all hands.—“*Multa sunt loca valde obscura, multa quæ verè ut quisquam mortalium satius intelligat;*” was the complaint of Lowth: and Dr. Stock has himself enumerated some causes which contributed to the incorrectness of the old English version, and which not being yet removed,

must produce their effect upon a modern translation.

That a translator and interpreter of the book of Job should be well versed in other languages of the east, besides the Hebrew—that he should be a proficient in Arabic—and deeply read in the numerous and rich effusions of the Arabian muse—we think cannot reasonably be doubted. When it is considered that to whatever period the date of this beautiful composition be referred—the scene of this poem is laid in Idumæa—and that some of its most difficult as well as its most beautiful passages are distinguished by their allusions to the natural history, or to the manners and customs of that region. The style, we allow, is pure Hebrew, yet many unusual words occur in this work, and oppose very serious obstacles to the progress of the interpreter: and if other parts of the Old Testament, known to be composed by native Jews, and at a late period of their monarchy, often receive considerable illustration from the Arabic tongue, much more must the book of Job. We have reason to believe that this language is unknown to the bishop of Killala; and this we consider as one cause of some passages being left as obscure, and as unintelligible as he found them.

Knowing the book to be the most difficult in the Jewish canon, and himself destitute of one source from which German critics especially, have very copiously and very successfully drawn in their versions, and in their illustrations of the writings of the Old Testament, it ought not, most assuredly, to have formed any part of the learned prelate's ambition, that a work of this nature had been completed in a short time; and in the midst of afflictions which might well have rendered him incapable of the cool and laborious investigation required in such an employment. It was therefore with mingled emotions of surprize and grief that we perused the following passage, with which the admirable analysis of the poem concludes.

“This (viz. a confident expectation that the government of God will be vindicated in a future scene) is the important lesson to be learned from the book of Job. Till man arrives at that blessed place, where he shall

know even as he is known, let him lay his hand upon his mouth, and humbly acknowledge his incapacity to judge of the dispensations of the righteous governor of the world. All will end well at the last with him that loves his God, and trusts in him.

"Reader, I believe so. I am assured of it; although I also have shared in the miseries of mortality, and am at this very moment pierced through with sorrow. A few days before I prescribed to myself the task of translating Job, a disease of the most excruciating kind fell on a beloved consort, my most faithful companion through toil and peril for the space of twenty-seven years. While I proceeded, not her dissolution only swam before my eyes: pain, the extremity of pain, which I would most gladly have bought off by my own suffering, drew from the most patient of human creatures accents of woe, which I hear now, and will speak no more of them. It was a business of six weeks. The last line of this translation was tracing while they carried her to her grave.*

"My God, it is thy doing! I will lay this good book to my heart, and be still."

P. 243, 244.

Under such circumstances, and in so short a portion of time, a work of this nature could not be properly performed. We are astonished indeed that it was performed at all; and more astonished still that it has the merit which we very gladly ascribe to it: but the cause of sacred criticism would have been better served, and the reputation of the learned prelate would have been greatly increased, had he been content, in that season of affliction, with deriving from the original work the consolation he has found in it; deferred the translation to a season in which his mind could have been free from the perturbation under which it must have laboured; and apportioned more equally the time employed to the difficulty and importance of the undertaking.

*In the preface Dr. Stock attempts, we think without success, to settle the time at which this extraordinary poem was written. He observes, p. v, vi.

"The sacred critics in general have been apt to ascribe to the book of Job an origin that loses itself in the shades of antiquity. The opinion, I believe, rested at first on the very sandy foundation of what is stated in the two concluding verses of the work, which ascribe to its hero a longevity that belonged only to the generations not far distant from the flood. Of the authenticity of those verses I think I have shewn in my note on them that we have every reason to be suspicious.

"But if it were ever so difficult to ascertain the portion of time when the patriarch lived, it may not be impossible, from internal marks in the poem itself, to conjecture with tolerable certainty the era of its author. This is what I have attempted to execute. The subject is curious; and on a close inspection of the work before us, certain notes of time have presented themselves to my observation, which appear to have escaped the diligence of all preceding critics. The reader will allow me to offer them to him here in a summary manner, referring him for further satisfaction on the point to what I have said in the notes.

"Allusions to events recorded in five books of Moses are to be found in this poem, Ch. xx. 20, compared with Numb. xi. 33, 34. Ch. xxvi. 5, compared with Gen. vi. 4, 7, 19. Ch. xxxiv. 20, compared with Exod. xii. 10. Ch. xxxi. 33, compared with Gen. iii. 8, 12; and I shall hardly be expected to prove, that the author of the poem derived his knowledge of those events from a history of so much notoriety as that of Moses, rather than from oral or any other tradition. Facts are not usually referred to, before the history recording them has had time to obtain currency. The inference is clear: the writer of the book of Job was junior to the Jewish legislator, and junior it is likely by some time.

"A similar mode of reasoning upon comparison of Ch. xxxiii. 23, with 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 1 Chron. xxi. 15, will, if I mistake not greatly, bring down the date of our poem below the time of king David.

"Lastly, Ch. xii. 17, to the end, seems to point to the circumstances preceding and attending the Babylonish captivity: and Ch. xxxvi. 8—12, has an appearance of alluding to the various fortunes of Jehoiachin king of Judah, 2 Kings xxiv. 12. xxv. 27; notes of time these, which, though not so manifest as the fore-mentioned, may deserve attention; since they add strength to the sentiment of those learned men, who have been inclined to give the honour of this celebrated composition to Ezra."

If our readers will give themselves the trouble to compare the above-mentioned passages, they will undoubtedly be convinced that in this attempt to ascertain the era of the author of this book, Dr. Stock has not been successful. The first of these passages derives all the little efficacy it may possess, from a variation in the version which comes not with sufficient authority. He who has not access to Dr. Stock's translation, cannot judge of the importance of this passage in this enquiry. For "surely he shall not feel quietness in his belly, he shall not save of that which he desired," Dr. Stock reads, "Because he acknowledged not the quail in his sto-

* Mrs. Catharine Stock died May 5, 1805, in the 55th year of her age: she has left behind her fifteen children.

mach, in the midst of his delight he shall not escape." The old version is more suitable to the context, and would not perhaps have been altered by the right reverend translator, had not the ambiguous word *לח* afforded a plausible opportunity of supporting an hypothesis. The next chapter, which is thought to contain an allusion to the deluge, rests upon no surer foundation. In Ch. xxxiv. 20, there is very probably a reference to the death of the first-born in Egypt, and in Ch. xxxi. the transgression of Adam is expressly mentioned. But such facts as these—the former of which, it is probable, had but recently happened, might be the subject of oral information only. The story of Adam, we have every reason to believe, was a common tradition; and so striking an event as the sudden destruction of the first-born, could scarcely fail of being soon communicated to the neighbouring people, and amongst those who were not idolaters must have been remarked and cited as an evidence of the power and the moral government of God.

Of the allusions to the destroying and the interceding angels in the time of David, and to the events attending the Babylonish captivity, Dr. Stock himself does not appear perfectly convinced; and no one will find them in the passages to which he has referred, who has not an hypothesis to propose or to support. It is in point here to observe that the former of these was regarded by Warburton, whose object also it was to bring the date of this book as far down as possible, as "a most circumstantial account of God's dealing with Hezekiah." The question, therefore, respecting the date of this singular and beautiful production, is not yet settled. One thing we apprehend must be regarded as certain—that if it had been of the age of Ezra, there would have been no occasion to explore the poem so minutely, or to alter the version of ambiguous words in order to find references to the Jewish history: these must have been interwoven with the whole piece, and given a strong and decided colouring to the poem.

Two of the sources, whence the Hebrew poets drew their most striking and

beautiful imagery, were, the sacred rites of their religious worship, and the surprising occurrences in their eventful history. Images derived from these abound in the odes of David, and in the effusions of the prophets. It is therefore scarcely credible, that a long and ornamented poem, in which so few of these images can be discovered even by the microscopic eye of a framer of hypotheses; was composed a considerable time after these rites were established, and these occurrences recorded by the pen of the historian.

But it is time to proceed to the examination of the learned translator's labours. In carefully collating this version with that in general use, we have found nearly five hundred variations, of which more than four hundred and thirty are marked with an asterisk, to denote that they 'depart materially from our common English translation.' Of these variations many are very judicious, others are needless; some are very faulty, blemishes rather than improvements. As a fair specimen of the work we present our readers with the following version of the xxxviiith chapter.

" CHAPTER XXXVIII.

" 1. Then Jehovah answered Job out of the whirlwind and said:

2. Who is this that darkeneth wisdom by words,

* *This man* without knowledge?

3. Gird up now, like a man, thy loins,
For I will question thee, and inform thou me,

4. Where wast thou when I founded the earth?

Tell, if thou knowest *what* is understanding.

5. Who fixed the measures thereof, if thou knowest?

Or who stretched the line upon it?

6. Upon what are the bases thereof rested,
Or who laid the corner stone thereof?

7. When the morning stars sung together,
And all the sons of God shouted for joy.

8. Or who shut up with doors the sea,
When it brake forth, *as if* it issued from a womb?

9. When I made the cloud the garment thereof,

And thick darkness its swaddling-band,

10. *When I fixed over it my decree,

And set bars and doors,

2. *This man.*] I follow the masoret distinction of the lines.

6. *The bases thereof.*] Its *cassoons*, upon what are they *sunk*?

10. *I fixed.*] Heb. *I brake short*, fixed it decidedly and briefly. גורתי is the Chaldee version. Had we authority of MSS. I should have preferred ואשכל and *I impelled against it my decree*. See the verb in Parkhurst. Being of rare occurrence, it might have been changed by transcribers for a word more common.

11. And said, hitherto shalt thou come, but no further,
And here shall thy proud waves be stayed.
12. Hast thou out of thy seas commanded the morning?
*Hast thou known the dawn, since it was appointed?
13. That it might lay hold of the edges of the earth,
*And the flashes be set in motion from her?
14. She changeth her appearance, as clay from the seal,
*And they present themselves like a person full-dressed:
15. *And from the flashes their light is withdrawn,
And the high-raised arm is broken.
16. Hast thou entered into the mazes of the sea?
Or in the inmost recess of the deep hast thou walked?
17. Have the gates of death been revealed to thee,
And the gates of the shadow of death hast thou seen?
18. *Doth thy understanding extend to the wide stretchings of the earth?
Tell, if thou knowest it all.
19. Where is the road *to where* light dwelleth?
And darkness, where is the place thereof?
20. Seeing thou canst conduct us to its border,
And seeing thou art acquainted with the paths to its house.
21. *Thou must know, because thou wert born at the time,
And in number thy days are many.
22. Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow,
And the treasures of the hail hast thou seen,
23. Which I reserve against the time of distress,
Against the day of combat and war?
24. Where is the way to where lightning is strewn out?
To whence the east wind is let loose upon the earth?
25. Who hath laid out for the flood its channel,
And a way for the forked bolt of thunder,
26. To cause rain on the earth where no man is,
On the wilderness where mortal is not;
27. To satisfy the desolate and waste ground;
To cause the issue of the grass to spring?
28. Hath the rain a father?
Or who hath begotten the round drops of the dew?
29. Out of whose womb came the ice?
And the hoar frost of heaven, who hath gendered it?
30. As with stone, do the waters cover themselves,
*And the face of the deep is taken prisoner.

11. *Be stayed.*] Heb. *shall one put a stop to*; verb imper.

12. *The dawn.*] Joining *השחר*, as in many copies. *מִקְוֹר*, since it was established, for the purposes mentioned in the next verse.

Ibid. Out of the seas.] From whose bosom the first streaks of light seem to take their rise. To prevent the equivocal of *מִימֵיךָ* which may signify either from thy days or from thy seas, two copies have the word *מִימֵיךָ*, from thy sea in the singular number; but it is not necessary to write so, since the context explains the sense.

13. *And the flashes.*] Vulg. *רשעים*, of the authenticity of which word it should seem that many copyists had a doubt by writing the *ע* in a position elevated above the level of the other letters, and that twice over in the same verse. In place of this intruder we should substitute the letter *פ*, and make the *רשעים*, which denotes *flashes of lightning*, coruscations, as in Ps. lxxviii. 48. The whole passage will then become both consistent with itself, and elegant. The flashes, or first streaks of day-light, are described as presenting themselves to view in the gay dress of a courtier going to wait on his sovereign; while the earth, whose edges are illuminated by them, changes her appearance, as the clay (the eastern substitute for sealing-wax) takes different forms according to the seal: the splendour of these flashes is diminished by the superior lustre of the planet of day advancing in his course, till by degrees the high raised arm (or the projected arm) *זרוע רמת* the arm of shooting which was stretched across the heaven, is broken off. Of the justice of this picture of the sky in a fine morning every reader must be a judge, who has accustomed himself to the laudable practice of early rising.

16. *The mazes.*] From *נָכַךְ* to be perplexed comes the name, implying meanders, intricate passages into the abyss.—*Scott. Parkh.* *תִּקְוִי* is the penetrale of the ocean.

20, 21. Contain a lofty irony.—*Scott.*

24. *Lightning.*] So we should render *אֶרֶץ* here, as in chap. xxxvii. v. 3, on account of its accompaniments—wind, rain, and thunder.—*Scott.*

31. *Canst thou bind up the delights of warmth,
*Or the flakes of cold canst thou set loose?
32. *Canst thou bring forth the blight in its season,
*And comfort corrosion over her sons?
33. Knowest thou the statutes for heaven,
*Canst thou lay down regulations for the earth?
34. Canst thou lift up to the clouds thy voice,
That a deluge of waters may cover thee?
35. Canst thou dispatch the lightnings, that they may go,
And may say unto thee, here we are!
36. Who hath settled in the inward parts wisdom?
Or who hath given to the imagination discernment?
37. Who shall number the warring clouds by wisdom?
*And the pitcher of heaven who shall stoop?
38. When the dust fixeth into hardness,
And the clods stick close together?
39. Wilt thou hunt down for the lioness her prey?
And with animal flesh wilt thou stuff the young lions?
40. When they couch in their dens,
*When they abide in the covert, their place of ambush?
41. Who layeth out for the raven his provision,
When his young ones caw unto God,
*When they are straying to where there is no food?"

All the corrections which the common version has received from the hand of Dr. S. are not equally judicious. Impartiality requires that we select a few to exemplify this remark.

Old Version—"For now it would be heavier than the sand of the sea: therefore my words are swallowed up." Chap. vi. v. 3.

Dr. Stock—"For now beyond the sand of the sea it would be heavy;
Therefore my words are swallowed up."

O. V.—"Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?"

"It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?" Chap. xi. v. 7-8.

Dr. S.—"Canst thou by searching find out God?"

Unto perfection canst thou find out the Almighty?

See the heights of heaven, what canst thou do?

See a deep below hell, what canst thou know?"

O. V.—"If I wait, the grave is mine house: I have made my bed in the darkness."

"I have said to corruption, *Thou art my father*; to the worm, *Thou art my mother and my sister*." Chap. xvii. v. 13-14.

Dr. S.—"Though I tarry, the grave is mine house,

In darkness must I seek my mattress:

To the pit must I say, my father art thou;

My mother and my sister I must call the worm."

O. V.—"Behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard: I cry aloud, but *there is no judgement*." Chap. xix. v. 7.

Dr. S.—"Lo, I may cry murder! but have no answer;

I may roar, but there is no justice."

O. V.—"The lion's whelps have not trodden it, nor the fierce lion passed by it."

"He putteth forth his hand upon the rock; he overturneth the mountains by the roots." Chap. xxviii. v. 8-9.

Dr. S.—"The sons of the splitter tread it not,

Neither passeth over it the jackal.

Into the flint he thrusteth his hand,

He upturneth by the roots the mountains."

In a note upon this passage the translator observes, that the *splitter* signifies the lion:—Why then, we ask, has he

31. *The delights.*] A pleasurable sensation of warmth.—*Parkh.* The flakes of cold are the *spicula* of frost, which penetrate the skin.

32. *Comfort corrosion.*] A beautiful poetical image. Canst thou make amends to the destructive blast for the loss of the numerous tribe of insects, to which she gave birth last season, and which were swept away as quickly as they came, by giving her the opportunity of producing as many more? For מורית see above. Chap. xxxvii. verse 2.

33. *Regulations.*] For משטרו read with one MS. משטרות. The common reading affords no antecedent to משטרו but שמים, the plural to the singular.

34. *May cover thee.*] May form, as it were, a pavilion for the lord of thunder.—*Scott.*

36. *Discernment.*] To count the conflicting elements as *Parkh.* expounds שדקים.

37. *Who shall stoop.*] To discharge their contents upon the earth. This image is similar to the inclined urn, which the heathen poets place in the hand of a river-god. *Scott* from *Schultens.*

38. *When the dust.*] When rain is most wanted to mollify the glebe, hardened by drought.

changed the old version for a synonymous expression, harsh and unpleasant, and requiring a marginal illustration? This is no proof either of taste or judgement.

O. F.—“ I am a brother to dragons and a companion to owls.” Chap. xxx. v. 29.

Dr. S.—“ A brother am I to dragons, And a companion to the daughters of screeching.”

We cite this instance as one amongst many others that might be adduced to justify the censure we have passed upon the hasty manner in which this version has been prepared. *Daughters of screeching* is a literal translation of the original poetical phrase בנות יענה, and might properly enough be substituted for *owls*, but in a short note Dr. S. informs us that it is ‘ a common epithet for *ostriches*.’ In his haste he has unfortunately forgotten that in his translation of Isaiah, chap. xlii. v. 21, he has rendered the very same phrase by *screech-owls*, and, upon the authority of that excellent critic Rosenmüller, asserted that it cannot mean *ostriches*.

All the above alterations, and many more, we are sorry to say, might be added, are needless; and some of them betray a total want of discrimination and taste. We subjoin a few yet more reprehensible, in which the correction is not only needless but absolutely faulty.

O. F.—“ He is wise in heart, and mighty in strength: who hath hardened himself against him, and hath prospered?” Chap. ix. v. 4.

Dr. S.—“ Wise in heart as he is, and mighty in strength, Who shall play the sturdy with him and prosper?”

O. F.—“ He will not suffer me to take my breath, but filleth me with bitterness.” *Ibid.* v. 18.

Dr. S.—“ He giveth no respite to my breath, Though he stuffeth me with bitterness.”

O. F.—“ If I say I will forget my complaint, I will leave off my heaviness and comfort myself.” *Ibid.* v. 27.

Dr. S.—“ If I say I will forget my sad thought, I will leave my *wry* faces, and wear a smile.”

O. F.—“ Turn from him that he may rest till he shall accomplish, as an hireling, his day.” Chap. xiv. v. 6.

Dr. S.—“ Look away from him and let him decay Till he has run through, as an hireling, his day.”

What ear is not offended by this miserable jingle? What cause of boasting is there here, that this translation was a work of six weeks?

O. F.—“ With us are both the gray headed and very aged men, much elder than thy father.” Chap. xv. v. 10.

Dr. S.—“ The gray head and the chrony are with us, The plenteous, more than thy father in days.”

O. F.—“ Whereas our substance is not cut down, but the remnant of them the fire consumeth.” Chap. xxii. v. 20.

Dr. S.—“ As surely as our estate shall not be carried away, So on their savings shall the fire prey.”

O. F.—“ The east wind carrieth him away, and he departeth.” Chap. xxvii. v. 21.

Dr. S.—“ The east wind uplifteth him and he is off.”

O. F.—“ Her young ones also suck up blood.” Chap. xxxix. v. 30.

Dr. S.—“ And her young ones gobble up blood.”

It is no pleasant task to point out such gross violations of propriety and of good taste as these, and we are sorry to observe that the list might have been made more extensive. Our object has been, to induce the learned prelate to be more cautious in any future work of this nature; and to reprove before he favours the world with a translation of any other portion of scripture, those excellent rules which his great predecessor laid down in his admirable ‘ historical view, &c.’ and to which he himself so faithfully and judiciously adhered. It is with interpreters in general, as with annotators; they never know when to stop, but appear to estimate the value of their version by the quantity rather than the quality of their corrections. We recollect scarcely a single translator, who has not, without any reason, altered elegant and harmonious passages in the common English version, and utterly destroyed all sweetness of sound, without improving the sense.

Our readers may perhaps be curious to know the opinion of the bishop of Killala concerning the much controverted passage chap. xix. v. 25-26. If we had not already extended this article to a more than usual length, we would transcribe the note upon those verses. We can do no more than state that Dr. S. rejects the opinion of Peters and others, that the language of Job had a reference to a general resurrection to eternal life, and considers it as expressing a full ‘ expectation of returning from the grave at some future period, to see his own innocence vindicated, and his calumniators punished.’

Many short but useful notes accompany this version, yet their number might

with great advantage, have been much increased. Every book should be as complete as possible in itself. This is a maxim which has been often recommended, and no author should be unmindful of it. The obscure passages, of which almost every reader of this version will wish for an elucidation, may be explained by Heath or Scott, but these valuable works are not in every reader's possession.

We must not omit to mention that in this work several conjectural emendations by Dr. S. occur, in general very judicious and happily throwing light upon difficult passages. One of these has been already placed before our readers in the extract we have made. Of the rest the following are the most satisfactory: chap. vi. v. 7, **וּצְפוּרוֹ** for **כְּדוּרִי**; chap. xv. ver. 22, **וּצְפוּ הוּא** for **מַבְלִים**; verse 29, **מַגְלִים** for **בְּגִילוֹ**; chap. xx. verse 7, **מַגְלִים** for **אֲבָר**; chap. xxx. verse 2, **אֲבָר** for **לָהֶן**; chap. xxxvii. **בְּרִי** for **בְּרִיר**. This part of the learned translator's labours might have been extended; and the emendations of many eminent critics, now widely scattered, might have been collected, and, in many instances, advantageously introduced.

The translation of Isaiah by Dr. Stock was accompanied by the Hebrew, and we are sorry that the same plan has not

been adopted in this version of Job. 'The Hebrew original,' observes the author, 'I have not been at the pains to annex to the present work, because the critics seem to have given me no thanks for my labour in publishing Isaiah with points; and I work for ordinary scholars, like myself, who do not hope to understand Hebrew very well, without the assistance of those reprobated points.' Pref. p. viii. We are perhaps among those to whom the learned author here refers. We ventured to express our disapprobation of the points that accompanied the original of Isaiah, but we are truly concerned and surprized, that, because the points were reprobated, the Hebrew text has been in the present publication withheld.— Though we do not lay the same stress upon these barbarous inventions that the bishop of Killala does, yet we should have been glad to have seen the original text even with the incumbrance of the masoretic commentary.

We now take leave of this version of a very curious and important book of scripture, after having endeavoured to give a full and an impartial account of it. We are happy to express our approbation of the greater part of the corrections which the common version has here received; but we regret that it is not so perfect as it would have been had the author bestowed upon it a larger share of uninterrupted attention.

SACRED CRITICISM.

ART. III.—*A Findicatıon of certain Passages in the common English Version of the New Testament; addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq. Author of the "Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament."* By the REV. CALVIN WINSTANLEY, A. M. 12mo. pp. 84.

OUR readers, we apprehend, cannot have been inattentive to the progress of the enquiry to which this excellent little tract relates, and which we hope it has brought to a conclusion. In the year 1797, there appeared, in the second part of a learned occasional work, entitled '*Museum Oroniense*,' a paper written by Mr. Granville Sharp, and intended to exhibit an argument in favour of the divinity of Christ, deduced from the Greek definite article, and the copulative conjunction. In the midst of erudite criticisms, not generally regarded as important, it might have remained known only to a few scholars who have access to that work, had not the present bishop of St. David's, in the year 1798, urged by his great zeal for the orthodox faith, republished it in a pompous and illiberal manner, subjoining a table of

Evidences of Christ's Divinity, by Dr. Whitby; a table not to be found in his *LAST THOUGHTS*, as Dr. Burgess well knew, though he had not the candour to acknowledge it. In the course of the same year appeared *six letters* addressed to Mr. Granville Sharp by Mr. Wadsworth, it was said, of Cambridge, intended to form a supplement to the '*Remarks*,' and to corroborate the species of evidence which had been exhibited in them, by numerous quotations from the fathers, especially the Greek fathers. In 1803, *six more letters* were addressed to Mr. Sharp by an anonymous author, of a very different character, and of very different views, who called himself *Gregory Blunt*. An account of this witty production was given in our second volume. His object was, *ridens dicere verum*; and

in this field of grammatical controversy he must be acknowledged to have used the weapons of ridicule with great skill and effect. Mr. Winstanley has entered last into the lists—a sober champion, cased in the armour of Grecian literature, and attacking his boastful antagonist with his own weapons. He has clearly proved that the first suspicions which arose in Mr. Wadsworth's mind are unjust: 'Surely,' said I, 'Mr. Sharp has only not gone so far in the investigation as earlier critics. There must be some secret fallacy; and he is producing to us, as a valuable discovery, that which his predecessors, after having for a time followed it, must have found out to be an empty phantom, and so they returned from their pursuit, and sat down again, not venturing to tell the world how idly they had been occupied.' See *Sir Letters*, &c. page 2.

This secret fallacy, which escaped this last-mentioned author, has been detected

by Mr. Winstanley, and clearly brought to light. He examines, with care, the several rules which had been proposed by Mr. Sharp; he 'proves some to be defective, some fallacious, and others absolutely false.' It is impossible to give any satisfactory analysis of such a publication as this, or to select any passage that should do justice to the author or his subject: but we recommend it to the serious regard of those who, dazzled by 'the imposing light in which the 'Remarks' have been recommended to public attention," have been induced to give their approbation to canons of criticism which are at variance with the genius of the Greek language, which tend to deform and vitiate our English version of the Scriptures, and which 'exhibit the sacred penmen in unfavourable colours, irreconcilable with the uprightness and simplicity that characterise their writings.'

ART. IV.—*A concise and interesting View of the Objection of Mr. Gibbon, that our Lord foretold his second Coming in the Clouds of Heaven in the Generation in which he lived, which the Revolution of seventeen Centuries has proved not to be agreeable to Experience: chiefly intended as a Specimen of the true Method of ascertaining the genuine Meaning of the New Testament.* By N. NISBETT, M. A. Rector of Tunstal. 8vo. pp. 39.

THIS little tract, published in the form of a sermon, delivered, we are told in the preface, before the judges of assize at Maidstone in the year 1802, is an epitome of a very valuable work, reviewed by us in a former volume. The subject, it is well known to theological students, has occupied the author's attention for many years, 'from a steady conviction,' as he asserts, 'that it would not only furnish an unanswerable reply to Mr. Gibbon's objection concerning the coming of Christ; but that it would lead to a more accurate knowledge of the New Testament than has hitherto been acquired.'

As this subject does not relate to any speculative doctrine, but involves the in-

terests of our common christianity, we will venture to confess that, from the very day in which we read the first publications of this intelligent and zealous writer, we have been satisfied of the justness and high importance of the principles which he has been labouring to establish. We earnestly recommend this tract, but especially the publication to which we have before alluded, and of which this is only an outline, to the attention of those who are desirous of seeing an able illustration of many very striking passages of scripture, and a strong hold of infidelity swept away like the house erected on the sand.

ART. V.—*Brief and impartial Views of the two Theories of the Fall of Man, by the Rct. P. INCHBALD.* 8vo.

THE author of the Wisdom says in the second chapter (v. 23 and 24), 'God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity; nevertheless, through envy of the devil, came death into the world.' This is not only the scriptural, but the popular opinion concerning the fall. Milton, who was learned in theology, and who aspired to make his fables correspond with the received notions of the christian world, gives an analogous representation: ac-

cording to which, mortality is the hereditary corruption we owe to Adam, the imputed penalty, the unceasing consequence, of his conduct.

Mortality, if it be a misfortune, is however no sin. Vice is a departure from the laws of reason, crime from the laws of society, and sin from the laws of religion. To die is not an act of disobedience to God. The original sin of Adam, if it produced a mortal change in his nature, became, by that very change, thenceforth

incapable of repetition. It is no more possible to inherit a sin, than to inherit a fall from one's horse. A sin is an act of transgression, not a habit or a tendency. What we can and do inherit is the capability of sinning, the power of being stimulated by appetite, anger, vanity, and lust, to commit actions unfavourable to our own happiness, and to that of others. This capability of sinning is necessarily accompanied with a tendency to sin: for the original propensities of all animals are selfish: every creature naturally prefers itself to others: and such preference, in a case of collision, is sin. It is by experience and culture that those sympathies and forecasts are evolved, which purify our actions into virtue, by causing them to be performed with a view to the production of the greatest happiness, whether we ourselves are to partake it or no. As far as selfishness is sinful, and self-immolation virtuous, we inherit peccancy and acquire merit: we pass, as is technically said, from a state of nature to a state of grace. This regeneration of our ideal

associations is often brought about by the means of religious opinions; by insisting on the advantages which, in a future state, will attend the sacrifice of ourselves to others; by insisting on the miseries which, in a future state, will attend the preference of ourselves to others; thus making our very selfishness a motive to our benevolence. And thus *faith* may conquer the original hereditary selfish tendency, or pravity, of our nature, and ought in that case to be imputed to us as righteousness.

These observations being premised, we suspect it will be found more scriptural, and more rational, to incline toward the first, than toward the second theory of the fall here examined: although several of the phrases in use among the calvinistic arguers may be mere jargon. We advise the author to reconsider his opinion: we prize the learning, the clearness, and the sincerity, displayed in the statement of it; but we think its soundness likely to be denied both by the theologian and the metaphysician.

ART. VI.—*A Help to the Unlearned in the Study of the Holy Scriptures: being an Attempt to explain the Bible in a familiar Way. Adapted to common Apprehensions, and according to the Opinions of approved Commentators.* By MRS. TRIMMER, Author of *Sacred History*, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 822.

MRS. TRIMMER's character is well known and highly esteemed. The poor have found in her a benevolent friend, and, in some instances, a judicious instructress; but for the employment which she has here undertaken she is by no means qualified. Other talents than this good lady possesses, are requisite in those who would unfold to the uninformed the volume of holy writ. In aiming to be familiar, she is often eminently trifling: in her condescension to the weakness of those whom she would instruct, she sometimes derogates from the sublimity and force of the lessons of divine wisdom; and, throughout this ponderous book, one great object appears pre-eminent, the support of the established system both in doctrine and discipline—a system to which we have no doubt she is sincerely attached. Had she confined her recommendation of this to such passages of scripture as clearly authorized her to do so, she would have been in the way of her duty: but she has tortured many a passage to effect this purpose, and advanced interpretations for which she can shew no warrant. A few short extracts will be sufficient to shew the character of this work, and to justify the remarks we have advanced.

"Gen. xiv. ver. 18.—Observe, what is said of Melchizedec, and the blessing he pronounced upon Abram, and what Abram gave to the priest of the most high God. From which we learn that it is agreeable to the will of God that the people should pay tithes to his ministers. Farmers, therefore, and others of whom tithes are demanded, should pay them to the clergy with a willing mind, as an offering to God for increasing the fruits of the earth."

"Psalm xcii.—The instruments, mentioned ver. 3, were always used in the temple service at Jerusalem; and in many christian churches there are organs, which are great helps to devotion when people mind properly what they are about; but very often they attend only to the music, as an amusement, which is a great profanation of the Lord's house and his holy worship. They should sing to the praise and glory of God, as the clerk calls upon them to do."

"Matt. xvii. ver. 22.—From our Lord's sending Peter to catch a fish, we learn, that in cases of necessity we should work in our respective callings, in order to earn money, since God's blessing attends honest industry. If Peter had not found money in the mouth of the fish, the sale of it would have fetched him something, and by fishing on he might have got a sufficient number of fish to produce the sum he wanted. It is plain from this miracle, that our blessed Lord, if he had chose it, could have got great riches for him-

self from the bottom of the sea; but he had renounced all the pomps and vanities of the world, and submitted to a state of poverty for the sake of mankind."

"St. John, xvii. ver. 20.—The concluding part of this solemn prayer was for all our Lord's faithful followers to the end of the world. To be *one with God the Father and with God the Son*, ver. 21, must signify, to have the Holy Spirit imparted to them. This was the glory which our Saviour gave to all his faithful disciples, to be united with God by means of the Holy Spirit, which is given by the Father through the Son."

Mrs. Trimmer is very reprehensible for having used, in this passage, and in a manner which has the appearance of artifice, a phrase that does not occur in the scriptures either of the Old or New Testament.

"Acts, xiii. ver. 1, 4.—Observe, that the apostles and all the first ministers of the gospel were directed by the immediate inspiration of God. There is no occasion for this now, as every thing our Saviour and the apostles taught as necessary for salvation may be read in the Bible; but as the sacred books were written at first in other languages, and the gift of tongues is not continued, it is proper that christian ministers should be learned men. The work for which Barnabas and Paul were separated, was that of preaching to the Gentiles. Observe, that they were ordained to this holy office by the laying on of the hands of the apostles. This rule has been kept up in the christian church from the time of the apostles. The bishops, who are now at the head of the church, practise it, and every clergyman is ordained first *deacon*, and afterwards *priest*, with solemn prayer and the laying on of the hands of the bishops, who are so far in the apostles' place, that it rests with them to see that no false doctrine is taught in the church, and that its holy ordinances, amongst which is the laying on of their hands, are observed, and an order of regular ministers kept up. John, who is mentioned ver. 5, was *John Mark*, not St. John the Evangelist."

In a short introduction to the epistles we meet with the following:

"Christians of the present day are therefore under very different circumstances from those of the apostles' times. They have neither Jews nor heathens to dispute with. They have the written scriptures for their guide; they know that they are delivered from the burden of the Mosaic law: and that they have nothing to do with the doctrines of the heathen philosophers; and those of this happy country are free from persecution; they have churches in which they may assemble without fear or danger; they have a regular order of ministers, which may be traced up to those who were first ordained by the laying on of

the hands of the apostles, according to Jesus Christ's holy institution; and they have an established form of worship, in every respect agreeable to the doctrines of our Saviour and his apostles. Christians of the present day, therefore, have no reasonable cause for dissensions; they can have no occasion to assemble in fields, or to make churches of private houses, in order to hear the gospel.

"But unhappily there has been a great falling off from the established church; and there is a great number of sects and parties amongst us; still, however, the established church, as maintained in the kingdom, is a true branch of the holy universal church, built on the *foundation of the apostles*, Jesus Christ himself being the *chief corner-stone*. The members of the church of England therefore, that is, all who have been baptized in their infancy, or at any time according to the office of baptism in the Common Prayer Book, are bound to continue firm to its ordinances and doctrines to the end of their lives; for they cannot find any good, that is, any *scriptural reason* for departing from it; and they should carefully guard against the insinuations of those who would draw them away from it; but at the same time they should also avoid giving way to a contentious and persecuting spirit."

Again:

"1. Cor. iv. ver. 1, 7.—In these verses the apostle teaches christians in what light they should regard those who are ordained of God to instruct them in the religion of Christ. By the *mysteries of God*, we are to understand the great truths of revealed religion, and the two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper, which it is the duty of the ministers of Christ to explain to the people, and administer agreeably to the word of God. Those who hold this sacred office should be revered by their people, and not judged hardly of by them. It certainly is an offence to God, when people set themselves against the ministers of the church; whoever is disposed or persuaded to do so, should call to mind the apostle's admonition in the fifth verse."

We shall produce but one more quotation, of itself enough to shew that they who trust themselves to Mrs. Trimmer's guidance, may indeed learn what she believes, but not what the scriptures teach.

"1 John, v. ver. 1, 9.—From these verses we learn that none are the true children of God but those who believe in his Son, and keep his commandments; and that this is no difficult task—also, that through faith in Christ we may overcome the temptations of the world. Ver. 6 means that Jesus Christ, who was baptized with water by John the Baptist, and shed his blood for mankind, was really the Son of God. Ver. 7. In the text we have the doctrine of the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three divine persons in one God. How this can be, is beyond our power to comprehend, but while we

cannot understand our own nature, consisting of body and soul, we must not wonder that we should not be able to understand the nature of the Godhead, so infinitely above us. In the New Testament we read of the Father as God, of the Son as God, and of the Holy Ghost as God, yet we are repeatedly told that there is but one God; these three therefore must be in that one God, which is all that can be known by us."

Is it possible that Mrs. Trimmer should undertake to comment upon the scrip-

tures, and not know that the most orthodox divines of the established church have demonstrated that the words upon which she here lays so much stress are interpolated? If so, what is this ponderous volume but a blind guide to lead the blind astray? If she did know this, then a heavier charge lies against her; a charge, however, which we have too good an opinion of her heart to suppose can be fairly alleged. But every scribe should be well instructed.

ART. VII. *The Old Testament illustrated: being Explications of remarkable Facts and Passages in the Jewish Scriptures, which have been objected to by Unbelievers, and the proper Understanding of which may be rendered conducive to a further Acquaintance with the Christian Dispensation. In a Series of Lectures to Young Persons.* By SAMUEL PARKER. 12mo. pp. 376.

THE design of this little compilation is good—but Mr. Parker's apprehensions are not unfounded, that "critics may probably find great imperfection in the execution of the work." "His object has been," as he informs us, "to select from the writings of others, and some of them men of considerable celebrity, passages, which have a tendency to elucidate various parts of the Old Testament, and to remove, or lessen, the objections of unbelievers." Had this plan been executed with judgment, it would have proved extremely valuable. The efforts of the present compiler will not be wholly lost, but their benefits would have been much

more extensive and more lasting, had the numerous passages which he has collected from the most approved writers been properly arranged, and connected by some pertinent and judicious original observations. A few reflections by Mr. Parker himself do indeed occur, but the work would have lost none of its value had they been wholly suppressed. This little work, however, may with great advantage be put into the hands of young persons; it will furnish them with many excellent replies to the cavils of unbelievers; and especially will direct them to more copious sources of information.

ART. VIII. *An Inquiry, whether the Description of Babylon, contained in the XVIIIth Chapter of the Revelations, agrees perfectly with Rome as a City? &c. In a Letter to the Reverend Mr. ***.* By GRANVILLE SHARP. 12mo. pp. 253.

THE questions which have occasioned this inquiry, are the following: "Whether the description of Babylon, contained in the xviiith chapter of the Revelations, agrees perfectly with Rome as a city, a commercial city inhabited and visited by merchants and traders? and whether it may not be applied with propriety to some other opulent and mercantile cities?" p. 2. Mr. G. Sharp decides that it applies to Rome. Following the track which has been long occupied by protestant interpreters of this wonderful book, Mr. Sharp endeavours to prove that Rome not only has been, but still is, notoriously guilty of all the three Babylonian crimes, idolatry, sorcery, and bloodshed; and of her being a trading city there can, he imagines, be

no doubt, when it is remembered what an extensive sale of *indulgences* has been carried on in it—a traffic in the *bodies and souls of men*!!

Among many curious passages which occur in this curious little work, none is perhaps more remarkable than that in which the author speaks of the fatal endeavours to bring about a war against France. "Of the late Mr. Edmund Burke, who was himself a real papistical jacobin, at the same time that he accused the English people of having eighty thousand jacobins among them, in order to inculcate the idea of a *necessity* to exercise a power beyond the law, and to promote the illegal measure of suspending it." p. 62.

EVIDENCES OF NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

ART. IX. *Popular Evidences of Natural Religion and Christianity.* By the Reverend THOMAS WATSON. 8vo. pp. 477.

THE author of this useful work has thought it necessary "to offer some apo-

logy to the world for bringing it forward, whilst we have in our own language so many excellent treatises on the same subject, and especially after that most excellent performance of Dr. Paley's "Elements of Natural Theology." But no apology can be required by any candid reader. Derham and Ray, and others who have entered upon the same argument, are too learned, as Mr. Watson justly observes, for those who have not some previous acquaintance with the subjects on which they treat. A more popular work was wanting, and Mr. Watson has endeavoured, and not without considerable success, to supply the defect.

In the three first chapters the author endeavours to settle the respective claims of religion and modern philosophy. He shews that the title of philosophy is unjustly usurped by infidelity, and that it belongs properly to religion; he examines with some degree of severity the general characters, the acts, the talents, and the favourite studies, of infidel philosophers, and ably supports the pretensions of religion to wisdom, as being founded upon right reason, and leading to the supreme good. Here he has borne somewhat too hard upon metaphysical pursuits. We agree indeed with an author that "these are the most uncertain of all studies; that they have given birth to wrangling and endless disputation; and that they have been perverted by men of talents and ingenuity to puzzle, to perplex, and bewilder, the world;"—but they ought not to be thus indiscriminately condemned. Metaphysics have been successfully employed in the cause of moral and religious truth, and they present some subjects, not merely of curious, but of important speculation. The author's inquiries are next directed to the probability that there are beings in the universe superior to men, and that the planets are peopled by such beings; and from these conjectures, for they are nothing else, he deduces the possibility of the existence of a first great and invisible cause of all things. Happily he has "surer words" in store to confirm our belief in this article. He then conjectures again that rational beings may pass through different states of existence as other animals and even vegetables are known to do, and thus may rise again after death: but in the second part of this work we meet with something better than such imperfect analogies, upon which we may rest our hope of a future state of being.

These observations form the subject of the four first chapters, and may be considered as introductory to the chief design of the work. After a few remarks upon atheism, our author proceeds to prove the existence and perfections of a Supreme Being. His argument is "from the effects to the cause, from the visible creation to the invisible creator." He first takes a general view of the universe; the union, the connection, the preservation, of all things, are adduced as evidences of the being—the unity and the providence of God. He then descends to a more particular examination of some of the most important or striking parts; he shews what the sun, the moon, the stars, the seasons, and the great deep, depose concerning the existence and the attributes of the Supreme Being. Man is presented to our notice next; his nature, his excellences, his imperfections, are all adduced to contribute to the demonstration that there is a God, and that he rules over the creatures whom he has formed. A few of the most remarkable quadrupeds—and the different provisions made for them—some striking facts in the history of birds and of insects, are likewise mentioned as tending to the same conclusion, that the works of nature are irrefragable arguments of the being and the providence of an intelligent first cause of all things. The various relations which animals bear to men—their use, their dependance, their hostility, are shewn to be illustrations of the power, wisdom, or goodness, of the Creator. As a conclusion to this first part of his work, our author very properly calls the attention of his readers to the noble powers and faculties of man, as strong additional evidences of the existence and perfections of the Supreme Being.

From this sketch it will be readily perceived, that Mr. Watson does not in this investigation interfere with Dr. Paley. We subjoin an extract from the first part of this treatise, which will in part clearly evince this, and afford a specimen of our author's manner. Dr. Paley thinks but little of the evidence that astronomy furnishes; it did not suit the peculiar nature of his argument. Mr. Watson regards the heavenly bodies as well adapted to display the being and the excellences of the Creator. He has accordingly in a popular and familiar manner shewn that the glory of God is strikingly manifested in the firmament. He thus speaks of the moon:

"This light (viz. of the moon) is wisely proportioned to the seasons and climates that most need such assistance. This distribution is so apparent, that it cannot fail to call the attentive observer to notice the wisdom and goodness of such an appointment.

"In summer when we have little occasion for this additional light, the arch that the full moon describes in these months, is a small portion of a large circle. Her duration is then very short. She barely shows her full orb, and descends to visit climes that require more of her friendly aid. In these northern latitudes, she makes a short range above our southern horizon, nearly about the same compass that the sun takes during our shortest day; and in many cases her stay is even much shorter. She is then little wanted, and is therefore but little seen and very little regarded.

"Whilst, during the winter season, and our shortest days, the full moon takes a wide circuit, rising far towards the north, and passing our meridian in a high elevation, she descends in our western boundary, and generally near the same place that the sun sets in our longest day. Her stay above our horizon is during the whole night; her duration is nearly equal to the sun's duration in our longest day, and sometimes much longer. (This depends upon her latitude at the time.) At this time in the depth of winter, mankind most want her benefit, and therefore at this time it is shared out to them in the greater degree.

"In the highest latitudes, and the further removed from the benefit of the sun, the full moon continues the longest, endeavouring to supply that want to the inhabitants. In our northern hemisphere, the further north that any country is removed, so much a greater share have the inhabitants of the winter's full moon.

"What I have said here with respect to the benefits of this planet, applies equally to both the northern and southern hemispheres. They enjoy all a share in her benefits in proportion to their wants.

"Now, if we were to reverse the case, and suppose the full moon in summer should take a wide range above our horizon; and, on the contrary, that in winter she should hasten her departure, coming forth only to shew her full orb, and descend suddenly and leave the world in darkness, we should certainly censure the wisdom of the appointment, as bearing in it no marks of benevolence and goodness. But this is not the character of any part of God's works; the more they are sought into and the better they are understood, the more marks of beneficence do we find.

"It may be argued, that these benefits arise entirely from the mechanism of the universe, and are governed by fixed and stedfast laws. This, most certainly, is the case; but who has constituted these laws? and who planned this wonderful frame of nature? The answer to this question leads us to the ac-

knowledgment of the wisdom and goodness of the Great First Cause."

"During the months of the harvest, the full moon continues with us much longer than during any other months of the year. At that period she hastens her rising, as if to call on the husbandman to collect the fruits of the earth under her friendly assistance. During the first seven or eight days after the full, you will find her generally up before the light of day has totally forsaken the skies. From the first to the last of these eight days, the difference between the time of rising will in general be found to be less than two hours. This difference, however, varies in different places; and there is some variation in the same place in different years. The principles and causes of this appearance, this is not the place to examine and explain. A slight acquaintance with the globes renders the whole phenomenon perfectly intelligible. It is sufficient here merely to state the fact, and to call the attention of those, who may not have considered this appearance, to the examination of a fact, which affords a pleasing testimony of the care and goodness of our heavenly father.

"This becomes a phenomenon more striking, when compared with the full moons in the opposite seasons of the year. During the spring season the full moons quickly pass away. The second or third night after the full, she rises late, and in a night or two more it is very near morning before she makes her appearance. At that season the husbandman has no great occasion to prolong his labours in the field. At that time, generally cold and uncomfortable, it would be neither pleasing nor suited to his health to expose himself to the severity of cold damp nights. But during the months of harvest, when the gathering in of the fruits of the earth is the important labour of the husbandman; when the sustenance of the whole year depends very much on his diligence at that season; when he is under the necessity of using every exertion to prevent the uncertainty of the seasons; and when these months are generally soft and mild; our great parent and benefactor gives them extraordinary assistance, by sending to us sooner and protracting longer the stay of the friendly moon. All his works praise him, and bear testimony to his providence and care. *And oh! that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.*"

Having in the conclusion of the first part of this treatise shewn that man is formed for religion, Mr. Watson proceeds in the second part to exhibit in the same familiar manner the evidences of the truth of christianity. He insists chiefly upon those which are usually denominated internal. He shews that the evidence we have is the best that can be desired; and taking the prominent parts of this evidence as it is usually exhibited, he illustrates

them with much ability and effect, and in a manner suited to the common capacities of mankind. We cannot enter into an analysis of this part of the work, nor is it necessary, as Mr. Watson takes no new ground. If he has produced any observations not usually to be found in treatises upon this subject, it is in the concluding chapter, in which he examines some collateral evidences, and particularly the institution of the Lord's supper. We were much pleased with the following very just and striking passage:

"In this institution, we meet, not only with a remarkable instance of his knowledge of the heart of man, by that accuracy with which he foretells their several failings, which were faithfully accomplished, but also of his insight into futurity, by assuring them that he would still have a church and a people to celebrate the benefits conferred by him on the world, and to preserve the remembrance of his dying love. What other can be that command which contains the essential parts of this institution, *Do this in remembrance of me?* Never was there a time so unlikely for its accomplishment. He was the next day to be crucified, and all his disciples would abandon him: and these things he also foresaw and foretold. The continuance of his church was not then an accidental circumstance, which arose from a combination of unexpected events, neither within the knowledge nor subject to the direction of men; but an event long foreseen and provided for by him, who is our great lord and head.

"Had he foretold this event a few days before, when riding in triumph to Jerusalem, we might have considered it as a fortunate prediction, thrown out in the enthusiasm of his greatness and ambition; and that it had been brought about contrary to all probability. But it is delivered at a time when, to all human appearance, he had not the smallest prospect of a church, or so much as a single follower; at a time when he saw himself within the grasp of his relentless enemies: it was within a few hours of his being led to mount Calvary, to undergo an ignominious death. It was amidst his very preparations for this death, that he gave forth that command, *to do this in remembrance of me.* The next day he knew he was to be crucified, his enemies were to triumph over him; and who, after this, would either dare or chuse to remember him? After this tragical end, the disciples do not seem to have entertained the smallest idea of ever again acknowledging Christ. Concealed in different lurking places in Jerusalem, or wandering dejected and solitary in its neighbourhood, they only thought that *it was he who should have redeemed Israel;*

but meeting with this dreadful disappointment, they seem totally to have abandoned this hopeless and ruined cause.

"Their state of mind during this suspense was singular and distressing; they never blamed their master, they never urged that they had been deceived: bewildered in the greatness of their grief, and the extraordinary change that they had so lately seen, their love never sinks, and yet they dare not hope.

"They believed not his resurrection when it was first announced to them, and some of them refused to believe even the testimony of the whole disciples when they affirmed this great event.

"It is scarcely possible to bring the evidence of the gospel to a severer test. If there had not been something extraordinary in his character, how can we account for their rallying again after this fatal dispersion, and their firm adherence to him ever after? Now we have, in this ordinance, a standing monument to convince us of the truth of his prediction, and all its circumstances; and the whole history of the world, and both friends and enemies, must acknowledge its accomplishment. From his cross a church instantly sprung up, it increased rapidly, and hath extended its arms to the different quarters of the world; and the experience of eighteen hundred years assures us, that he has been remembered, remembered in this very ordinance, and that remembrance must endure till Christ come again.

"Go back again to this important scene: behold the Saviour of the world, assembled with his disciples for the last time before his sufferings; see the father of this little family taking his farewell of his children, delivering to them his dying command, and fixing a period for the duration of its observance. Every thing corresponds exactly to this prediction. The scene throughout, not so awful and sublime as the wonders of nature at his crucifixion, yet speaks to us in calm but strong language, which all nations and ages hear, *truly this was the son of God.*"

Upon the whole, we can venture to promise our readers that they will find great pleasure, and much valuable instruction, from this performance. It discovers sound judgment and rational piety; and in the hands of many to whom Dr. Paley's Elements would be of comparatively little service, may be of considerable use to confirm their faith, and at the same time to suggest some lessons of practical utility. The style in many parts betrays a north Briton; and is throughout less correct than the value of the work required, and less polished than the nature of the work allowed.

1804, at the Lecture founded by the Right Reverend William Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. By ROBERT NARES, A. M., F. R. S., F. A. S., Archdeacon of Stafford, &c. 8vo. pp. 371.

THERE is no subject, we believe, in the whole compass of theological inquiry, attended with so many difficulties as that of prophecy; particularly that branch of prophecy which is usually produced from the Jewish scriptures; by Christian writers, as relating to the Messiah. These difficulties have been felt and acknowledged by the soundest divines and the ablest critics, and several attempts have been made to remove from so very important a part of the Old Testament the obscurities which prevail in it, and the apparent inconsistencies which arise from the usual and the reputedly orthodox mode of interpretation. Mr. Nares, however, has been perplexed by no difficulties himself, and consequently has not felt the necessity of preventing or removing such as some of his readers may have experienced. He enters into no investigation of those passages which both Jews and Christians have denied to be applicable to Jesus of Nazareth: he disdains to regard the connection in which they appear; or if he ever throws out a hint that other events than those which distinguished the life of Christ might be originally predicted, he removes every difficulty by the magic touch of a type, or a double sense. There are many inquirers whom this will not satisfy; but for inquirers the arch-deacon's work does not seem intended. He treads over the old ground, removing no impediments, nor exhibiting any additional light.

"Prophecy may be usefully characterized, as a *miracle*, of which the testimony remains in itself. It is a miracle, because to foretell events, to which no chain of circumstances leads, no train of probabilities points, is as much beyond the power of human agents, as to cure diseases with a word, or even to raise the dead. But that actions of the latter kind were ever performed can be proved, at a distant period, only by witnesses; against whose testimony cavils may be raised, or causes for doubt advanced. But the man who reads a prophecy, and perceives the corresponding event, is *himself* the witness of the miracle: he sees that thus it is, and that thus, by human means, it could not possibly have been.

"A prophecy yet unfulfilled is a miracle at present incomplete; and these, if numerous, may be considered as the seeds of future conviction, ready to grow up and bear their fruit, whenever the corresponding facts shall be exhibited on the theatre of the world. Will the sceptic then say that a man should disbelieve

even his own knowledge, when it bears witness to circumstances so extraordinary? As well might he say it, as reject the testimony of miracles, merely because it gives evidence to facts of very unusual occurrence. Yet, in the instance of prophecy, absurdity can hardly go so far.

"The Holy Scriptures are thickly sown with the seeds of prophecy, from the beginning even to the end; and these have been gradually developed throughout the history of man; and will be more and more unfolded to the consummation of things, respecting this present world. A series of prophets, it has been already observed, was given to the nation of Israel, to preserve them from the abominable superstitions, and idolatrous divinations, of the nations among whom they dwelt. But this was not the origin of prophecy. It originated in the earliest period of the world, from God himself, who foretold to Adam and the Patriarchs the distant hopes of restoration and redemption, provided for the human race. The prophetic spirit was next communicated to the Patriarchs, and rested more especially upon Moses; whose inspiration had at once a retrospect to the period of creation, and a view to the redemption of man; and even to the most distant fates of the chosen people, whom he had conducted out of Egypt. It was imparted, through a series of prophets, till the completion of the canon of the ancient scriptures. It was again poured out, without measure, upon our blessed Saviour, and was continued to his apostles, till the second canon of the scriptures was also closed, by the Revelation given to St. John."

Upon these principles the plan of these lectures is formed.

"The great and general bond of union between the covenants is, in truth, that of PROPHECY; by which the Holy Spirit has miraculously connected the beginning and the end of the world. Wherever man is found, there also are the pervading rays of DIVINE PRESCIENCE, either tending to our Saviour, and marking him out as the MESSIAH of God; or proceeding from HIM, and giving light to the faithful, even till the final day of universal judgment.

"Prophecy, in its most intimate connection with christianity, has this extent and compass; and our blessed Saviour gave an account only of one division of the subject, when he explained, in the ancient scriptures, the prophecies that related to himself. It was, however, as much as could at that time be given. His own predictions, with those of his apostles, and such of the Jewish oracles as extend beyond the period of his first advent,—all these are to be weighed by a christian of this day, if he would contemplate the whole

force of prophecy, as applicable to our Saviour, and to those who call upon his name.

"This, therefore, is the kind of view proposed to be taken in the present Lectures; I. First, *comprehending the prophecies that relate to our Saviour, as Author and perpetual Head of the Christian Church*: II. Secondly, *those which foretel the fate of his disciples, whether adverse or prosperous, from the time of his departure from them, to that of his last most solemn advent*. These will form two grand divisions of the subject."

In seven successive sermons the prophecies relating, or thought to relate, to our Saviour are enumerated. From the books of Moses are produced the prophecy given to Adam concerning the seed of the woman; the promises made to Abraham and to Jacob; the benediction of this latter patriarch upon Judah; *the prophecy of TYPES*, such as the passover and other observances amongst the Jews: the prediction of Balaam, and the declaration of Moses respecting a prophet that was to be raised from the midst of the Jewish people. From the time of Moses to that of David, no direct prophecy concerning the Messiah is known to have been delivered. In the reign of that king it was foretold that Solomon should be settled in the house of God, and in the kingdom, *for ever*, and that his throne should be established *for evermore*. This Mr. Nares concludes must refer to the Messiah, though he acknowledges that "it might require, perhaps, some persuasion to convince us that this divine oracle had in truth so exalted a meaning and reference, were it not confirmed by other circumstances." p. 132. These circumstances are deduced from a few passages of scripture with which this has no connection! David himself then comes under consideration in two points of view: 1st, as a type of the Messiah; and 2dly, as an inspired person, enabled to foretel his advent, his sufferings, his glory, and his everlasting kingdom. To trace whatever may be applicable to our Saviour in the Psalms of David, Mr. Nares asserts, would be to transcribe a large part of those sacred hymns. He therefore confines himself to those passages which are actually cited in the New Testament. The Psalms particularly, but yet briefly, noticed, are: the 2d, 16th, 22d, 41st, 110th, and 118th. Upon this subject Mr. Nares has produced an authority, which by all good Christians will undoubtedly be esteemed of very great weight. "The apostate spirit himself, (he gravely observes, p. 165.) according to the narrative of the evangelists,

confessed that the Psalms were prophetic of the Son of God; for he said in the course of his temptation, alluding to the 61st Psalm, 'If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, he shall give his angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands shall they bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.' In this, as in some other instances of evil spirits, reluctant testimony was borne to the truth, by those who were most alienated from it."

Solomon is then cited both as a type of the Messiah, and likewise a prophet. His predictions concerning the Messiah are said to be found in the 132d Psalm. The sixteen prophets then pass under a very hasty review; and all except Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Habakkuk, are asserted to have prophesied of Christ.

With Malachi closed the series of prophecies under the Jewish dispensation. Four hundred years ensued, during which the divine oracles were silent. Then came the fulness of time; and the subject of prophecy appeared, and began a new series of astonishing and important predictions; some now fulfilled, others waiting the time of their accomplishment.

"Messiah was certainly to be a sovereign, of whose kingdom there was to be no end: but Jesus expressly declared, that his kingdom, as man, was not of this world; and that his triumph would be hereafter, in the clouds of heaven. Conformably to this right interpretation of the ancient prophecies, our Saviour predicted the treachery of one disciple, the consternation and desertion of the rest, and his own death upon the cross. His view, however, rested not here. He looked forward to his resurrection and ascension; to the effusion of the Holy Spirit upon his apostles; to their successful preaching in all the world; to the rejection of the Jews, and the conversion of the Gentiles; events which, though impossible for human sagacity to foresee, certainly took place, and justified his words. With more minute exactness did he foretel that judicial visitation of Jerusalem (at that time in the highest degree improbable), when its state and polity should be destroyed, and its magnificent temple levelled with the dust. This prediction, strictly limited to time for its fulfilment, is, of all that ever were given, the most exact and circumstantial, and affords, therefore, the most perfect proof of miraculous foreknowledge in the prophet who pronounced it.

"Various other particulars, then hidden from every mortal eye, and discoverable by no analogy which could be founded on the course of human events, were predicted by our blessed Saviour. Such as the persecution of his disciples; the fortitude of some, and

even the particular fate of others; the divisions and dissensions of christians among themselves; and the secure permanency of the church, under every circumstance of external or internal disadvantage. These things, which have always been fulfilling, from that time to this, and will be to the end of the world, are standing proofs of divine knowledge, in him by whom they were foretold;—proofs incapable of refutation or contradiction.”

The prophecies by our Lord, and his disciples, are then arranged by our preacher, under ten different heads, and very briefly and imperfectly discussed in the three concluding discourses:—1st, The rejection of the Jews and call of the Gentiles; 2d, The preaching of the gospel throughout the world; 3d, The persecutions of the apostles and their converts; 4th, The destruction of Jerusalem; 5th, The fate of Rome and its conversion; 6th, The rise of Mahomet and the Saracenic power; 7th, The rise and character of Antichrist; 8th, The conversion of the Jews; 9th, The general prevalence of the

gospel; and 10th, The universal resurrection, and day of judgment.

We have thus given a faithful outline of these lectures, from which our readers will be able to form some good judgment of the nature and extent of the information they convey. We are sorry that we cannot congratulate the lecturer upon having fully answered the intention of the right rev. founder, by adding to the evidence of “the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the christian in particular.” Nor can we congratulate the inquirer after religious truth upon his having a rational and a safe guide through the intricate mazes of prophecy, in which so many have been bewildered and lost. One principle pervades the work, which is manifestly unfounded; that the language of the jewish prophets, which the writers of the New Testament have applied to Christ, must necessarily have been originally spoken in reference to him: and frequent passages occur to which many sincere believers will not be able to assent, and by which the sceptic will not be favourably impressed.

DOCTRINAL AND CONTROVERSIAL THEOLOGY.

ART. XI. *The Christian System unfolded, in a Course of practical Essays on the principal Doctrines and Duties of Christianity. In Three Volumes, 8vo. By THOMAS ROBINSON, M. A., Vicar of St. Mary's, Leicester.* pp. 433, 499, and 539.

THE author of this work is not unknown to the religious world. He is a person of some consideration in the daily increasing class of those who denominate themselves ‘True Churchmen,’ amongst the adherents to whom he has gained celebrity, by a large, ‘Treatise on Scripture Characters,’ and by some tracts of less magnitude and importance.

“The chief attention of his life,” he informs us, “has been occupied upon the subjects of the work which he has now submitted to the public eye, not merely in the retirement of his study, but in the active performance of his ministerial duties. He has been labouring, not without effect, to establish among the people of his charge what he conceives to be the fundamental principles of the gospel, and upon them as a firm basis to erect the superstructure of christian morality, of solid devotion, and of vital holiness. And now, with a view to their spiritual progress, and in the hope that his instructions may be remembered with advantage after his personal services on earth are terminated, he sends to them from the press the substance of what he has invariably delivered from the pulpit.”

We cannot convey to our readers any information respecting the design of this work better than in the words of the author:

“His plan has been, after considering the strong and decisive evidences of the inspiration of the Old and New Testament, and attending to that state of mind with which they ought to be received, to investigate what is their grand object, and what their most important contents. They were undoubtedly designed to communicate the knowledge of the true God and of his will concerning us. They exhibit his character in the varied perfections of his nature, and call upon us to yield to him all possible reverence, love, and obedience. They describe his formation of the earth, and the peculiar administration of its government by himself.

“Man is introduced to our view as a creature of high excellence and dignity, as bearing the image, and constituted the vicegerent, of Jehovah. But he is also represented as having fallen from his original eminence, and sunk into a deplorable state of depravation and misery.

“Here the system becomes unspeakably interesting. To console us in our distress, to rescue us from merited and impending ruin, a divine person interposes; and to him give all the scriptures witness. He is the grand subject of revelation: ‘the alpha and omega, the beginning and the ending.’ It is therefore requisite that we fix a large share of our attention upon him, and enquire what are the offices he sustains, and by what means he procures reconciliation for us. We behold him relinquishing the glories of the heavenly world.

and voluntarily submitting to the deepest humiliation and sufferings upon earth. He saves by various methods; and in the accomplishment of this great work a distinct consideration is given to his teaching, his example, his righteousness, his atonement, his intercession, and his government.

"Another divine person is introduced in this vast economy, co-operating with the Saviour, and fulfilling his gracious purposes. The Holy Ghost claims our adoration, affiance, gratitude, and love. By the most amazing process He recovers men to the knowledge, the similitude, the service, and the enjoyment of God. He brings them to the present possession of the blessings of redemption; He forms their character; He guides, preserves, and cheers them; and gradually prepares them for the fruition of the eternal inheritance reserved in heaven for them.

"Our attention is then directed to this 'chosen generation,' this 'peculiar people,' whom the Lord has saved. They are distinguished, not more by their high privileges and consolations, than by their steadfast perseverance in moral and religious duties. The rule of obedience is proposed, its extent is shewn, and its excellence vindicated. The servants of God are also men of prayer, and are daily surrounding the throne of grace with their importunate petitions. They are instructed what and how they should ask, and are assured that they shall obtain the blessings they supplicate. They are considered also in a collective capacity, are incorporated into a spiritual society, and by certain divine institutions they maintain communion with their heavenly Father and with each other. Such is the Church of Christ on earth; and all its faithful members are in succession removed to a better world, where the whole company will shortly be assembled together, and, receiving their 'perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul,' shall reign with their exalted Head in glory everlasting.

"These are the outlines of the system here proposed, and the author does not hesitate to pronounce that the representation is scriptural, and contains the substance of genuine Christianity."

In filling up these outlines, the author has chosen to throw his system into the form of essays, of which there are, in the whole work, *ninety-eight*. The two first are introductory, upon the holy scriptures. Eight follow upon the attributes of the Deity. In the eleventh essay the subject of the Trinity is discussed. Eleven essays are next devoted to the consideration of Man, his creation, his fall, his misery, his salvation. This leads to the consideration of the Saviour, whose godhead, character, and office, are treated upon in the *nine* succeeding essays. These are followed by eight upon the personality, the divinity, the influences and operations of the Spirit.

ANN. REV. VOL. IV.

The fortieth essay is on true repentance, from which, to the fiftieth, the writer is occupied upon the subject of faith, its nature, its consequences, its divine origin, and its necessity. Seven Essays then claim our notice upon the nature, the progress, the completion, the author and means, the advantages and the necessity of sanctification. The fifty-eighth essay treats of christian obedience; the fifty-ninth of the comfort of the Holy Ghost; and the sixtieth of the witness of the spirit. In the sixty-first the writer endeavours to establish the necessity of keeping the commandments, meaning by them the decalogue delivered on Mount Sinai, and the nature and obligation of each commandment are discussed in fourteen succeeding essays; these are followed by one on prayer for special grace to keep the commandments. From the seventy-seventh to the eighty-fourth essay, inclusive, the several petitions of the Lord's prayer form the subjects of discussion, and these are succeeded by one on the church of Christ, one on public worship, five on the christian sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper, one on the resurrection of the body, and one, which concludes the work, on the life everlasting.

Our readers are now able to judge of the design of this work, and of the principles upon which it is conducted. The author professes 'that he has not attached himself to any leader, however eminent for learning, piety, or usefulness, and that he does not wish to raise the standard of faction, or establish any Shibboleth. Whatever appellation may be given him, he declares that he will still maintain that he has followed no other guide than the inspired volume.' We are not disposed to call in question the author's veracity in making such professions; but we beg leave to express our regret that he has so often left the guide he had chosen, to wander after objects of his own imagination, or so totally neglected the directions which his sacred conductor afforded. We have seldom seen in the same compass so many passages of holy writ misinterpreted and misapplied. No enquiry is instituted concerning the connection of the most important texts of scripture; no attention is paid to the genuine sense of the original words, to the occasion on which they were written, to the sentiments which they were designed at first to recommend or to oppose. What opinions might not thus be discovered in the sacred volume; what opinions might not thus be shewn to have

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the sanction of God's word? While theologians treat the scripture in so irreverent a manner, endless controversies must exist; various discordant and opposing creeds must be adopted and professed. Mr. Robinson very properly cautions his readers against 'setting up their own preconceived opinions, or carnal inclinations, against the bible. If it be indeed the word of the living God, it is an infallible and authoritative umpire in all doubts and disputations. We should therefore implicitly submit to its decisions, and bring all our systems, creeds, and purposes, to be examined by it.' This advice is good; but our author has exhibited, in his own instance, the difficulty of following it. He, like many others, with honest and upright intentions, have, perhaps unperceived by themselves, examined the scriptures by their own 'systems, creeds, and purposes.' The cause of religious truth is thus injured amongst those who profess to honour divine revelation; and the scriptures are brought into disrepute amongst many persons of discernment, who either, without giving themselves the trouble to enquire, imagine that the word of God, like the oracles of paganism, can be fairly made to utter opposing sentiments, or, satisfied that there can be but one sense affixed to the sacred writings, yet despairing, amidst such great variety, to discover that sense, leave the important enquiry, and treat with neglect the treasure of heavenly wisdom. We cordially agree with Mr. Robinson that the infidelity of many, and their total disregard of the scriptures, are chargeable upon the evil of their deeds; they come not to the light lest these their deeds should be reprov'd. But this is not the sole and universal cause of unbelief. It has been our lot to know some men of a sceptical disposition, but of very different characters; not 'proud philosophers,' not 'formalists,' not 'wilful and impenitent transgressors,' but men of meek and enquiring minds, sincerely desirous of fulfilling all their important duties in life, and in all the fruits of virtue more to be distinguished than many who make a noisy profession of religion, and who call down fire from heaven on all that worship not with them on their Zion. They withhold their reverence from the scriptures in consequence of seeing them irreverently treated by persons who professed a veneration for them: they deny their importance, because they observe that they are employed to justify the wildest fancies, and the most absurd opinions. We do

not vindicate such conduct; but we consider it, and would earnestly propose it to the supporters of systems, as a caution not, by a method of quoting and applying scripture which they would not adopt in respect of works of less value, to give occasion of offence to those who are not strong in faith.

Such observations as these have been suggested by the work before us; with what reason our readers shall judge from a few passages which we now select.

The following occurs in the *thirteenth Essay*.

"We begin with the understanding, and consider whether its present state be not such, as to prove that it has lost much of its original excellence. Man is still distinguished by his intellect from all other creatures upon earth. We mean not to decry the use of reason, or derogate from its importance. It is an inestimable talent, which we should do well to cultivate, and exert with diligence and fidelity, in the service and for the glory of its divine author. But, while we praise God for the precious gift, we should be aware of its degeneracy, and the injury it has sustained by the fall. This is, indeed, what few persons are willing to admit; for there is no endowment, of which we are more disposed to be proud. So just is the observation of Zophar, 'Vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt.' The description is instructive, but very mortifying. He aspires after knowledge which was never designed for him, and of which he is utterly incapable; he is conceited of his intellectual powers, as if they were able to discover and comprehend the nature, the attributes, and purposes of Jehovah, and considers not, that, in subjects of a spiritual kind, he may be silly compared to creatures the most ignorant and stupid. He is born so; and therefore this is universally the case, and results not from any peculiarly unfavourable circumstances, in which certain individuals may be placed. Like the animal here referred to, he is of himself, or without assistance, perfectly uninform'd, as well as altogether untractable, foolish, and perverse in the extreme, and not to be taught any thing but by severest discipline. This, it should seem, was an acknowledged truth in Job's time: may we seriously attend to it, and be deeply affected by it!"

Before Mr. Robinson ventured to lay so much stress upon this passage from Job, he should have been careful to enquire whether our translation fully expresses the sense of the original. A learned prelate has decided, that it does not; and has given a new version of it, which renders it utterly inapplicable to the doctrine of the above quotation. We shall subjoin that version with the note accompanying it, for the information of

Mr. Robinson, and the benefit of those of our readers who may peruse the essays. The observation of Zophar, according to Dr. Stock, is this :

"That the growing up person may gather sense ;

And the wild colt become a man."

And this much improved rendering of the original passage is, by the right reverend translator, thus justified and explained: "*The growing up person*] נָבֹוּ part. Pahul of נָבָו, verb. frequent. from נָבַו to germinate; see Zech. ix. ult. The intention of divine punishments is to correct the wildness of youth, and to cause the savage to become, *to be born again*, a rational creature. וְיָלֵד is used in the sense of becoming, or being rendered, Prov. xvii. 17. as Scott remarks." See Dr. Stock's Version of the Book of Job.

Again, p. 256, 257. Mr. Robinson observes: "Our very hearts, the fruitful source of abominations, are offensive to God; and therefore it is that we are *"by nature* the children of wrath." He sees, and must see, with abhorrence, that "lust of the flesh," that "carnal mind," that "*φύσιμα σαρκος*," which is enmity against him. This is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that is naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam,—which in "*every person born into this world dereroveth God's wrath and damnation*."

Here indeed is assumed somewhat of the appearance of learning; but what good end it is to answer we are at a loss to discover. The genuine import of "carnal mind" is not explained by quoting the original, *φύσιμα σαρκος*; nor is the phrase *by nature*, as used by the apostle, interpreted by the larger characters in which it is printed. These expressions are taken completely from their connection to serve the purpose of a system, and the sense which, according to the tenor of the apostle's argument, they must bear, is either entirely overlooked, or carefully concealed; neither of which circumstances is honourable in a professed teacher of christian doctrine.

We need not go far for another example of the fault which so glaringly pervades this performance. In the very page from which we have made the last extract, it is said,

"To the transgressor even of one precept it (i. e. the law) shews no mercy: for what is its language? "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things,

which are written in the book of the law to do them:" nor is its sentence light. It dooms the sinner to final and everlasting misery. It declares him to be accursed of God: and that curse, if not removed, must issue in everlasting destruction." And again, p. 258. "The law discovers our true state, and pronounces our doom. 'For by the law is the knowledge of sin; it worketh wrath; the commandment which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death; it is the ministration of death and condemnation.'"

Are the reasonings of the apostle urged upon the Jew to prove the wisdom and necessity of abandoning the Mosaic dispensation, and of adhering solely to the more liberal principles of Jesus, to be thus applied without any discrimination to the state of those who were never subject to its authority? Is the christian system likely to be unfolded by any one who heaps text upon text, without any consideration of their primary meaning?

He who undertakes to explain or defend opinions which are usually deemed of high importance, should be extremely careful to take no ground from which there is any danger of his being driven. The success of an adversary will weaken the confidence which it is his object to gain; and the detection of one unfounded argument will induce a suspicion of the validity of all the rest. Mr. Robinson does not appear to have considered this when he wrote the following paragraph in his twenty-third essay. Vol. I. p. 307.

"St. John admonished his christian brethren to beware of idolatry; but it is idolatry to give divine honours to Christ, if he be not God in the proper and full sense of the word; and yet the apostle, whilst delivering the caution, declares with peculiar emphasis, 'This is the true God and eternal life.'"

A careful perusal of the whole passage, of which this is only a part, immediately points out the antecedent to "*this*." In our common version (but not in the old English versions), an unwarrantable liberty has indeed been taken which might embarrass a mere English reader; but Mr. Robinson ought to have known what the original really teaches in this passage, and how clearly the most eminent critics, whose orthodoxy is beyond suspicion, have proved that the antecedent is *him*, not Jesus Christ. Our reverend essayist, fearful of the "subtleties of criticism," see p. 306. seems very cautiously to avoid

that exact and scrupulous enquiry into every passage, and into every construction, and into every term, which is necessary in one who would teach the *christian* system.

A few lines below the passage we have just quoted, Jude is said to style Jesus "the only wise God." Here the author refers to the doxology in this epistle, beginning thus: "To the only wise God our saviour." And is Mr. Robinson so little versed in the language of scripture as not to know that the epithet "saviour" is applied to the Father?

We cannot refrain from laying before our readers an instance or two more, though the character of our author, as a critic in scripture, may have been already shewn with sufficient clearness.

"To the Philippians also he (i. e. Paul) declares his firm determination to renounce all reliance upon his own obedience and attainments, and his fervent desire and expectation to stand complete before God, as considered only in his saviour: "That I may win Christ," said he, "and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." These are clear and incontrovertible testimonies, that St. Paul looked for eternal life as procured for him by the merit of his Lord and master, and that he taught men every where to cherish the same hopes. We need not fear to follow such an example, or to adopt his expressions, however unfashionable they may now be, in laying down or explaining our system of faith."

If this part of the system depends upon the text here quoted, it must fall. Here, as before, no attention is paid to the meaning affixed by the apostle to the terms *law* or *righteousness*, nor any account taken of the connection in which they appear, apparently for no other reason than that enquiries of this nature would have prevented the passage from being adduced. But is it thus, by refraining from a strict regard to the situation as well as to the import of the leading terms, that a knowledge of the christian system can be obtained?

We select the following from the essay on the influences and operations of the Spirit.

"In our Lord's last solemn address to his disciples, who were dreading his departure from them, he suggested to them for their consolation, that his place would be supplied, and his gracious purposes carried on, by the continual presence and effectual working of the Holy Ghost. On this consideration, above all others, he grounded his exhortations to them, and his expressions clearly shew, that

the promise was intended, not for them only as individuals, but for the benefit of his church in all ages. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the spirit of truth.—And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." "The world" is too extensive a term, in whatever sense we understand it, to be confined to the apostles, or even to the christians of their day; and the whole passage amounts to an engagement on the part of Christ, to support his faithful people at all times, and to bring men to the knowledge and experience of his salvation, by the energy of the Holy Ghost, who alone can effect it."

Is the term *world*, indeed, a term too extensive to be confined to the christians of the apostles' days? How then did it happen that our Lord himself applied that very term to the unbelieving Jews who had hated him, and were to hate his followers? Compare John chap. xv. 18, 19; also chap. vii. 7. Why then did this evangelist in his first chapter call the Jewish people *the world*? Chap. i. 10. Why has Paul in so many passages distinguished the Gentiles by that term? What then is meant by that term, when in John xiii. 19, it is said, "the world is gone after him?" What—but why need we multiply such questions? They are readily answered by any one moderately versed in the knowledge of language. We refer Mr. Robinson to that excellent lexicographer Schleusner. In his invaluable lexicon, Nov. Test. art. *κοσμος*, No. 4. β. he will find many other passages than those to which we have directed his attention, demonstrating that the term has frequently, a confined or limited meaning. "Significat, observes Schl. ut *mundus* apud Latinos, *magnam hominum multitudinem*, ex contexta oratione definiendam." But Mr. Robinson is one of those interpreters of scripture who despise the *contexta oratio*.

We could fill many pages with extracts and remarks similar to the preceding. But we must forbear. What we have said, it must be evident, proceeds from no wish to controvert the system which the author believes has the sanction of scripture; but from a cordial desire of seeing the word of God more reverently treated, and of entering our protest against a practice so injurious to true religion, as that which pervades these volumes. In a work avowedly popular, we do not look for elaborate disquisition or learned criticism; but we expect, and justly expect, that it should be the result of very accurate investigation, and minute enquiry;—and

though it be not encumbered with erudite annotations, yet, that it admit nothing which may not be successfully vindicated. From almost every page of this performance, we are justified in the conclusion, that the author has not *studied* the scriptures. He has read them much, it may be; and no small portion appears to have been committed by him to memory: but the enquiries, on what occasion, to what persons, with what particular views, evan-

gelists or apostles have written, he seems not to have instituted. With what hope of satisfaction then can any one apply to this work for assistance, in examining the true nature and extent of christian doctrine? Mr. Robinson's system of faith, indeed, he will find amply detailed; but if the remarks we have offered be just, there is reason to doubt whether that be in every respect such as is taught in the writings of the New Testament.

ART. XII.—*Letters to the Rev. Thomas Belsham, on some Important Subjects of Theological Discussion, referred to in his Discourse on Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Joseph Priestley, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. &c. By JOHN PYE SMITH. Second Edition with some Improvements. 8vo. pp. 129.*

ART. XIII.—*A Vindication of certain Passages in a Discourse on Occasion of the Death of Dr. Priestley, and a Defence of Dr. Priestley's Character and Writings, in Reply to the Animadversions of the Rev. John Pye Smith; in Letters to a Friend. By THOMAS BELSHAM. 8vo. pp. 109.*

IN the discourse which has occasioned these letters and the reply, Mr. B. spoke of calvinism, as 'a tremendous doctrine,' adding, 'that had it really been taught by Jesus and his apostles, their gospel might truly have been denominated not the doctrine of peace and good will, but a message of wrath and injustice, of terror and despair.' He also further stated, that 'Dr. P. viewed calvinism as the extravagance of error, as a mischievous compound of impiety and idolatry;' to this he himself assented, and scrupled not in addition to call it 'a pernicious system.' In mentioning the controversy that had passed between Dr. Priestley and Dr. Horseley, Mr. B. had likewise said that 'notwithstanding the overbearing temper, and the great talents and learning of his adversary, Dr. Priestley was completely victorious.'

Provoked by these insulting words of

the Unitarian Goliath, Mr. S. (a young tutor at a calvinistic academy, though no calvinist himself) like another David, comes forth to check the insolence of the bold opposer of the armies of orthodoxy. But not with the skill, the prudence, or the success, of the shepherd youth. He disdains the sling and the stone, and demands a panoply. Encumbered with armour which he had not sufficiently proved, his attack is hurried, his blows are feeble, he seizes upon stations which he cannot maintain. When his strength is thus fruitlessly spent, the giant advances: fewer indeed are the blows he deals, but heavier and surer do they fall; and the stripling, though he owns it not, is vanquished. We cannot enter into the detail of this contest: our readers will be interested in perusing it for themselves.

ART. XIV.—*Ἀπερὸν Ἀναστασις; Or a New Way of Deciding Old Controversies. By BASANISTES. 8vo. pp. 194.*

THIS facetious controversialist has prefixed to his work the old motto—*ridendum dicere sermō quid vetat?* and he attempts to refute the orthodox faith by what he deems a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Speaking in the assumed character of an adversary of 'Unitarian heretics,' he thus propounds the nature and design of his attempt.

"In this alarming period of prying research, when men, destitute of chivalrous sentiment, rudely examine the awful fane of orthodox devotion, and expose to unhallowed eyes the holy shrine of ineffable mysteries, it becomes a most necessary branch of religious prudence to remove our orthodoxy still farther

from vulgar apprehension, and to shelter it within more mysterious folds. The manner in which this pious work may be most effectually accomplished, is a question of considerable magnitude. To me it does not appear to be safe policy to give any ground to our adversaries, or to confine ourselves to defensive operations: but I apprehend, the surest way to preserve our orthodoxy inviolate, is to make bold and unexpected advances on the hereticks—to flash the coruscation of some new divinity against them, which, like the ægis of Minerva, shall petrify them with astonishment. Obvious as the wisdom of this conduct appears as soon as it is mentioned, yet I confess it was first suggested to me by the noble trope, so happily applied by a late most devoted servant to the priesthood, and

an admirer of orthodoxy: when the vessel of state was too heavy, and ready to sink on one side, he ran to the opposite side in order to preserve an equilibrium. In like manner, since Unitarians have run into the extreme of inculcating simplicity of worship, and since the world is so much inclined to side with them, that the catholic faith is in danger of being upset; the orthodox on the contrary, may create a counterpoise to the love of simplicity in the human mind, by adding to the objects of worship, and multiplying incomprehensible mysteries. In conformity with this captivating idea, I am happy to think that I can give them incalculable weight, by adding one to the two infinite minds or persons, with which they have already improved our notion of the Deity. By this unexpected device, I have every prospect of suddenly turning the scale, and of exposing the heretics aloft, in their turn, in a curious attitude. The Trinity thus will be a point gained, and a subject at rest, at least for many years; and the contest in future will be about the Quaternity, or some other nity.

"To secure this important advantage, most fortunately, I have no occasion for invention or ingenuity: I have only to search for the arguments of the orthodox since the time of Athanasius, a few of which will fully answer my purpose. I am also confident of an active support from the Orthodox, who cannot desert their own principles; though perhaps I can expect only a tardy cooperation from some very pious souls, who are smitten with a devout love for a triangle, and from some cautious politicians, who may be apprehensive lest they might destroy the decisiveness of a casting vote, by adding one to their odd number of divine persons. Against the prejudice of the former we shall find a remedy as we proceed; and let me here remind the latter circumspect gentry of an improvement, which has been made in most of our courts of law, in which one person has been added to the three on the bench, with manifest advantage to the public. But I have no great desire to weaken their attachment to odd numbers, provided they remove to a farther distance from a clerical unitarianism, and provided they include, in their scheme of orthodoxy, that person whom I shall now propose.

"The person, whose apotheosis I contend for, is the Jewish legislator: and I shall prove it to the astonishment of all heretics, by such arguments as the Orthodox will be proud to acknowledge for their own. 'There are certain attributes or perfections, which solely belong to, and characterize the Supreme Being: these cannot be ascribed to any creature: wherever we find these perfections as-

cribed to any being in the scriptures, we have the fullest assurance that such being is God; both because they are incommunicable in their own nature, and because God hath declared he will not give his glory to another, Isaiah xlii. 8. But these perfections are ascribed to the person whose apotheosis I contend for 'in the scriptures, therefore, he is very and eternal God. This I shall prove by the most clear testimony of God's word.* 'The instant this bold advance on the Unitarian is announced, all the truly Orthodox will reassume their courage, and will anticipate a complete triumph over our astounded adversaries. At the outset, I have extricated my party from a serious dilemma, in which the Unitarians vainly thought we should stick fast for ever. They have continually indulged their malice, by demanding from us in our distress, to mark out precisely some medium between Tritheism and Sabellianism†. This spiteful requisition is now impertinent, because we are no longer concerned about the former extreme: tetrathism should henceforward be mentioned in its place, which is infinitely removed from tritheism: and between this infinite accession of infinity and Sabellianism, it will be very hard indeed if we shall not be able to find out some medium. Many other pleasing prospects open suddenly upon us. If Unitarians are not past all feeling, we may expect that they will discover remorse, for having reprobated the Orthodox as polytheists and manufacturers of almighty persons, when I shall shew that the latter are to be blamed only for their great moderation in this manufacture. Our modesty is no less conspicuous than our moderation, since we have long enough contented ourselves with the title of trinitarians, which is held in great contempt by heretics, when we might easily have assumed the more sonorous and honourable title of quatuorarians."

Agreeably to the purpose thus expressed, our author proceeds sometimes in a delicate, sometimes in a coarse strain of irony, to apply to Moses some of the leading arguments which have been incautiously advanced to prove the divinity of Jesus Christ. Unitarians may be amused by this production, and confirmed in their reputed heresy, but serious trinitarians will be displeased at the manner, and not convinced.

The author himself is indeed aware—

"That the pious reader may sometimes wish, that this argument might have been carried on, without the free use of the most sacred name; but if he should perceive a fault

* Short defence of the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ by an anonymous author, published at Leeds. As I shall sometimes have occasion to quote this publication, which has received the highest encomiums from some of our first-rate writers, I shall call it in future—short defence.

† Sabellius taught that there is a plurality of moles or characters in the divine nature; but a unity of person.

in this respect, I believe he will not say that it rests with me, unless he should think it an unjustifiable proceeding, to repeat and submit to his censure those unworthy ideas of the nature of God, which are expressed in a few documents of great notoriety, and which are defended by persons, who set the greatest value on the form of godliness. On the contrary, he will perceive, that the real intention of my

argument is to cause the name of our Heavenly Father to be hallowed."

We have little doubt of his intention, but we hardly think it will be effected. They who cannot be reasoned out of their trinitarian faith, will not be laughed into unitarianism.

ART. XV.—*The Anti-Satisfactionist; or the Salvation of Sinners by the Free Grace of God: being an Attempt to Explode the Protestant, as well as Popish, Notion of Salvation by Human Merit, and to Promote the Primitive Christian Doctrine of the sufficiency of Divine Mercy for all who are Penitent: in Three Parts.* By RICHARD WRIGHT. 8vo pp. 412.

IT appears from an historical notice prefixed to this work, that it is published, chiefly, in consequence of a controversy, 'respecting the truth or falsehood of the notion of Christ's having made satisfaction for the sins of men,' which has lately appeared in a monthly publication entitled the universalist's miscellany, and in which Mr. Wright took a considerable part. Mr. Jerram, a clergyman in the establishment, was at length excited in opposition to Mr. Wright, and in the same miscellany, to defend the doctrine of atonement.

"I replied to Mr. Jerram (observes Mr. Wright) in a series of letters, which were inserted in the same work. To my answer Mr. Jerram did not think proper to offer any reply; though the magazine was still open to him. However he, in consequence of my reply, made some material alterations in his letters, suppressed some passages, dropped some reasonings, and substituted others, &c. In this improved state he republished his letters; but, though he availed himself of my reply in correcting and altering them, he carefully avoided dropping the slightest hint that any reply had been published. Hence I thought duty called upon me to republish my answer, that it might have a more general circulation, and that I might meet my opponent's arguments in their present form: but, judging it best to treat the subject more at large, I have penned the following work, which is now submitted to the examination of the public. Criticisms and references to the original I have as much as possible avoided, it being my wish to adapt my reasoning to the common reader: I have had recourse to these only when justice to the cause of truth seemed imperiously to demand it."

The author sets out with a few preliminary observations, in which he takes 'a general view of the way of acceptance with God, as taught by Moses and the prophets, by Christ and his apostles.' He then enters upon the great object of his work; first, stating the doctrine of satisfaction in the words of its defenders, such

as Luther, Calvin, various synods, confessions, and articles; Flavel, Baxter, Beveridge, &c. &c.; and placing in a parallel column such passages of scripture as he conceives afford a refutation of these. In a second chapter he attempts to refute the doctrine of satisfaction by argument. He next endeavours, with the assistance of Priestley's history of the corruptions of christianity, to account for the rise of the doctrine among christians, and its continuance to the present day; and in a fourth chapter, in answer to a question which he is aware may be proposed, what he would substitute in the place of this doctrine, he replies, the salvation of sinners by the free grace of God, and explains the terms of this reply.

In the second part of this treatise Mr. Wright enquires concerning the doctrine of atonement: he investigates the meaning of the term, the authority upon which its use in the English version of the new testament rests, and asserts, that it should rather be *reconciliation*. The doctrine of atonement he denies, and contends for that which teaches the reconciliation of men to God by means of the gospel. The letters originally published in the universalist's magazine, in reply to Mr. Jerram, follow. The writings of the old testament are then examined for the purpose of discovering what they teach concerning the death of Christ, and many remarks are offered on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; the object of which is to shew, that this, as well as every other passage of the Jewish scriptures, is totally silent concerning the death of Christ as a vicarious sacrifice. A few general thoughts upon the subject of sacrifices succeed, which throw no new light upon the much agitated questions of their origin and design. All the texts of the new testament, usually cited by the advocates of the doctrine of atonement, are then brought under a review: the

author is not content with 'a bare exhibition of them, though he thinks that would be sufficient to discover to the candid and serious enquirer after truth, how destitute their hypothesis is of plain and positive proofs;' but he gives a brief exposition of them according to his own system. As several of the offices ascribed to Christ have been supposed to favour the doctrine of atonement, our author proceeds to offer some remarks upon these. He enquires into the meaning of the terms mediator, surety, propitiation, advocate, and intercessor; he attempts to explain what is to be understood by Christ's being made sin, and a curse; by his agony in the garden, and his exclamation on the cross; and lastly, to prove that the phrase *for Christ's sake* is a mistranslation.

In the third part of his work Mr. W. very briefly enquires into the nature of the death of Christ, its design, and the connection which that event had with the dispensation of the gospel and the salvation of men.

We will enter into no controversy with this author upon the subject which he has thus discussed. That he is an opponent of popular creeds and confessions will be evident from the outline we have given of his work. Whatever may be the value of his arguments, we will bear our testimony to the general ability and the truly candid temper with which they are managed. We subjoin the following specimen:

"Satisfaction demanded implies injury received by him who demands it, and a capability of receiving compensation; but God is no more capable of receiving injury than he is of doing injury, or than he is of receiving benefit. Job xxxv. 6, 7, 8. 'If thou sinnest, what doest thou against him? or if thy transgression be multiplied, what doest thou unto him? If thou be righteous, what givest thou him? or what receiveth he of thine hand? Thy wickedness may hurt a man as thou art, and thy righteousness may profit the son of man.' Chap. xxii. 2, 3. 'Can a man be profitable unto God, as he that is wise may be profitable unto himself?—Is it gain to him that thou makest thy ways perfect?' Psa. xvi. 2, 3. 'O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord, thou art my Lord; my goodness extendeth not unto thee: but to the saints that are in the earth.' As God is absolutely independent, above all influence, incapable of sustaining injury, or receiving benefit, from any one, it is impossible he should demand and receive satisfaction, or an equivalent for his favor to sinners.

"But it is argued that, though he cannot be personally injured, his justice was injured, and that it was his justice required satisfaction:

this affects not the argument; for what is his justice separate from him whose justice it is? Can justice, viewed abstractedly, be a person capable of acting and suffering, of receiving injury and compensation? The justice of any being is the rectitude of his conduct, the equity of his ways; and, surely, the rectitude of the divine conduct was not diminished, nor the equity of God's ways interrupted, by the evil actions of his creatures. Justice can neither demand, nor receive, any thing, but as some one demands and receives it in the name of justice; therefore to say that the justice of God demanded and received satisfaction is, in effect, the same thing as saying God himself demanded and received satisfaction. Sin is no where but in the creature, all its effects are restricted to the creature, and all the injury done by it is done to the creature: consequently, it is in the creature that reparation for the evil produced by sin is required: and this reparation can only be made by the restoration of the sinner to purity and happiness: in other words, by the removal of the evil from those who are the subjects of it: this is effected, not by an innocent person suffering in their place and stead, but by their reformation and recovery to the paths of rectitude.

"It may be said, though God is not injured by our sins, yet the good of the moral system is, the interests of our fellow creatures are; and consequently satisfaction was necessary. To this I reply, whatever injury had been done to the moral system it could not be repaired by the cruel murder of an innocent person, which is spoken of in the new testament as a gross violation of moral principle: there seems no way of repairing the injury done to the moral system, but by the reformation and future good conduct of those who have done it. However the interests of creatures may be injured by sin, it is not possible to compensate that injury by any thing but the amendment, and future right actions of those who have been injurious."

"Again, the notion of Christ's making satisfaction for sins establishes the doctrine of merit, yea even of human merit. Its advocates are continually talking of the merits of Christ, and that they expect all blessings from God on the ground of the merits of Christ: as if God would bestow no favor unless some one had merited it! Yet the phrase, merits of Christ, is not to be found in the new testament. It is fully admitted, that the merits of Christ stand very high with respect to us; we owe him the warmest gratitude and praise, as the medium by which all the blessings of grace and salvation are communicated to us; the favor which he manifested to us was great indeed: though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that we, through his poverty, might become rich; he sacrificed his own life to effect our salvation, and he still lives to carry on the work; but, however great his merits with respect to us, however great the obligations we are under to him, he never

claimed any thing of the Father, either for himself or sinners, on the ground of his merits, but received every thing as a free gift. His apostles never mentioned his having merited any thing at the hand of God, either for himself or others; but, on the contrary, they ascribe every thing he hath received, and every blessing he bestows to the gift of his Father; which is incompatible with the doctrine of satisfaction. Our opponents talk much of the merits of the death of Christ, as the only ground on which sinners have a right to expect salvation; and they sing—

'Tis by the merits of his death
'The Father smiles again;'

as if God would have been eternally frowning upon the world if Christ by his dying groans had not appeased his wrath, and induced him to smile on his own works. The merit of Christ's death must be human merit; for it was the man Jesus who died. Many of our opponents admit that it was the man, or human nature, only, that died. They contend that the same nature that sinned must make satisfaction for sin; but it was human nature

only that sinned. The merits of his death could only be the merits of him, or that, which died, which is acknowledged, even by our opponents, to be merely human; for, after all they say about the Godhead of Christ, they acknowledge that the Godhead could neither suffer nor die. Hence it appears that the merit of Christ's death is, even on the ground of our opponents, human merit: and it is by his death, they suppose, he made satisfaction for sins: it follows that the satisfaction scheme changes the doctrine of salvation by grace for that of salvation by human merit."

Many like ourselves may be unable to assent to the interpretation which Mr. W. has given of several passages of scripture; but he is entitled to the praise after which every theologian ought to aspire, of having scrupulously weighed the meaning of every scriptural term which he produces in support of his system; and of having paid a strict regard to the connexion and original design of most of the passages which he has quoted.

SERMONS AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

ART. XVI.—*Sermons by SIR HENRY MONCREIFF WELLWOOD, Bart. D. D. and F. R. S. Edinburgh; one of the Ministers of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh; and Senior Chaplain in Ordinary in Scotland, to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.* 8vo. pp. 480.

WE have already remarked that our list of sermons for the present year is more than usually long, but at the same time honourably distinguished by several valuable volumes. Among these, the labours of the rev. baronet justly deserve to be ranked; and if they have not any 'peculiar' they have certainly very 'powerful' claims to the attention of the public. And we are persuaded that they will be 'neither useless nor unacceptable' to many who have not the felicity of belonging to the congregation among whom the author has laboured thirty years, for whom these discourses were originally prepared, and to whom they are now chiefly addressed. The character of this volume may be easily given. The subjects which the preacher has discussed are weighty and important—the manner in which they are treated is worthy of the momentous topics employed—grave, dignified, impressive—the style chaste, unencumbered with showy ornament—but not destitute of eloquence. 'The doctrines and the duties of christianity are represented as inseparably united, in the faith and practice of those who embrace it; those doctrines which are in unison with the established creed of the church to which the preacher belongs, are in a few pages brought forwards, but not ex-

tensively: throughout the volume the author appears actuated by the maxim with which he concludes his preface—that 'practical religion is of much more importance than the solution of difficult questions, and the sanctification and salvation of those who profess the gospel, than the soundest opinions.'

This volume comprises fourteen sermons, upon the following subjects: 1, On the unequal allotments of Providence; 2, On the minute improvement of the blessings of Providence; 3, On self-denial; 4, On the form of godliness; 5, On christian faith and morality; 6, On the result of good and bad affections; 7, On the inheritance of a good man's children; 8, On the doctrine of grace; 9, On the conduct of Providence to good men; 10, On the general spirit and effects of christianity; 11, 12, On the universal promulgation of christianity; 13, Prospects of futurity; 14, On the cultivation of personal religion.

Of these sermons, if we were required to select the most interesting and important, we should name the second, the third, the sixth, the seventh, the ninth, and the tenth. From one or two of these we shall subjoin some extracts, to justify the good opinion which we have expressed concerning this volume.

The subject of the second sermon is deduced from these words, recorded by John: 'Jesus said to his disciples, gather up the fragments that remain that nothing be lost.' And the preacher selects as examples to illustrate the minute improvement of the blessings of providence, suggested by these words: the fragments of the provision made for our temporal necessities; the fragments of our time; the fragments of our private comfort or of our personal advantages; the fragments of our health, or of our vigour. The two first of these are common topics, and the merit of the preacher, in discussing these, consists, as might have been expected, not in introducing new thoughts, but in placing old truths in a striking and impressive point of view. The two last, though not less important, have been, we believe, less generally noticed, and are here set forth with great ingenuity and force.

Having briefly but severely rebuked the temper which is generally manifested under the loss of blessings once enjoyed, the preacher proceeds thus:

"There is scarcely any situation in human life, in which there are not many comforts remaining, whatever the blessings are, which have been taken away. This is an unquestionable fact, though we were not to consider the cases, in which providence compensates by subsequent events, the heaviest calamities which we can experience. We may have lost what we valued as our best advantages, and may regret them with a degree of tenderness which supposes that their place cannot soon be supplied. We may have nothing more than 'the fragments' of our most precious blessings, which were once entire. But it is possible, that, by the grace of God, the faith which is purified by sorrow, may enable us to make more of 'the fragments' than we were able to attain by the full extent of our advantages. We are not to sink into despondency, whilst we are still permitted to enjoy many blessings, for which we give thanks to God: whilst in the use of them there is still a duty which we feel to be binding on us, a good work which we have still the opportunity of fulfilling, a service which we can still perform to those around us, or a good example, which the blessings which we still possess can enable us to shew them; or if, whilst 'we suffer affliction by the will of God,' there is still a friend who helps our infirmities, whose face we can cheer by our gratitude, or by our sympathy, or by our patience, or by our trust in God.

"If we are still capable of activity and of active duties, no deprivation of past satisfactions will justify our inactivity. Much less can it entitle us to indulge the despondency, which looks only to the grave. On the other hand, if we shall estimate at their true value

'the fragments which remain' to us of private or personal comfort, and shall use them faithfully, as the means of fulfilling the duties which we are not permitted to relinquish, they will grow or will be multiplied in our possession by the influence of God. If we shall persevere till we reap the result of them, one satisfaction will be added to another, and God may be pleased 'to bless our latter end,' like Job, even more than the happiest part of our past time.

"No man can have a right to reject the advantages which are left with him, or to relinquish the duties which he can still fulfil, on account of the blessings which have been taken away. We may have good reason to regret that which we no longer possess. But as long as our probation lasts, much will remain after all that we can lose, which we are bound both to value, and to employ for discharging our indispensable duties."

Nor are the remarks under the last example 'the fragments of our health or of our vigour,' less forcible or important.

"Every man of understanding acknowledges our obligation to apply our talents to the business of human life, or to the ends of our probation for the world to come, as long as we are capable of exercising them. It is impossible seriously to doubt that our personal duties must be indispensable, as long as we have the means of fulfilling them.

"But when the doctrine is applied to practice, we are apt to take very different views of the subject. Though it is a truth fully established by experience, that it is best for every man, in the present life, and most for his advantage as an immortal being, to persevere in the active duties of his condition, as long as it is possible for him to discharge them; there is nothing which men more generally allow to dwell on their thoughts through life, than the idea, that a time shall come, long before they die, when they shall be able to relinquish their usual or professional occupations, and to spend the rest of their time, without labour or exertion, in the enjoyment of their private or domestic situations. Few in comparison ever permitted to realise an idea, which so many allow to occupy their imaginations. Of those who are enabled to relinquish their labours, if their lives are prolonged, the greater part have reason to repent what they have done. By the change produced on their habits, and by want of use, their faculties are gradually impaired, as the sources of their activity are diminished; and they meet with chagrin and disappointment, where they expected to have found nothing but satisfaction or tranquillity.

"I do not say that those who have retired from the bustle of affairs cannot employ, and employ faithfully, 'the fragments' both of their health and of their vigour. They have certainly much in their power, if they consecrate their leisure to real duties, and keep their talents occupied as they ought to be;

much which relates to the discipline of their own minds; much which can be done in domestic life, for the advantage of the old or of the young, to whom they can give their attention or their time; much by which they can be useful to those whose characters they can influence, whose hands they can strengthen; whom they can assist in their difficulties, or comfort in their sickness, or furnish with the means either of prosperity or of religion.

"Those who apply the decline of life to such purposes as these, do not retire in vain from the bustle of the world. If they embrace heartily the opportunities of usefulness which they still possess, nothing is lost which they are capable of attaining. That which they do in secret for the glory of God, or for the advantage of their fellow mortals, is sanctified by the prayer of faith, and shall be accounted to them as good service, in 'the day of Christ.'

"But though I say this, I have no hesitation to add, that those who abide by their active occupations from a sense of duty, and who employ the last portion of their talents where they spent their vigour, have much better reason to expect, that both their usefulness and their personal comfort shall be continued as long as they live.

"No good man's conscience will suggest to him that he ought to become weary of his labours. He who delights in the service on which his duty or his usefulness depends, can have no wish to relinquish it. He is anxious to persevere in the duties which he can in any degree accomplish, even when he is conscious of his decline. He looks up to God, to whom he thinks he shall soon return; and though he knows that his summons to die cannot be distant, it continues to be the first wish of his heart, that he may be found employing the last portions of his health and life, in the duties of his proper place.

"A man who is able to preserve this happy temper of mind to the end, has a far better prospect, than other habits could afford him, of possessing the vigour of his faculties to his last hour; and therefore of extending his labours and his usefulness far beyond the ordinary term of human activity. He hears the voice of his master, urging his duties and his fidelity on his conscience, till his strength is gone: and he does not lose the impression of it, till the last spark of life expires."

In the tenth sermon preached in Edinburgh, before the directors for the asylum for the blind, the rev. baronet very ably illustrates this important doctrine—

"That relief to the miserable, and the general instruction of the poor, essential characters of the Messiah's reign, as described by the prophets, were leading and peculiar features of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it was promulgated by himself and his apostles; that they have universally followed its progress, through all the ages and countries which it has hitherto reached;

and that, as well by means of those who have not believed, as of those who have sincerely embraced it, they have universally produced the most extensive and salutary effects, on the conditions of human life."

The whole of this discourse is deserving of the serious and attentive perusal of every unbeliever, and suggests many gratifying reflections to every enlightened disciple of Christ. Having shewn what was the aspect of christianity among the poor, during the personal ministry of our Lord, sir Henry justly observes:

"Before I attempt to trace its progress farther, it is necessary to remark, that both the distinguishing characters which I have supposed to belong to it were at this period almost entirely new to the world, and are not to be found either in the history or in the institutions of the ancient nations.

"We are not to suppose men of any age or country to have been destitute of the feelings of humanity, or incapable of exercising them. But those who are acquainted with human nature know well, how these may be controuled or perverted, by their superstitious, by their laws, by their inveterate prejudices, or by their general manners.

"There were virtues among the ancient nations which we read with a glowing satisfaction, and relate with pride and reverence. But their compassion for the helpless or the sick among the people, the kindness of the great to the poor, their provision for the old, or for the dying, among the lower orders, or their general sympathy with their conditions, were certainly not among their virtues. Setting aside what we find in the history of Judaism, there has not come down to us one trace or vestige of compassion to the miserable, to the sick, or to the dying, among the common ranks of the people, which was sanctioned by the religion, or by the government, or by the institutions, or by the general manners of any ancient nation.

"This fact is so well established, that a serious argument has been maintained in modern times, in defence of the ancient system of slavery, founded on the assertion that it held out to the great body of the people the only effectual security which they possessed, against the miseries of sickness, of famine, and of age.

"If this is in any respect a just view of the preceding ages, it is no wonder that it should be given us as a distinctive character of the Messiah's reign, that, as the great deliverer and restorer of our fallen race, he was every where to heal the sick, and gladden the blind, and bind up the broken heart, and 'to comfort all that mourn;' and that mercy to the miserable should be represented to be as much a peculiar, as it is a universal, character of the dispensation, over which he presides.

"The instruction of the great mass of the people, was a circumstance not less new or peculiar. The wisdom of the most enlightened

nations of antiquity was confined to the schools of their philosophers. Their religion was wrapt up in impenetrable fables and mysteries, which but a few individuals were allowed to examine. The knowledge which the people at large were permitted to acquire, was only calculated to rivet on their minds the terrors of the most abject, irrational, and depressing superstitions. While the art of printing was not yet discovered, and the people were effectually excluded from all the means of information, which have become so accessible in modern times, all culture and all real knowledge were of necessity confined to the higher orders of men. The instruction of the people could be no object of attention, and never was attempted. They were universally left to labour and to ignorance.

"We may no doubt recollect, that in the free states of Greece and Rome, a certain portion of information was inseparable from the spirit of liberty, and from the effects of the eloquence employed to work on the passions of the multitude, either in public trials or political contentions. But it is not difficult to form an estimate of all the useful knowledge, which can be traced to this source, which, in its best state, had certainly little influence to promote either the virtue or the happiness of the people. And if this kind of information is excepted, which was accessible to a very inconsiderable number of the human race, the people of the ancient world were effectually excluded from every source of instruction beyond the perceptions or the observations of an uncultivated mind.

"It was therefore no common attribute of public teaching, that it was given universally to all the orders of human life; and it was, of consequence, a character of the Messiah, as new as it was peculiar, that he preached the gospel to all the people, 'to the wise and to the unwise,' to the priests and to the slaves; that he preached it through all the land; and preached it to the lowest of mankind."

In that part of the discourse in which it is the object of the preacher to show that the relief of the miserable, and the instruction of the people, have distinguished the gospel from the first age of the world to the present times, we meet with the following passage; which we quote, not as containing any thing new, but as deserving of being frequently inculcated upon those, who, for want of due deliberation, are accustomed to undervalue the gospel.

"It is impossible to calculate the effects of the knowledge which was rapidly spread from Judea through all the world. 'The people who sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death, saw indeed a great light;' and the knowledge of the doctrine of salvation by the son of God, was followed by a thousand sources of light and information, from which the people had been effectually excluded in

all the preceding ages. Indeed, the effect of the promulgation of Christianity to all orders of men, to disseminate every other species of information, as well as its own peculiar doctrines, and its immediate and general influence on the manners and character of those who embraced it, cannot be either questioned or disguised, by those who have bestowed any attention on the history of the times. The emperor Julian, who renounced christianity, and who laboured, with indefatigable zeal, to bring back the people to the ancient superstitions, saw so much of the effects of the christian discipline, and of the regular instruction given by the ministers of the gospel to the great body of the people, that, with a view to give the same advantages to the heathen superstitions, he proposed a form of discipline, a system of public instruction, and even an institution for alms, after the model of the christian churches, to be adopted and incorporated in the temples of idolatry. No consequences followed from this design; for before the experiment could be tried, the emperor's death put an end to all his frenzy. The fact, however, is a demonstration from the mouth of an enemy, of the power and success, with which christianity was seen to have spread a general light and knowledge among the people.

"The corruptions in the christian church, which were imperceptibly multiplied, till they at last produced the monstrous usurpations of the church of Rome, gave the first great check to the general information, which christianity had diffused. After the people were no longer permitted to read the scriptures, and were confined to a worship performed in an unknown tongue, the human understanding was soon in worse fetters, than it had ever worn; and the ignorance and barbarism of the dark ages followed.

"On the other hand, it is a fact equally certain, that the reformation and revival of the christian church in the sixteenth century, was the signal of light and knowledge returning to the world. The general knowledge of the scriptures diffused among the people—the zealous and enlightened exhortations of the first reformers—the art of printing begun at this critical time—the books which the reformation produced and circulated—created a new era in the history of the world; and spread, more than ever, the sources of substantial information through every country.

"We have been more indebted for the superior light of modern times, and for the modern improvements in every art and science to the influence of christianity, and to the means of information which it has created; to the effects of its doctrines, of its spirit, and of its progress; than to all other causes whatsoever. 'The gospel, preached to the poor,' has added much indeed, to the resources, both of the rich and of the wise; and has done so, by preserving in its progress, the same general and peculiar characters with which it was at first promulgated by Christ and his apostles."

The eleventh and twelfth sermons, upon the universal promulgation of the gospel, contain many valuable observations; but we fear that the preacher has not accurately interpreted that passage of scripture—the 24th and 25th chapters of Matthew's gospel, upon which these sermons are founded. The events there predicted have, surely, all received their accomplishment; and once the gospel of the kingdom was published throughout the world. Infidelity has taken a strong hold

amidst the concessions which have been incautiously made on this and other subjects connected with these chapters; and she cannot be completely dislodged till those concessions be removed. Upon this topic no one has treated so ably as Mr. Nisbett, and we recommend his writings to the attention of the rev. baronet, and to all who are desirous of understanding the history of the founder of christianity, and the epistles of his earliest ministers.

ART. XVII.—*Discourses, chiefly on Devotional Subjects. By the late Rev. NEWCOMB CAPPE. To which are prefixed, Memoirs of his Life. By CATHARINE CAPPE. With an Appendix, containing a Sermon preached at the Interment of the Author. By the Rev. WILLIAM WOOD. Also a Sermon on occasion of the death of ROBERT CAPPE, M. D. with Memoirs of his Life. By the Rev. C. WELLBELOVED. 8vo. pp. 484.*

THE author of this posthumous volume was not altogether unknown to fame; though he retired from the public eye, and spent all his life in a distant provincial town, almost uninterruptedly occupied in the study of the scriptures. During the American war he published several fast sermons, which obtained for him the character of an eloquent and faithful preacher, and the admiration and esteem of many eminent persons. In the latter part of his life, when he was disabled by severe attacks of the palsy for performing the accustomed duties of his station as a minister, he gave to the world a series of discourses on the providence and government of God, which have been deservedly admired for the comprehensive view they take of an important subject, and the eloquent and energetic manner in which the practice of piety is enforced, and its consolations recommended. Since the author's death, two volumes of critical remarks and dissertations, on many important passages of scripture, have been published, which, however variously the novel principles that they contain may be appreciated, must be universally acknowledged to display great research, and great erudition, and to suggest, upon some topics, enquiries of no trifling and unimportant kind.

A more acceptable present could not have been offered than that which the judicious editor has here made to the public. From the memoirs of the learned author prefixed to the Critical Remarks, in which many extracts from manuscript sermons were inserted, as well as from former specimens of his talents as a preacher, we were prepared to expect that, should the editor be induced to publish a selection of

discourses from those which his patient industry had rescued from the oblivion in which they must otherwise have been buried, they would prove eloquent, pious, adapted to improve the understanding, to amend the heart, and to enforce the practice of holiness and virtue. Our expectations have not been disappointed. A volume, such as we ventured in the name of the public to solicit, is now before us; and we will assure our readers that, although the English press has teemed with the discourses of able and eloquent divines, it has sent forth few that can claim a superiority to those with respect to any excellence that ought to mark a work of this nature.

The editor has done wisely in prefixing to these discourses the very interesting and improving biographical sketch, originally drawn up for the Critical Remarks. A few alterations have necessarily been made, but none of them are of great importance.

The volume consists of *twenty-four* discourses. The three first are upon *faith*, which the preacher, with much ingenuity, demonstrates to be a reasonable, a desirable, and an important principle, not enthusiastic, nor independent of evidence, nor peculiar to religion; but a principle upon which the most contemptuous scoffers act in the commonest concerns of life—a principle suited to the wants and imperfections of the human mind, and introducing those who embrace it to the most delightful entertainments. The *four* succeeding discourses have been selected from a series which was composed and delivered by the author under the severest pressure of domestic afflictions, amongst which the death of an amiable partner,

the affectionate mother of six children, was not the lightest. Let the reader of these bear this information of the editor's in mind, and the pious lessons they inculcate will reach his heart with greater force. In the first we are taught the unreasonableness and the folly of undue anxiety respecting any future evils that may arrive; and, in the three that succeed, we are taught the duty of joining prayer with thanksgiving, under such afflictions as no anxiety has been able to prevent.

The exclamation of the psalmist, 'Lord I am thine,' affords the subjects of the *seventh* discourse, in which many useful reflections are suggested from this weighty and consoling truth, that *man is the property of God*. The *eighth* and *ninth* discourses are employed in describing the obligations, the importance, and the reasonableness of the love of God. In a very forcible and eloquent manner, the preacher proves that,

"The love of God is one of the most natural operations of the human heart, the most obvious and self-approved direction of its sentiments; for it is to admire, what is perceived to be truly admirable; to esteem, what is infinitely worthy to be esteemed; and to cherish in our hearts with complacency and delight, the idea of what confessedly deserves our supreme affection: it is, to cultivate a grateful sense of kindness that exceeds our tenderest thoughts, and of beneficence that passes knowledge.—To be devoid of the love of God, not only betrays an unnatural opposition to the dictates of self-love, and of charity; but also to that other powerful and amiable principle, by whatever name you call it, which recommends all moral goodness to our hearts. It implies a strange insensibility to our own happiness, to the happiness of our brethren, and to the noblest obligations; a criminal prostitution of our affections, and a perverseness and inconsistency of character, alike wretched, deplorable, and guilty."

But reasonable as the love of God is in itself, and essentially necessary to our own happiness, and the preservation of our virtue, the preacher is aware that there may be some difficulty in preserving and cultivating this divine affection: he therefore extends his enquiry into the causes from which this difficulty proceeds, and the means by which it may be best overcome. We regret that our limits will not allow of the copious extracts which we could with great pleasure select from these very valuable discourses. In some measure connected with these, are the four succeeding discourses, the most philoso-

phical, and, upon the whole, the most important in the volume. The subject of them is the *love of pleasure*, which is thus accurately defined:

"It happens that although we have names for many of our affections, significant of their general nature, significant also of the affection in its excess or its defect; yet, in very few instances are we provided with different terms whereby to distinguish it when indifferent, neither laudable nor blameable, from the same affection in its excess, in which, it is in one way criminal, or in its defect, in which it is criminal in another way. Pride, and anger, are two consurable passions; the one being the excess of that affection that is naturally excited by the consideration of what is worthy in ourselves; the other, the excess of that affection, which insults necessarily awaken. But, for these affections, in their general nature, in which they are indifferent; or in their defect, in which they are faulty, we have no appropriate terms. If we could speak of them accurately and usefully, we must describe them in several terms, and carefully distinguish them from pride and anger, which are the names only of the excess.

"From this narrowness of language arises much confusion in our ideas, giving birth to many prejudices, which in their effects may be hurtful to the comfort, and even to the good conduct of life; and hence it becomes necessary, to attend closely, and distinguish accurately, when either the nature, or the obligations of man, are the subjects of our meditation or discourse.

"For that affection, or rather for that class of affections which we comprehend under the denomination of the love of pleasure, we have only this single term to signify its general nature: we have no names to distinguish it according to the different objects it embraces, nor even to express its excesses or defects. Unless we enter into a particular description of them, we have nothing but this general term by which to express all these various sentiments, and all their different degrees. But it is obvious, that with regard to some objects of delight, our love of pleasure cannot be criminally weak, although in regard to others, it may be blameably defective; in respect to some sources of delight, it is not probable, it is not perhaps possible, that it should run into excess; in respect of others, it is very prone so to do; and there is hardly any class of pleasures, in respect of which there is not some degree of affection that is innocent, because natural and unavoidable: hence it follows, that what is true of any one thing, which we call the love of pleasure, is by no means true of all that we mean at any time by that name.

"The pleasures spoken of by the apostle, between which and the love of God we proposed to show you that there is a real opposition, are those which we derive from sensible and external objects. In respect of these, there are two different species of the love of

pleasure, which although, in the higher ranks of life especially, often combined, may however subsist apart, and when they do, they constitute two different characters; the one pursues the gratifications of a vain imagination, and forms the character of the giddy and the gay; the other, the gratification of the inferior appetites, and forms the character of the carnal and debauched. The hearts of the one, are in scenes of dissipation and amusement, and there is their sovereign enjoyment; the delight and desires of the other, are in scenes of sensual indulgence, in making or enjoying the provision they have made, 'for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.'

The opposition which must necessarily subsist between each of these species of the love of pleasure and the love of God, is distinctly and forcibly marked, and a strong and affecting appeal is then made to the hearer, whether to the degrading and the dangerous love of pleasure he can consent to sacrifice the pure and satisfying love of God. We cannot withhold the following just and striking passage :

"If such solicitude, care, and attention, be needful to maintain and cultivate this divine affection, can it flourish, can it live in the hearts of the giddy and the gay? Will they, to whom thought is fatigue, who fly from amusement to amusement to save themselves from their own minds; will they be induced, will they be able, to abstract their thoughts from visible and external things; to fix them on God who is a spirit, whom no man hath seen or can see, and all whose excellences are spiritually discerned?—But what need have we to reason on the subject? Did ever any one expect to find a man of pleasure at his devotions? delighting in the opportunity of retiring to his closet; pleased to indulge the sacred sentiments of religion, and assiduously cultivating the love of God? Is it the men of pleasure that crowd our religious assemblies? Is it the men of pleasure that adorn our sanctuaries with a truly decent, and serious demeanour? with an appearance that betrays no constraint, no uneasiness, no impatient dissatisfaction, or indifference? Is it the men of pleasure that sanctify the day of God?—But it is not necessary in behalf of the doctrine I maintain, to multiply these inquiries; even with themselves I may lodge the appeal: it is no part of their pride that they are religious; this is a character that they are more apt to deride than to affect; they do not ordinarily even pretend to be devout.—Yet, my friends, suffer not yourselves to be deceived; let no man conclude that because he hath not fully arrived at the open contempt, or even at the total neglect of religion and religious ordinances, that therefore he is not a lover of pleasures, more than a lover of God. True religion cannot subsist with the love of pleasure, but the form of godliness may consist with and encourage it. The offices of devotion, both public and

private, may be performed, may be regularly and habitually performed from very different motives, and for very different ends. To nourish the spirit of devotion, to promote the love of God, they cannot be performed, where the love of pleasure is the ruling principle;—to deceive the world, to deceive the persons themselves, they may. Try your devotions: do you mean to be really religious, or to appear so? In reflecting on them, do you consider the fruits of genuine piety that have arisen out of them; or, are you more disposed to attend to the merit you think there is in them; and under the consideration of this merit, to excuse or to connive at those indulgences, of which you have at least some suspicion that they are not right? If it be so, your piety is irreligion, and however unwilling you may be to believe it, however averse to have others think so, you are indeed lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God."

The author then proceeds to specify some marks or signatures of that character in which the love of pleasure fatally prevails; and the whole enquiry concludes thus :

"My friends, you have much to do with God; yourselves and every thing in which you have any interest, are absolutely in his hands. You have far more important transactions with him than any that you are conscious of in this world; it will not be very long before the youngest of this audience will find it so. The time will come, I could tell the day beyond which it will not be deferred, but the day before which it will come, I cannot tell; the time will come when you will find this world vanishing away, and another opening upon you, this world of trial ending for ever unto you, and a sense of everlasting recompence commencing. You know as well as I do, would to God that you would let the idea sink deep into your hearts, that the round of this world's pleasures will not last for ever. The rose will fade, the eyes grow dim, and the heart grow faint, and all that is of this world become incapable of administering, even a momentary cordial or amusement. You know as well as I do, would to God that you would let the thought take possession of your souls! that the time will come when the warmest appetites will be cold, when the acutest senses will be dull, when the liveliest fancy will be languid, when the giddiest sinner will be serious, and the drowsiest conscience awake. The time will come, of which your preachers have so often warned you, when your bodies shall be undistinguishable from the dust that lies before the wind, and when that dust shall have as much interest in the gaieties and sensualities of those upon whom it falls, as you! Long before that time arrives, the day may come upon you, when, on a dying bed, while you watch for the moment that is to stop that beating heart, you shall look back upon the life that you have spent, and forward into the eternity that is to receive you. In that awful

season, whence will you derive your comfort? To whom will you apply yourselves, to pleasure, or to God? I have seen devotion triumph in the arms of death, but you need not wait until that awful period, to be perfectly persuaded, that pleasure cannot triumph there. It is not the remembrance, that you have loved pleasure more than God, that can give you confidence when you are entering into his presence! it is not this conviction that can comfort your attending friends: if you love them, if you love your own souls, let God have your first attentions, let your duty regulate your pleasures.

"The considerations that have been addressed to you, are considerations by which you ought to be impressed—you think so yourselves. Some of you, perhaps, are impressed by them. Cherish the impression. No artifice has been employed to fix any false impression on you. It is the simple truth that has been set before you, you will find it to have been such, ere long. Carry the ideas, carry the sentiments that have been suggested to you into every scene of pleasure into which you go; that you may never at any time be affected by such scenes, otherwise than you ought to be affected; that your pleasures may never be of any other kind, or of any other measure, of repetition, or concurrence, than is innocent and laudable; but being perfectly consistent with the spirit of devotion, and with all that the Lord your God requires of you, while you live may be pursued without remorse or suspicion, and, when you die, reflected on without apprehension or regret."

Some instances of very desirable effects produced by these excellent discourses have, we are told, already occurred, and we doubt not that they will be eminently useful in rescuing many from the fatal stream of lawless pleasure and of heedless gaiety.

To these succeed two discourses of a very ingenious and pleasing character, on the appearance of Christ, after his resurrection, to Mary Magdalene. In our progress through these, the object of which is to shew the causes of Mary's joy upon the unexpected discovery of her master and friend, we were fully convinced of the justness of a remark which occurs in the conclusion:

"That it is not a formal, careless, or cursory perusal of the sacred history, that can discover to us all its beauties, or set in its just impressions to our hearts. This can be attained only by attentive meditation, and reiterated reflection on the scenes and circumstances of the events, and on the feelings and language of the agents. Without this, many of the beauties of the sacred story will lie hidden from us, and therefore many things that might have confirmed our faith, and through that, our virtue, as well as many things that

might have exercised the good affections of our hearts, will remain undiscovered."

The same remark is admirably illustrated in the three following discourses upon the words of the angel at the empty tomb, "Come see the place where the Lord lay." From these words Mr. Cappe has suggested many new and beautiful thoughts, and derived no weak additional evidence to that of which we were before in possession, of the reality of that event upon which the faith and hope of the christian are built.

The *nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first* Discourses are on David's Morning Hymn of Praise. The 19th Psalm is well explained, and the glory of God, as displayed by the heavenly luminaries, is pleasingly illustrated. The *three concluding* Discourses are of a very peculiar and very interesting kind. They are entitled, *On the Use and Improvement to be derived from severe Illness*; and were composed and delivered by the author, "on recovery from a fever, by which he had been confined to his bed several weeks, and his life despaired of many days." Many extracts were given by Mrs. Cappe, in the first edition of her Biographical Sketch: it is therefore unnecessary for us to say more respecting these impressive discourses. We cordially join her in the hope and the expectation that many yet unborn may profit by the labours and the example of this excellent author, and thus have cause to join their thankfulness to that of his family and connections, for the recovery which enabled him to suggest such awakening and important truths.

One excellence in this volume we must not omit to mention, and to recommend to the notice of those who publish sermons for the use of families: a short prayer is added to all except the two last discourses, suited to the general train of thought in the discourse to which it is affixed. Much pious sentiment is found in these prayers, expressed in simple and impressive language.

We cannot take leave of this volume, by which we have been so much interested, and we hope improved, better than in the words of the editor herself:

"It is true, indeed, that a spirit of devotion is not the spirit of the times; yet some persons, surely there are, who wish to discriminate accurately between sterling piety, which leads to every thing great, and noble, and consolatory, and that wild enthusiasm which erringly assumes its honoured name—some, who would wish to keep strictly within the bound-

day beyond which, pleasure, even innocent pleasure, assumes a different character—to

persons such as these, the Sermons here presented to them, cannot be without their value."

ART. XVIII.—*Discourses on various Topics relating to Doctrine and Practice. By the late Rev. T. KENRICK. In two Volumes, 8vo. pp. 391 and 373.*

THIS, like the preceding, is a posthumous publication, of considerable value; the work of a well known and very respectable character amongst that class of protestant dissenters, which is distinguished by the title of Unitarian. It appears in consequence of a request preferred to the author's widow, by the congregation of which he had been long a pastor, and which, upon his unexpected death, was desirous of having some durable memorial of his virtues and his talents.

"The object (observes the editor) proposed in the selection of the discourses which compose the two volumes now laid before the public, has been, not to form a work which might recommend itself to any religious party, by favouring its sentiments exclusively, but, as far as possible, to exhibit the opinions of the author, whether they concurred with those of others, or not. Every man, who thinks for himself, is likely to differ in some points of importance, even from those with whose views his own may, for the most part, coincide, and with whom he may, therefore, be commonly ranked by some discriminating appellation. Mr. Kenrick *did* think for himself; nor did he hesitate to declare the result of his reflections on all proper occasions. It would not therefore have been to do justice to his character, to have kept back any of his discourses, merely because they were distinguished by sentiments widely differing from those which are embraced by the majority of christians. In no one instance has this been done."

The general character of these volumes will be apparent from these remarks by the editor. The greatest part of the discourses are doctrinal, and the doctrines which they are intended to recommend are such as are usually deemed heretical.

The first Discourse is entitled 'The Value of Truth and Danger of Error,' and abounds with forcible and important observations. The three following are 'On the State of the Dead;' the design of which is to prove that there is no intermediate state of consciousness between death and the resurrection; and that all our hopes of a future life depend upon that great event. The preacher's reasoning, though often specious, is not always conclusive; and in these discourses he has clearly shewn that they who insist so strenuously upon the necessity of a scrupulous adherence to the exigence of the place, and a minute examination of the genuine import of the phraseology of passages of scripture upon which any doctrine is to be

founded, are themselves too prone to violate the principles of interpretation which they wisely recommend. A dispassionate enquirer will find many texts quoted in these discourses without that strict regard to their terms and situation which so important a subject as is here discussed required.

In two succeeding sermons the character of Paul is ably vindicated from the charges of Mr. Paine; and in the seventh sermon, the epistles of that great apostle are defended against the attacks of the same rude champion of infidelity. Mr. Paine's groundless invectives against the gospel, and its earliest preachers, are now, we hope, and believe, despised or forgotten; but these discourses will be always valuable as a vindication of a truly exalted character, and as establishing this fact, that the arguments employed against christianity often betray a total ignorance of the subject on which they profess to decide; are confident assertions without proof; or, if they preserve any appearance of argument, are shewn, by a little examination, to be wholly inconclusive.' (Vol. i. p. 98.)

The destruction of the seven nations of Canaan is explained and vindicated in the eighth sermon, upon the principles usually received.

The ninth sermon, on the religious instruction of children, is highly judicious and deserving of the serious attention of parents. This is followed by one, in which the preacher endeavours to enforce the practice of giving the Lord's supper to children. Mr. Pierce and Dr. Priestley were strenuous advocates on the same side. A valuable part of this publication succeeds. 'An Inquiry into the best method of communicating religious Knowledge to young Men;' with, 'An Address to young Men at the conclusion of a course of Lectures upon the Evidences of natural and revealed Religion, and upon other important Branches of religious Knowledge.' To ministers and young persons out of the pale of the establishment, a serious perusal of these cannot be too strenuously recommended.

We gladly transcribe the following passages from the address:

"It is a truth, which cannot be too strongly inculcated upon young persons, that a regular and frequent performance of the exercises of devotion is particularly necessary for them; upon this plain principle, that the less there is

of a devotional spirit, the more cultivation it requires. Those who have long performed these exercises with proper attention, who have acquired just notions of the Divine Being, and impressed them deeply upon their hearts, may almost venture to trust themselves to the habits they have already formed: these will dictate to them such a temper and behaviour towards God, upon all occasions, as it becomes human creatures to maintain, or at least tend to strengthen and confirm the dispositions they have already acquired. The occasional omission of a religious exercise will do them comparatively little injury; but to young persons it may be of fatal consequence: by preventing them from forming a devout habit of mind, and thus leaving it to be exposed, unincultured with religion, to the corrupting influence of the world. Be constant and punctual, therefore, in observing the exercises of devotion. Avoid the practice of attending public worship one part of the day only, and still more the pernicious custom of spending the whole of the Lord's day at home, in business or amusement: a custom which, if it were to become general, would do much towards banishing all serious piety from the kingdom. You have need of all the assistance which you can obtain, and cannot neglect any without losing an important benefit."

Speaking of books, Mr. Kenrick observes:

"But I must caution you to beware of spending much of your time in a species of reading, which is very captivating to young persons, and in which the publications of the present day afford them abundant opportunity of gratifying their inclinations. I refer to such books as come under the description of novels and romances. That fictitious characters may be so exhibited, as to afford useful instruction, cannot be denied. Virtue may be drawn in such just and strong colours, as to engage our esteem and admiration; and vice represented so odious, as to excite disgust and abhorrence; impressions, which are certainly calculated to make us cultivate the one, and avoid the other. But when vicious characters are endowed with the striking qualities of genius, courage, generosity, and pleasing manners (as is generally done, in order to render them interesting), these qualities lessen that horror, which we ought to feel, at the sight of great crimes, and tend to impair rather than strengthen virtuous feelings and habits. To say that characters of this kind, in which some of the worst vices are united with many excellences, are natural, that is, occur in real life, is indeed to assert no more than what is true; but yet that does not destroy the force of my objection; for they are not characters with whom any one, who has a regard to his own moral improvement, would choose to have frequent and intimate intercourse; and what is injurious in real life, must be so, in some degree, when exhibited in fable. If, besides producing this evil, these writings give men false ideas of human life, and encourage ex-

pectations of happiness, which can never be fulfilled; if they exhibit such scenes to the imagination, as tend to inflame passions, commonly too violent already in young persons, they become still more exceptionable.

"The objections just mentioned hold, with still greater force, against the entertainments of the theatre; because the language and the characters are more licentious, and being a nearer resemblance of real life, are better calculated to make a strong impression upon the mind. Both species of amusement, although capable of being employed for useful purposes, are generally so conducted as to have an unfavourable influence upon the virtue and happiness of mankind. I cannot, therefore, help considering those who read novels, or see plays indiscriminately, as in danger of having their morals corrupted, and by some of them in no small degree.

"They, who are pleased with the history of individuals, will find a more useful, and not less agreeable employment, in reading the lives of men, who have taken a distinguished part in the business of life, and were, at the same time, eminent for their piety and virtue. Particularly in reading the lives of those who have endured great calamities, on account of their religious sentiments. The unparalleled sufferings of these men excite our compassion, and the deepest abhorrence of those pernicious principles and passions, by which they were occasioned; while the fortitude and magnanimity, the meekness and patience with which they were borne, fill us with admiration, and prepare the mind for passing through the scenes with the same temper; or, although similar trials should never occur to call for the exercise of these virtues, they tend to moderate our regard to the world, to which Christians are liable to be too much attached, seasons of tranquillity and peace. Many illustrious examples of this kind you will find in the history of the puritans and non-conformists in England; among the protestants throughout Europe; and among the primitive Christian martyrs, in every part of the world. Brave and generous spirits, ye were the undaunted advocates of truth; the ornaments and glory of human nature; the greatest benefactors of the human race; all ages will read your history with admiration, and your examples will inspire the heart with virtue to the latest generations."

The thirteenth sermon treats upon the much disputed subject of natural and moral evil with reference to the infinite benevolence of the Deity, with which the preacher shows the prevalence of the remission of evil is not at variance. In the fourteenth sermon, the scriptural phrase 'remission of sins,' is explained, with no little ability, upon unitarian principles. The four following sermons, on 'Good Motives,' deserve the attentive consideration of the unbeliever. The motives which Christ and his apostles proposed here shewn to have been, love of pro-

and fear of censure; rational self-interest; benevolence to men; and a regard to God.

"We see then," observes our author, after a very accurate examination of this important subject, "that Christ and his apostles recommended to men their duty by motives, which are not only rational and powerful, and therefore adapted to their purpose, but by such also as tend to improve and exalt the characters of those, who are under their influence, to raise them from one degree of virtue to another, until they attain the perfection of human beings, from the love of praise, and the pursuit of self-interest, to the practice of benevolence, to a regard to God and to conscience. From both these considerations, therefore, we may justly infer the excellence of the instructions which they delivered.

"If we compare the mode of instruction pursued by them, with that which was followed by other teachers, we shall perceive their superiority. The precepts of morality made no part of the heathen religion, nor did their priests enjoin the practice of it as necessary in order to procure the favour of their divinities; every thing that was requisite they represented as consisting in the performance of some trifling ceremony, which had no connection with virtue. Their philosophers, indeed, delivered some excellent sentiments on the subject of morals; but the motives by which they were enforced, were founded upon present self-interest, the good of society, or the good of their country. The grand motive to a good life, to be derived from the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, and from the belief of an Almighty Being, the present witness of our actions and our future judge, were left out of their system. What feeble obstacles to the violence of headstrong passions other motives afford, in comparison with these, I need not attempt to prove.

"It may now be asked, how came Jesus, who was only the son of a carpenter, and himself a carpenter, or his apostles, several of whom were fishermen, so well acquainted with human nature, as to know what motives were calculated to reach the human heart, and to give the greatest authority to those which deserve most weight? Or, if natural discernment taught them this, which is very unlikely, considering that they had escaped the discernment of the wisest philosophers; how came they, if they were impostors, to inculcate upon their followers the practice of disinterested benevolence, and to teach them, above all things, to respect the rights of conscience, and the will of God, about which impostors give themselves no concern? How came they to enjoin a contempt for worldly pleasures and honours, and for a temporal interest, and to direct us to fix our principal regards on the happiness of a future life, which happiness is to consist, not like the paradise of Mahomet, in sensual delights, but in the society of the virtuous, and in serving God with improved power? When they promised honour to those who complied with their precepts, why was it

honour from the few accompanied with disgrace from the multitude? This was surely not to act the part of impostors, who endeavour to suit their doctrine to the taste of their hearers, and who, having in view temporal and present rewards themselves, propose them to others. This conduct can be accounted for only upon the suppositions that the religion which they taught came from heaven, and that they were instructed by God himself in the motives by which it was to be enforced. If you set a value upon the best means of your improvement in goodness, you will not suffer such a religion to be easily wrested out of your hands."

The nineteenth sermon treats of the observance of the sabbath, and is distinguished by its piety no less than its entire freedom from austere and superstitious notions: and the volume concludes with a brief view of what the author deemed incontrovertible evidence of the humanity of Christ.

The second volume opens with a sermon on Public Worship; in which that practice is very ably defended. Many useful observations are found in the four following discourses: On the Fear of the Lord; the Moral Sense; against Indifference to Religious Truth; and Christians the Salt of the Earth. The twenty-sixth sermon, on the phraseology of the epistles, is a useful epitome of Dr. Taylor's key to the apostolic writings. The seven discourses which follow, are upon the doctrine of atonement, and were delivered originally as lectures to a class of young men. They are entitled, Repentance and Reformation only required in order to acceptance with God. On the design and ends of the death of Christ. The nature and design of the sacrifices of the Mosaic law explained. The figurative language applied to the death of Christ in the New Testament explained. The doctrine of Christ's atonement inconsistent with reason. On the language applied in the New Testament to the death of Christ. And inferences from the falsehood of the doctrine of atonement. It is acknowledged in an advertisement prefixed to the first, that in various places of these the author has closely followed the essays on the death of Christ, &c. published by Dr. Priestley, under the name of Clemens, in the Theological Repository. To these succeed seven sermons of a miscellaneous nature. On the necessity of providing a subsistence for public instructors, preached in aid of a collection for the support of dissenting ministers in Devonshire and a neighbouring county. Against persecution for religious opinion.

On the future existence of infants; printed before, but now published for the first time. On the value of life, and the lawfulness of wishing it terminated. On the danger of bad company, which contains several cautions that may prove highly useful to the young. A sermon preached before the western unitarian society: and Paul's valedictory prayer explained and improved.

Such are the subjects, which in these volumes are presented to the notice of the public. Their value will be variously estimated, according to the measure of orthodox faith which may have fallen to the share of their various readers. Unbiased by any partiality for the author or his opinions, or any undue attachment to

such parts of our own creed as he may have opposed, we hesitate not to avow that we have found in these discourses many evidences of an enlightened understanding, an extensive knowledge of the scriptures, and a spirit of rational piety. To the unbeliever they suggest many striking proofs of the truth and value of the revelation he contemns; to the young they offer many salutary and instructive lessons; to the advocate of established creeds, they exhibit a pleasing demonstration, that some good thing may still come out of Nazareth; and in the breast of those whose sentiments are here vindicated, they will awaken the regret which must have been felt at the loss of so zealous and able an advocate.

ART. XIX.—*Sermons on various Subjects.* By the Reverend JOSEPH TOWNSEND, M. A. Rector of Pewsey. 8vo. pp. 384.

IT was the intention of the venerable author, as we are informed in the preface, "to have reserved the publication of these discourses for his executors. But lamenting to see that the progress of infidelity, and the morals of the age, are such as to call loudly for the zealous exertions of all the friends of religion, piety, and virtue, he resolved to lose no time in committing his thoughts and admonitions to the press. They were composed more than twenty years ago, but constant occupation prevented their receiving those last touches, which were required, before the author could venture to submit them to the inspection of the public." Pref. p. v. vi.

The volume is small, and the subjects of investigation are few; but we recommend it as containing much important instruction, and peculiarly worthy of the serious regard of youth. Would they but listen to the counsels of age and experience which are here offered, infidelity would not be so prevalent, and the vices of the age would be checked.

The first sermon is, on the being of a God. In this the preacher exposes the absurdities of atheism; suggests many arguments to prove the existence of an intelligent first cause, drawn from the works of nature; and deduces from the subject some good practical reflections. The second and third sermons are on the moral law. They are designed to shew that there can be no consistency of conduct, no stability in virtue, without respect to the laws of the Most High. These are somewhat diffuse and declamatory.

In the two succeeding sermons, on the gospel, the preacher demonstrates by an appeal to the systems both of ancient and modern philosophers, that no satisfactory knowledge concerning religion can be obtained without the aid of revelation. These discover much ability. We transcribe the following passage from the fifth sermon:

"What then is the boast of human reason, and where shall philosophy begin her triumph?"

"Let the impartial judge then tell us what advantage the wise and learned of this world have acquired over the humble disciples of the despised Jesus. If they have no advantage, what occasion can there be to warn the christian against philosophers? Is it presumable that he should be plundered of his hope by men who have no hope to animate their zeal, and no certainty to guide their steps? It is at least possible; and the danger to be apprehended may be imputed, either to insatiable thirst for knowledge, to vanity and self-conceit, or to inordinate desire of literary fame. "Ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil," was the first and prevalent temptation; and from that fatal hour, whilst the way to the tree of life hath been almost deserted and untrodden, philosophers have been crowding round the tree of knowledge, and contending for its fruit.

"The desire of information cannot properly be considered as the source of error. But when, impatient to be confined within the bounds which the God of nature hath established, men, eager in pursuit of science, quit the province which belongs to reason, and follow their speculations, where they can derive no assistance from revelation, they must wander widely from the truth. As long as they confine their inquiries to numbers and to quantity; as long as their researches relate

only to those sciences and subjects, of which reason is competent to judge, they will arrive at certainty; and the justness of their conclusions will be universally acknowledged. Beyond this all is darkness, conjecture, and dispute. Where reason is competent to judge, the whole earth is of one language; but when, without authority, men attempt to build a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, all is confusion, and the wisest appear to be void of understanding.

"Optical deceptions in the two extremes of vision, are not more frequent than those of the mind, when it is stretched to the full intensity of thought: when we are to compare ideas, which are distinct and clear, we may safely draw conclusions: when they are obscure and faint: when the mind can scarcely grasp them; when it is either confounded at every step by ill defined resemblances, or unable to acquire ideas that are complete and comprehensive; we should suspend our assent, and rest satisfied with doubting. When the cloud thus remains upon our tabernacle, like Israel we should continue in our tents.

"Through the long period of revolving ages much hath been added to the common stock of science, innumerable facts have been ascertained, and from them, as far as relates to the material world, most important deductions have been made; yet we may venture to assert, that, as to invisible and eternal objects, independently of revelation, we can boast no such progress, nor is one cloud removed which hung over the head of our most remote progenitor."

To these succeed eight sermons on *temptation*. In these the progress of temptation, the means of avoiding, of resisting, and of passing through it, are represented with much ingenuity and force. These discourses might have been compressed, perhaps, with advantage, and their effect would still be increased were the arrangement which the author has with judgment adopted, more clearly pointed out to the ordinary reader; for the weighty truths they contain, and the forcible manner in which these truths are proposed, they deserve unqualified commendation. The following passage, which exhibits a fair specimen of the whole series of these discourses, will prove to our readers that the judgment we have pronounced is not erroneous:

"To avoid temptation, men of virtuous principles must be careful upon all occasions to appear what in reality they are. It is not necessary that you should assume peculiar severity of manners, nor that you should make a wanton display of your religious principles: but that, if you are indeed a friend to virtue, you should never upon any account put on the disguise of cold indifference to its interests, and much less should you affect to be a friend

to vice. Whilst you carefully avoid ostentation and hypocrisy, take heed that neither false modesty nor the fear of ridicule betray you into mischief. If religion be a cheat, renounce it; if it be true, be not ashamed to own it, nor afraid to manifest the most inviolable attachment to its precepts.

"A word, a look, on some occasions, are sufficient to encourage or to check temptation. Few men have lost all regard to character, nor will they venture to proceed, till they have felt their way; more especially if any doubt remains upon their mind of the temper, principles, and disposition of the person whom they mean to gain. Guilt cannot meet the eyes of innocence, but, covered with confusion, shrinks back, when in danger of detection, and then either returns to the assault with greater caution, if encouraged to proceed, or, if confirmed in the opinion, that your virtue is not to be corrupted, makes a precipitate retreat. Only for a moment let your conduct be inconsistent with your principles; understand by signs, and by signs parley with sin; or discover the least degree of hesitation, and the tempter will advance with the confidence of victory. None but the most profligate and hardened wretch, void of understanding, and lost to all the feelings of humanity, can propose a base and dishonourable action, without he has some reason to imagine that his proposition will be accepted. But, when you shall have lost your reputation for integrity, no one will take the trouble to speak darkly. No: when inclined to the commission of a crime, he will without reserve or fear make known his purpose, and urge you to be a partaker of his guilt. Had Joab maintained a character for virtue, or had he been known to regard his honour as a soldier, he had not been called upon to execute the base and execrable purpose of his sovereign.

"A character for religious principle will be a strong bulwark against the assaults of sin, not only as keeping the wicked at a proper distance, but as operating on that laudable kind of pride which naturally is found in every breast, the pride of character, the sense of dignity, discovered in regard to the good opinion of mankind, which is only to be secured by consistency of conduct. Suppose that your reputation stands unimpeached; you must of necessity desire to preserve it spotless: but if it be lost and past redemption, you will be indifferent to the good opinion of the world, and will bid adieu to shame. Banished from the society of those whose virtue might reclaim you, and condemned to pass your time in the miserable haunts of impiety and vice; exposed continually to sin, and hardened by the bad examples which surround you, you resemble the unhappy lepers of Carthage, in New Spain, who, without distinction of rank or fortune, are thrust out of the city and compelled for ever to associate only with those loathsome objects, who are infected by the same disease. (Uloa, B. 16. 5.)

"Supposing that your character is not past

redemption, but only wounded; yet your powers of resistance are thereby considerably weakened: for how can you at any time plead regard to conscience, when your conscience is known to be occasionally subservient to your evil inclinations? Nay, do but manifest in a single instance that you can violate its dictates, and you will be ashamed to urge it as a plea for not complying with the desires of either friend or patron, from whom you have any thing to hope or fear."

The volume concludes with two sermons on the leaven of the Sadducees and Pharisees, designed as a caution against infidelity and sensuality on the one hand, and hypocrisy, spiritual pride, selfishness, and other crimes of the ancient Pharisees, on the other.

In the preface to this very useful volume, we are informed that, with the same view of leading men to the practice of virtue and the knowledge of truth, the author is now preparing for the press *Observations on the Character of Moses*, as an historian, as a lawgiver, and as a prophet.

"This work will embrace a variety of interesting objects.

"As an historian, Moses displays the work of creation in its progressive stages, till it terminated in the formation of the human race. He gives an account of our fall from a state of innocence and virtue to the most abject condition of depravity and vice. He describes an universal deluge; he speaks of the dispersion of mankind, and affirms, that, prior to this event, the whole earth was of one language; he represents to us the simplicity of manners which prevailed in the pastoral ages, the nature of the patriarchal government, and the introduction of sacrifice, with other religious observances universally prevalent from the most remote antiquity.

"These subjects lead to geological discussions, and to the examination of the various

languages which are spoken in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

"In his geological discussions, the author has examined the several strata which appear in every part of Europe; but he has paid more particular attention to such as prevail in Britain, and has described their usual succession, range, thickness, dip, and dislocations, the materials of which they are composed, with their extraneous fossils, and the useful purposes for which these materials are adapted, the nature and extent of springs, and the regions to which both coals and mineral productions are confined.

"In his examination of languages, he has selected 3,600 words, in English, all monosyllabic, as being most ancient, and these he has compared with corresponding expressions in three score languages, in order to demonstrate that they all originate in one. This part of his work may be considered as a key to the languages of Europe, because, to any person who is intimately acquainted with one of these, it facilitates the acquisition of all the rest.

"The first part of his work is almost ready for the press, and will appear in one quarto volume. It has occupied twelve years of close application and unrelenting attention. Indeed, the whole bent of his studies, for more than half a century, may be considered as having been directed to this object, because it has been constantly preparing him for the undertaking.

"Whenever that volume shall appear, it must not be considered as incomplete without the succeeding volume, because it will thoroughly investigate the character of Moses as an historian, which has no dependance on what is meant to follow, respecting his comparative merit as a legislator and a prophet. In a word, it will stand like the principal and central portion of a vast edifice, to which the wings may be occasionally added to compose one whole."

We look for the appearance of this work with some degree of impatience.

ART. XX.—*Sermons Preached to a Country Congregation. To which are added, a few Hints for Sermons, intended chiefly for the Use of the younger Clergy.* By the late WILLIAM GILPIN, M. A. *Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Boldre, in New Forest.* Vol. IV. Published by his Trustees for the Benefit of his School at Boldre. 8vo. pp. 423.

MR. GILPIN's character as a plain and serious preacher, has been long known and highly esteemed; and the well earned reputation which he enjoyed during life, as a faithful parish-priest, will not be diminished by this posthumous volume, prepared by himself for the press. Regret, indeed, will be felt that this has closed his labours; and an ardent wish will be excited in the breast of every reader who wishes well to his country, and to the gospel of Christ, that the Lord of the har-

vest would graciously send other such labourers into his harvest.

The first sermon in this volume was preached before the bishop of Winchester at Southampton in the year 1788, and has already appeared in print. The object which the preacher had in view was to enforce upon his reverend brethren the study of the scriptures; and many judicious and many candid remarks occur. The following is not the least deserving of notice in an age too much distinguished

by a bigoted attachment to metaphysical theology :

"Thus again, with regard to the other important subject, on which I touched, as there are many passages of scripture relating to the humanity of Christ as well as his divinity, I cannot persuade myself, (as some pious people have done), that an *exact* faith on this head is necessary to salvation. Numbers, I have no doubt, will be saved through the merits of Christ, who conceive him only as their law-giver, and conscientiously obey his laws; though they may not have those exalted ideas of his divine nature, to which our scriptural rule, I think, so directly leads. If their holy lives have attained the principal end of a better faith, they ought not surely to be branded with hard names, and considered among those who *deny Christ before men*.

"We are sometimes told they ought; because without this exalted faith in the divine nature of a saviour, the mind cannot attain those elevated heights of love, which the gospel prescribes.—One should think so indeed: but before we pass these harsh censures on others, let any of us, who do hold that doctrine, ask our own carnal hearts, whether it purify them in this exalted manner?"

The second sermon preached at a visitation, has also appeared before the public. The republication of it is well timed, and we are persuaded that if our clergy would attend to the admonitions which are here delivered, they would secure respect to themselves, and lessen the influence which ignorant and fanatical preachers so fatally possess.

Thirteen sermons follow upon important practical subjects, all distinguished by excellent maxims of conduct, enforced with great seriousness, and delivered in chaste and simple language, level with the capacity of every rustic hearer, and adapted to make its way to the heart. We could select, if it were necessary, in proof of the justness of the character which we ascribe to these sermons, and for the pleasure and improvement of our readers, many such passages as the following :

"Our aptness to deceive ourselves proceeds entirely from self-love. If it was not that we love ourselves better than our neighbour, we should be as quick-sighted to our own faults as we are to his. But self-love blinds us. As parents are blind to the blemishes of their children, and screen them often under harmless names, so are we blind to our faults, and have a thousand excuses for them, which neither shew their nature nor our guilt, but merely our own self-love.—Perhaps all your neighbours know you lead a selfish life: you spend much of your time, and much of your money, in company and liquor; you lose your business, as few people

care to have dealings with a man who can be so little depended on: your family suffers: in short, you have made yourself a very contemptible fellow. Yet still you stand high in your own esteem. You have your excuses always ready. Perhaps you can afford to spend your money; so that you injure nobody but yourself; as if the kinder God is to you, the more right you have to squander what he gives. Or perhaps, though you may have been sometimes guilty of a little excess, yet it has been very seldom, and never without a good reason: you were fatigued, and wanted a little refreshment; or, you just stepped in to talk with a neighbour on business; or, in short, there was something which makes your offence very trifling in your own eyes, though the real cause was neither more nor less than a love for liquor; and every body sees it but yourself.

"Again, it is suspected that you have not always been quite so honest as you should have been; that your bargains have not always been fair and open; that you have sometimes endeavoured to over-reach a neighbour secretly, where you knew the law could not touch you; that you have taken the advantage of the ignorance of a purchaser, to charge more than you knew your commodity was worth; that you have praised the commodity you sold for qualities which you will know it did not possess.—Now, though you knew all this to be true, you will probably lessen it in your own eyes by a thousand little shuffling excuses. Let the purchaser (you may suggest to yourself) mind his business; I mind mine: I do not impose upon him, he imposes on himself: he should examine what he buys; I am not to teach him his business: am I to be both buyer and seller?—there is an art in every thing—there is an art of buying, and an art of selling; and a man must live by his art.—By such self-deceit you can easily impose on yourself; but how are your evasions overturned by one plain question, which an honest conscience would suggest! Suppose a person should treat you in this way. Suppose he should sell you an unsound beast for a sound one, or a piece of damaged goods for what ought to have been perfect, and allege all the excuses which you have just alleged, would you be imposed upon by them? Would you, in short, call him an honest man; or would not you be more inclined, as I verily suppose you would, to think him, with all his fine excuses, an arrant knave?"

"You see then, my brethren, how self-love imposes on us, and makes the same thing, or nearly the same thing, appear trifling in ourselves, which appeared so offensive in our neighbour. You see how difficult it is for any one to say to himself, *Thou art the man*; though each of us is ready enough to condemn an offending brother."

Nine sermons on St. Matthew's gospel are published in this volume, "as a specimen of a mode of preaching which Mr. Gilpin thought might be useful to a

country congregation." These deserve attention; but they will be found not sufficiently extended. Too large a portion of scripture forms the subject of each discourse. The utility of such a plan cannot be disputed. As Mr. Gilpin rightly observes, "The scriptures will be read with more pleasure, the more each little difficulty which now and then stops an unlearned reader is removed."

The twenty-fifth and concluding sermon, following immediately those on St. Matthew's gospel, is designed to shew that the words of eternal life are the only safe guides we can follow in the investigation of truth, and in the government of our conduct.

This volume contains twenty-three sketches, as hints for sermons. The

younger clergy, especially such as are settled in country villages, cannot do better either for themselves or their flock, than occasionally to fill up these outlines, faithfully copying the style and colouring of these finished pictures of this master.

The volume concludes with two excellent tracts; one an *analysis of Paul's epistle to the Romans*; the other entitled *Illustrations used by St. Paul in his writings*. In the controversy, which is now agitated within the pale of the established church, the first of these tracts may be found useful. We recommend it to the serious consideration of those who are zealously contending for the calvinistic doctrine, which they assert is to be found in the seventeenth article of faith.

ART. XXI.—*Sermons for the Use of Colleges, Schools, and Families.* By JOHN NAPLETON, D. D. Chancellor of the Diocese, and Canon Residentiary of the Cathedral Church of Hereford. 8vo. pp. 382.

THIS second volume will ably support the credit which the first conferred upon the author, as a sound and useful preacher. The sermons now published display a correct taste and an enlightened judgment: the discussion of mysterious and metaphysical doctrines gives place, as it ought, to practical theology; the style is plain without meanness, level with the attainments and the capacities of a rustic audience, and at the same time not unsuited to the chapel of a college. Nor are the subjects upon which the preacher dwells unimportant, as will be seen by the following sketch of the contents of this volume: On setting God before us. On not caring for religion. On faith. On profession of faith. On the miracles of Christ. On prophecy. On the uses of the law. The great exemplar. On the sabbath. On religious knowledge and practice. On exemplary conduct. On temporal happiness. On sickness. On the resurrection of Christ. The divine nature hidden. On christian mourning. Approach towards perfection. On consolation. These subjects are well discussed in twenty sermons.

The following extract, very important in itself, will convey to our readers a just notion of the style and manner of our preacher. It is selected from the discourse on miracles. Having shewn in the first place that the miracles of Jesus were such as could not possibly be effected by human art or industry, he thus proceeds:

"Secondly. The miracles of Jesus were

of such a nature, and so circumstanced, that it was impossible for a witness of common sense to imagine they were effected if they were not; or to doubt whether they were effected or no. They were no spectre, or apparition, presented for a moment to the eye; no sounds, or voices, offered for an instant to the ear; passing away before the respective organs could seize their object, and distinctly examine it; or before the report of one sense could be tried by that of another; before reason could decide upon the compound report of both. They were no objects exhibited to the doubting senses, at undue distances, or through deceiving mediums: no burning comets, or portentous appearances in the sky, or in the air. These miracles were laid before the witnesses in as clear a manner, and for as long a time, as the ordinary works of nature, or the common performances and transactions of mankind. They fell under those senses which are least capable of being deceived: they were seen, they were heard, they were handled; they had all the evidences which the faculties of man can give him of the existence of any thing in this material world. If I see "the man sick of a palsy arise, take up his bed, and go into his house," I have the same assurance of his cure, as I had before of his infirmity. If the fever, or the leprosy, depart at the touch of Jesus, the health and soundness of the patient is as manifest, as if it had proceeded from the slow operation of medicine, or the gradually returning healthy state of nature. The sisters of Lazarus, and the Jews of Bethany, had not better proof that Lazarus was born, and had lived among them before his death, and that he was dead and buried, than that he returned to them from his grave, and lived with them afterwards. The facts were evident in their nature; complete in the execution; lasting in their effect. Lazarus remained with his fa-

only an object of admiration to the people, and of terror to the chief priests. Mary Magdalene, rescued from the dominion of evil spirits, lived to be a sober witness of her saviour's resurrection. It is said also, that many others, who had in like manner experienced his power and goodness, lived in the days of the apostles to extreme old age.

"Thirdly. The miracles of Jesus were performed in a civilized nation; in an enlightened age; at public festivals, and in other large assemblies; before witnesses of various stations, characters, and countries. The Jews, among whom our Saviour was born, and before whom he exhibited his mighty works, had long since, from the special advantages which they enjoyed, (though not always from the use which they made of them,) deserved the distinction of "a wise and understanding people." They were in possession of an authentic history of the world, beginning at the creation, carried through the first ages, and tracing the origin of the earliest nations. They had a system of true religion and sound morality, unknown in the schools of Athens, or in the palaces of Rome. They had poetry not surpassed in any age or country. All these confessedly were written by their ancestors, read in their synagogues, taught in their schools, revered in their families. The splendour of their temple, the curious manufacture of its furniture, their application of musical instruments and voices in surprising numbers, to high strains of eloquence upon the noblest subjects,—all these, existing a thousand years before the coming of Christ, shew their rank among the nations of those primitive times in the arts and embellishments of life. So that if any writer, ancient or modern, has thought proper to speak of them as an obscure, ignorant, or barbarous people, he seems to have been misled by national or sceptical prejudice; or to have been influenced by a partial view of their present humiliated state: forgetting how few, if any, of the European nations, among whom the providence of God hath scattered them, can shew any evidence of cultivation, or even of existence, at the time when "Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egypt-

tians," and instructed moreover by revelations from heaven. This people had, before the birth of our Saviour, in consequence of their captivities and other circumstances, intermixed with various other civilized nations. Conquest and proselytism had brought to them divers foreigners to administer their government, and to worship at their altars. They had strangers from Rome, visitors from Africa, and from distant parts of Asia. It was probably from this intercourse with foreign nations, that they were become degenerate in their religious principles. As the conversation of their idolatrous neighbours had formerly seduced them into gross and horrid superstitions; so now they had imported from distant countries the more refined, but not less dangerous, poison of infidelity. The creed of the early ages was now questioned among them by a presumptuous philosophy. What holy Job believed, and what Abraham knew by familiar experience, was rejected by the pretended wisdom of these enlightened times: for there were some among the disciples of Moses, and even in the sanhedrim, who "said there was no resurrection; neither angel, nor human spirit." But this unhappy prejudice, into which a part of the nation (the Sadducees) had fallen, confirms the incontestible reality of the miracles of Jesus; as it rendered them more averse from his person and doctrine; more unbelieving of his divine character, more quick-sighted in the examination of his wondrous works; more determined, had it been possible, to disallow them, and defeat their credit. As his religious doctrine clashed with the notions of the Sadducee, so did the lowliness of his worldly situation and pretensions disappoint the expectations, and excite the aversion, of the Pharisee: who, though he believed a resurrection and a life to come, yet could not resign the temporal dominion and prosperity, which he had promised to himself from "the redeemer of Israel." It appears then plainly, what was the scene of our Saviour's miracles, and who were the spectators. "These things were not done in a corner," nor before incompetent or favourable judges."

ART. XXII.—*Sermons on various interesting Subjects. By the Reverend JOSHUA MORTON, Vicar of Risby in the County of Bedford, and Chaplain in ordinary to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 385.*

TO those who have approved of the former volume, this also will be acceptable; and that many have approved of it, may be reasonably concluded from the appearance of that now before us. Orthodox, confident, versed in a kind of phraseology highly pleasing to the multitude of christian believers, Mr. Morton, we have no doubt, is a popular preacher, and will easily find readers and admirers. His bookseller we apprehend will never say of his discourses, as we are informed one of the trade said of a volume already noticed, that they are too good for sale.

Thirty sermons are contained in this volume, upon the following subjects: Divine worship. The gospel the word of life. The fall of man. The fall general. All men under the sentence of the law. The redemption of man by Christ. The ministry of reconciliation. Death. The uncertainty of life. God chastiseth us for our good. Prayer. Perseverance in prayer. The strong hold. The work of salvation. The true rest of the gospel. The blessings resulting from the ascension of Christ. Belshazzar's feast. The penitent's prayer. The prodigal son. Hope.

in God, the good man's support. The patience of God with mankind. God merciful to the eleventh hour. Fast day sermon, 1803. The excellence of the scriptures. The furnace of affliction. The blessedness of faith. The interesting character of Jesus. The one thing needful. The death of Christ and his resurrection. The close of Paul's ministry, and his hope asserted. We subjoin the following extract as a specimen of our author's manner :

"Would you have your plan of action decided in the whole of your intercourse with the world, set his example always before you, listen to his instructions who spake as never man spoke. Had he been asked to give you his own portraiture, were you to put the question again, 'Sir, we would see Jesus,' you will see him in his own parable of the good Samaritan. Whilst the priest and Levite pass far from the scenes of misery, benevolence draws near in the person of a good Samaritan, to the robbed, wounded, dying traveller; and, with all the tenderness of compassion, applies the healing balsam to his wound, and prompt relief to his necessities. In this scene we see national partiality subsiding, religious prejudices banished, no voice heard but that of goodness. Nay, we see something more; we see Jesus Christ as possessing that promptitude and that power to save the children of men, which ought to raise him high in our estimation, and place him supreme in our affections. He came when man was in this vale of guilt and of misery, and when he saw him he had com-

passion on him, and went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine. In the obedience of his life was formed a perfect righteousness, satisfactory to all the claims of divine justice, infinitely sufficient to justify all who believe on him from all things from which they could never be justified by the law of Moses. Would you see Jesus in the very moment of his perfecting our redemption? Behold him in the garden of Gethsemane prostrate upon the earth, and in an agony there, till the sweat falls as great drops of blood to the ground. Trace him to the courts of the Jewish and Roman judicature; in the one you see him blasphemed and beaten, in the other, scourged and crowned with thorns; follow him a little further, and you see Jesus suspended on the bloody tree; his nerves trembling with the torturing nails, his body writhing with dreadful agony. Would you see Jesus? look up to the cross guilty, but penitent; look up, and see his brow beaming benignity and love; behold the blood gushing from his opened side; there springs the fountain of your hope; there flows the blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, which cleanseth from all sin. May each of our hearts catch the healing stream, and be saved with an everlasting salvation. Once more, we see him rising from the bed of death, triumphing over the grave, (for it was impossible that the grave should hold him), ascending to heaven, there, exalted beyond all praise and all thanksgiving, he ever lives to make intercession for us, having our interests still near his heart, possessing the same love, pity, and tenderness, he is ready to communicate daily to all who seek his assistance, every grace and every blessing to help them in time of need."

ART. XXIII.—*Occasional Discourses on various Subjects, with copious Annotations, by* RICHARD MUNKHOUSE, D. D. of Queen's College, Oxford, and Minister of St. John Baptist's Church, Wakefield. In Three Volumes. 8vo. pp. 343, 379, and 402.

DR. Munkhouse does not now appear before the public for the first time. Of the twenty-five discourses of which these volumes are composed, several have been already submitted to the judgment of the public, and with that judgment the author is fully satisfied. He exults in the flattering reception which they experienced, and feels himself relieved from a part of his apprehensions concerning the estimation in which the present volumes will be held. The style of these discourses is not destitute of a certain degree of energy; and the principles which prevail throughout discover a firm and zealous attachment to the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of our country. Concerning the subjects of these discourses, and his own sentiments and principles, the author thus speaks :

"The subjects that most frequently occur in the ensuing discourses, are such as naturally arose out of those occasional fasts and festivals, which have, in the course of the last twelve

years, been appointed to be solemnized by royal proclamation. These, it is hoped, breathe a spirit of piety and devotion, suited at all times to the nature of the service, whether of penitence and supplication, or of praise and thanksgiving. Questions also of a political nature are brought under discussion; not from any design, in the breast of the author, to infuse politics into religion, but, on the same principle by which so close a connexion exists between church and state, to infuse religion into politics; and from an anxious wish to promote, to the extent of his ability, the interests of his country, and the cause of social order, by strenuously inculcating the virtues of patriotism and loyalty, in opposition to those plausible, but imposing and deceptive, doctrines of liberty and equality, which have of late years been advanced with such shameless effrontery, and circulated with a malevolent assiduity.

"Inseparably connected with the prosperity of our country is the preservation of its political constitution, the permanence of its establishments, civil and ecclesiastical. Hence the author's dislike of republican tenets, be-

care of their hostility to the former; and of sectarian, as being more immediately injurious to the latter: without a wish, notwithstanding, to restrain the liberty of choice, and freedom of discussion, farther than as such restriction may be necessary to the peace of the church, and to the safety of this UNITED KINGDOM. There are, doubtless, virtuous characters under every form of civil government; and he ventures to reckon, in the number of his friends, many upright, conscientious, good men, whose religious tenets are very different from his own."

In these volumes we are presented with *nine fast sermons*; three sermons on occasion of public thanksgiving; four preached before different lodges of freemasons; one before a friendly society; one on the first Sunday in the year; one on the slave trade; one on the opening of

St. John's church; one previous to the introduction of Merrick's psalms; one for the benefit of the green-coat charity school; one for the benefit of the choir in St. John's church; one preached upon the delivering the colours to the royal Wakefield volunteers; and one at Hona-gate whilst they were upon permanent duty.

Each discourse is either "inscribed with the name of a friend or benefactor, or dedicated to some exalted personage: and thus the author professes to have alike indulged the fondness of affection and the feelings of gratitude, and paid a willing tribute of respect and admiration to resplendent virtue in high places." Pref, p. xiv. The public prints have lately announced that Dr. Munkhouse has been preferred to the vicarage of Wakefield.

ART. XXIV.—*Sermons, altered and adapted to an English Pulpit, from French Writers.* By SAMUEL PARTRIDGE, M. A. F. S. A. Vicar of Boston, and of Wigstoft with Quadring, Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Gwydir, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. The Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 327.

FEW of the French sermon-writers deserve translation. Bossuet and Saurin have more of thought, argument, and of that sort of eloquent decoration which depends not on the language but the idea, than their competitors. Flechier is over-rated in his country. Massillon has a brilliant oration on the consecration of colours. Bourdaloue is ingenious and stately, but wants originality and feeling. We have here selections, not from the renowned but from the secondary French preachers; from the Cambaceres, the Duboses, the Lecointes, and the Donespes.

For a patriot, it is consolatory to observe how inferior to the Jeremy Taylors, the Halls, the Barrows, are these continental orators; how much less of learning, of style, of argument, has satisfied, has delighted, has convinced their hearers, has hushed their doubts, has warmed their zeal, has winged their hopes. Well might infidelity triumph where it had

only to assail such ordinary intrenchments. Well might floundering piety despair, where it had only such wisps of straw to catch at. Better surely had it been to translate those sermons of our cotemporary Mercier, which have illustrated a London pulpit and a London press.

We really cannot find a tolerable extract. So much the better. These sermons are probably not intended to be read, but to be preached. They are the fitter for the pulpit, from being likely to escape domestic circulation among the audience. Delivered by every-day men, they may well pass for original. Listened to by every-day men, they may be staid out without fatigue; for they have been abridged within limits which will accommodate a three-church curate. In the doctrine there is nothing for orthodox to wince, or heresy to kick at: it is every-day christianity without a specific character, little enough to live with, much enough to die with.

ART. XXV.—*Twelve Sermons on important Subjects. Addressed chiefly to the middle and lower classes of Society.* 8vo. pp. 352.

THE subjects are; the omnipresence of the Deity. The cross of Christ. The christian's glory. Christianity consistent with reason. Christianity not seditious. The wisdom and power of God displayed in the redemption of the world. The universal judgment. On hearing the word of God. The love of God. The deceitfulness of the heart. The equality of mankind. The divinity of Jesus Christ. And, spiritual worship.

"These sermons," the preacher informs us, "have been delivered at different times and to different congregations. They have been heard with deep attention, and often with considerable emotion." We do not doubt it. All that is excellent is borrowed from our most celebrated pulpit orators, with no more than a general acknowledgment; and all the original matter is of a shewy tinsel nature, admirably adapted, if well delivered, to

make an impression upon the minds of the ordinary class of hearers. But we must enter our protest against such flagrant peculations as this anonymous divine confesses. As large portions of works already before the public are thus again to be carried through the press, they should

be particularly marked, that there may be no danger of their being attributed by those who have not known them in their original form, to the plagiarist in whose pages they are confounded with his own matter. *Cuique suum.*

ART. XXVI.—*Sermons on the Existence of the Deity, the immortality of the Soul, the Authenticity of the Bible, and other important subjects.* By the Reverend J. ADAMS, A.M., Master of the Academy at Putney, and Author of several much-approved historical Publications. 8vo. pp. 314.

IT is not very usual, perhaps, for an author to review his own productions; but as Mr. Adams is by his own confession little else than a compiler, we will allow him to be his own reviewer. Hear then :

"The following sermons will be very useful as a family book, particularly where there are young people; for the sooner they begin to have a veneration for the Deity and the christian religion, they are the more likely to be good members of society. They will be more dutiful children, better servants, better masters, and better soldiers too. "I fear God, and I have no other fear," is the celebrated saying of a great man, who was dissuaded by his friends from a dangerous undertaking in a good cause.

"It may very naturally be remarked, that nothing new can be said on such subjects." True. But as the classical and historical publications of the author have fallen into the hands of, at least, one hundred and thirty thousand persons, many will be induced to read the sermons, because they were pleased with his other literary productions.

"The excellent writers consulted for materials, are Stillington, Abernethy, Addison, Butler, Bryant, Clarke, King, Pearson, Tillotson, Scott, Sharp, Baxter, Swift, Sherlock,

Porteus, Paley, Seed, Langhorne, Sterne, Mason, Grant, Burnet, Barrow, Sherlock, West, Ray, Derham, Atterbury, Blair, and Leland.

"It may not be improper to add, that there is not, in the whole volume, a single sentiment contrary to the doctrines of either church established in Great Britain."

The materials which the industrious compiler has collected, are arranged under the following heads: On the existence of the Deity. On the study of the works of God. On the immortality of the soul. On providence. On the omnipresence and omniscience of the Deity. On the divine origin of the scriptures. On religious hope. On the pleasures of religion. On the internal excellency of the christian religion. On the government of the thoughts. On religious retirement. On true wisdom. On consideration. On the character of Jesus as a divine teacher. On christian benevolence. On the advantages of prayer, and pious contemplation. On the resurrection. On the joys of heaven. On the certainty of future happiness. On the love of God. On human life, duelling, and suicide.

ART. XXVII.—*Three Sermons, preached at the Wednesday Evening Lecture at Salters'-Hall, London; to which is added, the Substance of a Discourse delivered at Maze Pond, Southwark, in aid of the particular Baptist Fund.* By JAMES DORE. 8vo. pp. 135.

THESE Sermons are upon the following subjects: On Modesty in prosecuting Religious Enquiries. On the proper Use of the Figurative Language of the Scriptures. On the Spiritual Nature of the Gospel, and on the Harmony of the Divine Operations. They are not destitute of merit, though not distinguished by any

peculiar excellence. The preacher adopts not only the doctrine but the style of the old school; the divisions and subdivisions are tediously minute, and the studied brevity of almost every sentence produces a monotony which no powers of delivery we apprehend could relieve.

ART. XXVIII.—*Two Discourses, designed to recommend a general Observance of the Lord's Supper.* By T. DRUMMOND. 8vo. pp. 43.

THESE Discourses are well composed and adapted to answer the preacher's design. The origin of the simple and social service, which is here recommended to general observance, is clearly and justly stated, and the corruptions which it has

undergone are briefly but satisfactorily detailed. The information which these discourses convey will be acceptable to those who may not approve of all the principles of the author's creed.

SINGLE SERMONS.

ART. XXIX.—*Justification by Faith. A Sermon preached at the Primary Visitation of the Right Rev. Father in God, HENRY WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of Chester, held at Richmond in Yorkshire, August 22, 1804, and published at his Lordship's request. By JOHN LEADLAN, A. M. Rector of Wycliffe. 4to. pp. 30.*

THE preacher has selected for the subject of his discourse the enquiry by Job, "How shall man be just with God?" and from these words has taken occasion to combat, with some ability, that large and daily increasing schism in the church, which calls itself the *True Church of England*. Mr. H. begins by stating the orthodox doctrine of the fallen nature of man, and the remedy which has been provided. He expresses his astonishment that, at the present period, any questions are agitated concerning the justification of the sons of Adam by faith, and proceeds to consider what the doctrine of the church is upon this subject; and also the nature and effects of some prevalent errors arising from a different interpretation. After a very particular examination of the nature and consequence of faith, the preacher observes:

"This seems then to be the sum of the doctrines of our church, founded upon the authority of scripture, on this important subject; that we are justified by faith alone; that faith means a simple but sincere belief in the gospel of Christ; that justification means the change which is effected in us on our becom-

ing christians, and the difference thence produced between our fallen and our redeemed nature; that baptism is the only rite ordained by Christ himself, as the means whereby we receive this gracious privilege; that when we are thus justified in baptism, good works are absolutely necessary to make our calling and election sure; that although by faith alone we are justified, we must nevertheless bring forth fruits meet for salvation, and can obtain eternal happiness only by perseverance in faith, in hope, and holiness."

In a few short observations on the nature and effects of the prevalent errors, Mr. H. charges those who arrogate to themselves the title of true churchmen, with affixing an erroneous meaning to the word justification, confounding acceptance here with final acceptance at the day of judgment; by this means producing an unscriptural and baneful separation amongst christians, and at the same time by their denial of the spiritual grace of baptism, opening a door to enthusiasm and delusion. This discourse is well written, and clearly convicts the *True Churchmen* of error; but has Mr. H. himself, supported as he is by Hooker, Waterland, Jones, and Paley, discovered the truth?

ART. XXX.—*A Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Monday, Nov. 5, 1804. By the Rev. HENRY PHILLPOTTS, M. A. of St. Mary Magdalene College, and Vicar of Kilmersdon, in the County of Somerset. 4to. pp. 18.*

THE author of this temperate and well written discourse has, of the two events by which, in the annals of our country, the fifth of November is distinguished, chosen for his subject the establishment of king William III. on the English throne. He first takes a retrospective view of the principal circumstances in our history that rendered some such great crisis unavoidable, and shews how favourable, above all others, the period in which it did happen was to the preservation, both of the peace of the country and the integrity of its con-

stitution. He then offers some remarks on the real character of the event itself, affirming, that it was not a revolution but a measure devised, and happily accomplished, to prevent a revolution of the very worst kind; an awful crisis, in its consequences but not in itself, the subject of rejoicing; and he concludes with pointing out some instruction resulting from that view of the subject which he has taken. The whole is well adapted to promote that political moderation which tends to the peace and improvement of the state.

ART. XXXI.—*The Faith and Hope of the Righteous; a Sermon preached at the Octagon Chapel, Bath, on Sunday, Dec. 2, 1804, on Occasion of the Death of the Rev. ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D. D. By the Rev. JOHN GARDINER, D. D. 8vo. pp. 39.*

AFTER contrasting the righteous and the wicked, struggling with adversity and

at the close of life, Dr. G. passes to the eulogy of the pious and learned subject of

this funeral discourse. This might, we think, have been done with more judgment, with more feeling, with much greater effect, and in a manner better suited to the character of the truly venerable person, on occasion of whose death it was composed.

ART. XXXII.—*Enoch, or the Advantages of high Attainments in Religion. A Sermon, preached at Orange-street Chapel, Leicester-square, London. By WILLIAM MOSELEY, Minister of the Tabernacle, Hcmley.* 12mo. pp. 33.

THE author of this discourse sends it into the world with a desire of promoting personal religion. The end is important, and the means here employed likely, to a certain degree, to accomplish that end. Many pious observations occur, expressed in a forcible and impressive manner, but such an indiscriminating use of scripture we have seldom witnessed. The title-page proclaims the class of christians to which the preacher belongs, and in which this discourse will be found most acceptable.

ART. XXXIII.—*A Sermon, preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, on Wednesday, Feb. 20, 1805, being the Day appointed for a General Fast. By CHARLES HENRY HALL, D.D. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.* 4to. pp. 23.

FROM the words of the apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans, ch. viii. v. 31. "If God be for us who can be against us?" the preacher takes occasion to enumerate many of the most visible and striking instances of God's favour to us as a nation. He next proceeds to notice some spots and blemishes in our national character. It ought not perhaps, all circumstances considered, to excite our surprise, though it may our indignation, that in this part of the discourse the preacher has omitted the mention of that abominable traffic which is still carried on upon the blood-stained shores of Africa. This sermon is, upon the whole, well written; but neither in style nor sentiment differs much from the generality of sermons on similar occasions.

ART. XXXIV.—*A Fast Sermon, preached at the Abbey Church, Bath, on Wednesday, Feb. 20, 1805. Published at the Request of the Mayor and Corporation of Bath, and the Colonel and other Officers of the Loyal Bath Volunteers. By the Rev. EDMUND POULTER, M. A. Prebendary of Winchester.* 8vo. pp. 33.

WITH much labour we got through this uninteresting ill-written discourse; and, if any of our readers are fond of exercising their ingenuity in unraveling long and intricate periods, they may here find ample amusement.

ART. XXXV. *The fatal Use of the Sword; considered in a Sermon preached in St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, on Wednesday, Feb. 20, 1805, the Day appointed for a General Fast. By the Rev. SPENCER MADAN, A. M.* 8vo. pp. 26.

THE text chosen by Mr. M. is Matt. xxvi. 52. "Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword;" and the object he has in view is to confute the principles which Mr. Warner advanced from the same words, and of which an ample account was given in our last volume. These principles are here successfully combated, but Mr. Madan is perfectly right, when he observes in a postscript, that they "have been noticed by more competent examiners."

ART. XXXVI.—*The Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth; a Sermon preached at the Baptist Monthly Association, at Mr. BURNSIDE's place of Worship, Red Cross-street, Cripplegate, Feb. 21, 1805. By JAMES DORE. Published at the Request of the Associated Ministers and Brethren.* 8vo. pp. 42.

THE Holy Spirit, says the preacher, is the spirit of truth, because he revealed the truth, he authenticated the truth, and he accompanies the truth with his divine influence. Upon these three topics Mr. Dore has enlarged in such a manner as we can easily conceive was acceptable to the congregation assembled as his auditors.

ART. XXXVII.—*The Progress of Error concerning the Person of Christ ; represented in a Sermon, delivered at the Unitarian Chapel in Essex-street, March 31, 1805. By THOMAS BELSHAM. 8vo. pp. 35.*

THE first part of this discourse contains a very well written epitome of the history of opinions concerning Christ, as it has been described more at large by Dr. Priestley. This is followed by some reflections arising out of the preceding view of what the preacher deems the progress of error respecting the person of

the Messiah. A prayer appropriated to the discourse and to the occasion on which it was preached, is subjoined. The preacher's hope 'that a double portion of the prophet's* spirit might rest where his mantle falls,' appears from this discourse, likely to be realized.

ART. XXXVIII.—*Baptismal Faith explained. A Sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge, April 8, 1804. 4to. pp. 20.*

THE doctrine of this discourse would, we apprehend, be better suited to the chapel in Essex-street than to the church of the university of Cambridge.

"It hath been observed, says the preacher, in favour of the christian religion, that its positive institutions are not only few in number, but also in their whole nature perfectly simple and intelligible. The observation is certainly just in itself ; but how few christians can consistently urge it against the adversaries of our faith, if they are themselves sincere in the representation of these institutions which they publicly avow ? Can the Roman-catholic, who believes transubstantiation to be directly taught in one of them ? or the protestant, who contends that a belief of the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly required by the other ?

"I mean not to insinuate any comparison between these doctrines, or to affirm the truth or falsehood of either. I only mean to affirm, that whoever undertakes to prove the excellency of the christian revelation from the plainness and simplicity of its external rites, must be able to shew clearly that the doctrine of the Trinity, as stated in the creeds and articles of religion owned by the generality of protestants, hath no better foundation in the form of words used by our Saviour in the institution of one of them, than that of transubstantiation hath in the form of words, used by him in the institution of the other. This I shall attempt to do in the following discourse, not merely for the sake of doing justice to the argument advanced in favour of our religion,

from the perfect simplicity of its positive ordinances, but for the higher purpose of ascertaining that faith which is made necessary by Christ and his apostles, to entitle a person to the name and privileges of a christian. That some faith is necessary cannot be denied ; but what that particular faith is, hath long been matter of great dispute among christians themselves."

Of this faith Mr. T. thus sums up his account :

"Let us not then be ashamed of the pure gospel of Christ. The belief of it consists not in believing any other doctrine but that of eternal life, by the remission of sins and a resurrection from the dead, through the man Jesus Christ, the righteous Saviour and destined Lord of mankind. Neither our christian privileges nor christian duties, depend on any other faith. What higher privilege can we enjoy, than that of being children of God ? which is secured to us by our faith in Jesus Christ : by that faith, whether we have been Jews or Gentiles, we are all the children of God. What higher duty is enjoined us than that of conquering the world ? What nobler victory can be gained by any faith ? 'And who,' says the apostle, 'is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the son of God ?'

How general must have been the exclamation as the astonished gownsmen returned to their homes,—'We have heard strange things to-day !'

ART. XXXIX.—*The Use and Abuse of Reason in Matters of Faith. A Sermon, preached at St. Chad's, in Shrewsbury, at the Triennial Institution of the Hon. and Right Rev. James Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, May 28, 1805. By SAMUEL BUTLER, M. A. Head Master of Shrewsbury School, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 12mo. pp. 22.*

MATTERS of faith, says Mr. B. may be considered as of three kinds. They are either matters of historic fact and reason only, as that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, the history of whose life

was written by his disciples, and is preserved to us ; or they are matters of *fact and revelation only*, as that Jesus Christ was the son of God from all eternity ; or they are matters of *consequence*, deduc-

* The Rev. T. Lindsey, the founder of the chapel in Essex-street.

cible from both the former. With the first of these learning is altogether; with the second, in no degree; and with the third, partially concerned. Upon these principles the preacher censures all disputation upon the doctrines of election and reprobation, and the Trinity. But he has neglected the very important circum-

stance, that these doctrines are *discussed* and by some rejected, not because they are above human reason, but because they are not to be found in the word of God. By those therefore, for whose benefit we suppose the discourse before us was intended, the preacher's reasoning will be considered as altogether irrelevant.

ART. XL.—*The Unity of the Christian Body stated. A Sermon preached in Lambeth Chapel, on the 28th of April 1805, at the Consecration of the Right Rev. Henry Bathurst, LL. D. Lord Bishop of Norwich, and published at the Command of His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By RICHARD PROSSER, D. D. Prebendary of Durham. 4to. pp. 19.*

A temperate but not a very forcible defence of religious establishments; from Eph. iv. 15, 16.

ART. XLI.—*A Funeral Oration, to the Memory of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, delivered at Grosvenor Chapel, Grosvenor Square, on Sunday the 8th of September, 1805. By the Rev. T. BASELEY, A. M. Chaplain to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 4to. pp. 23.*

COMMON place declamation, and one uniform tissue of 'pompous nothings.'

ART. XLII.—*The Origin of Sovereign Power, and the Lawfulness of Defensive War. A Sermon preached in the Church of All Saints, Wainfleet, in the County of Lincoln, on Tuesday, June 4th 1805, to the Wainfleet Corps of Volunteer Infantry. By the Rev. PETER BULMER, A. B. 8vo. pp. 29.*

WE have had occasion formerly to commend Mr. Bulmer as an animated and a patriotic preacher, and that commendation

is further warranted by this discourse. We cannot speak of him with equal praise as a politician.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

ART. XLIII.—*A Guide to Heaven: seriously addressed to all who believe the Gospel to be the Word of God. By the Rev. C. S. HAWTREY, A. B. Vicar of Widston, Monmouthshire. 8vo. pp. 172.*

THIS little work has been composed evidently with the best intentions, but, we fear, not altogether in such a manner as to secure the accomplishment of the author's pious wishes. Feeling, as he informs us, an earnest desire, seconded by the imperious call of duty, as a minister of the gospel, to impress his fellow-creatures with a sense of the great importance of a practical obedience to all its laws; and convinced that, after what has been so ably but so ineffectually written upon the subject, no arguments which he could use, no exhortations which he could utter, would be likely to avail—he determined to collect the numerous and urgent precepts of practical piety which the gospel contains, and arrange them under proper heads. In this little volume therefore, we have exhibited at one view the greatest part of what the scripture directly teaches, concerning forgiveness and mutual love;

the duty of prayer, covetousness, and worldly-mindedness; temperance and chastity, humility, justice, honesty, and truth; swearing and blasphemy; repentance; the Lord's supper; charity to the poor; fortitude in adversity; conjugal love; parental and filial love; masters and servants; obedience to governors, and conduct of the clergy.

Every collection is followed by what is called an application; but this is in several instances so short, and so deficient in energy, as to produce no effects. We are convinced that a selection of this kind might be made eminently useful, but it should be formed by a person of judgement, of taste, and, at the same time, mighty in the scriptures. The precepts should be arranged as much as possible in some connected order, and closed or followed by something more than unmeaning exclamations.

ART. XLIV.—*The Holy Family; being a complete Provision of Domestic Piety. In which are Reflections on Education, Prayer in its Public and Private Duties, and an Exhortation*

tation to the Sacrament as Essential to Salvation; to which are add d Morning and Evening Prayers for Families, &c. &c. By the Rev. T. OAKLEY, A. M. 8vo. pp. 116.

THE title of this strange work will give our readers some notion of its contents, it is for us to shew them the value of this volume: we cannot do this better than by citing the author to speak for himself:

"Christ, in the first view of his heavenly powers, is the risen sun of a new world, a luminary, unconfined by nature, and expands through the infinity of space: I am come 'light into the world,' in whom the morning dawns of the everlasting day.—P. 91.

"Christ is our propitiation, and his mercies tendered in the latest hour; but the hope of

glory is the fair penitent's, and to the impenitent no remission of sins. P. 94.

"Heaven is the marriage of salvation, and its many mansions a court where guests throng from every clime; and angels hail the nuptials of Christ, and his spouse the church; his joys are the fountains that are killed; his dinner, everlasting life.—P. 98.

"O! hallowed blood of Christ, infuse thy vital powers into my soul, and through every vein of my body!"—P. 113.

This, and much more like it, issues from the university press of Oxford!!

ART. XLV.—*A Brief Treatise on Death, Philosophically, Morally, and Practically considered. By ROBERT FELLOWES, A. M. Oxon. 12mo. pp. 134.*

THIS treatise is inscribed to the memory of the lady Harriet Fitzroy—by the death of whom, we conjecture, this valuable little work was suggested. The sentiments it contains are such as on different occasions, and by different writers, have been before inculcated; but they are placed by Mr. F. in an interesting and impressive point of view, well adapted,

according to his purpose, to reclaim the thoughtless—to alarm the wicked—to increase the hope of the righteous—to cheer the dying—and to comfort the afflicted mourner. To those who belong to any of these classes of persons, we earnestly recommend this pious and instructive performance.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

ART. XLVI.—*The Expository Works, with other Remains (some of which were never before printed) of Robert Leighton, D. D. Archbishop of Glasgow: with a Preface. By PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D. D. A New Edition, to which is now Prefixed the Life of the Author. By the Rev. ERASMUS MIDDLETON. In Three Volumes. 8vo. pp. 323, 484, 488.*

ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON was a man of considerable note in his day, and his works have always been regarded as valuable, on account of the spirit of piety that pervades them. The present collection, which professes to be complete, contains his practical commentary on the first epistle of Peter; expository lectures on Ps. xxxix.; Is. vi.; and Rom. xii.; several charges, &c. to the clergy of the diocese of Dunblane; seven letters on different occasions; rules and instructions for a holy life; some historical facts in his life,

never before printed; twenty-eight sermons; exposition of the creed, the Lord's prayer, and ten commandments; discourses on Matt. xxii. 37, 39.; on Heb. viii. 10.; and a short catechism. The preface by Dr. Doddridge was originally prefixed to an edition of the archbishop's works, published at Edinburgh in 1748; by Mr. D. Wilson. The life which accompanies the present edition, written by Mr. E. Middleton, is one of the worst articles of biography we ever perused.

ART. XLVII.—*An Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther; the Work which Obtained the Prize on the Question Proposed in 1802, by the National Institute of France; 'What has been the Influence of the Reformation of Luther on the Political situation of the different States of Europe, and on the Progress of Knowledge?' With a Sketch of the History of the Church, from its Founder to the Reformation; intended as an Appendix to the Work. By CHARLES VILLERS. Translated, and Illustrated with Copious Notes. By James Mill, Esq.*

ART. XLVIII.—*Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation by Luther, &c. faithfully Translated from the last Paris Edition. By B. LAMBERT.*

ACADEMIES may propose wise questions, but they are not likely to receive

wise answers. They send abroad a question which requires long study and long

thought, and fix a day for the reply, later than which none can be received. It is very well for booksellers to do this, whose journeymen bring home their work as punctually as the taylor and the shoemaker, but any thing better than journey-work is rarely to be had for bespeaking it. To the solution of a great historical question much previous knowledge and forethought is necessary; they who have acquired this knowledge are not likely to give the result in a manner prescribed for them; they who have it not can produce nothing that is valuable. College essays are one degree above school-boys' themes, and academical essays one degree above them: the candidates have to read for the subject; they are volunteers who must be drilled, not soldiers ready for service; instead of feeding the mind they cram it, as turkeys are served before Christmas, and all that comes forth is crude and indigested: the understanding has had no time to concoct and assimilate what has been stuffed in. The Teylerian society has not yet decided any one of the disputed points of theology, and all the poets who have emulously contended for the profits of Mr. Seaton's Kislingbury estate, have not done quite so much honour to Cambridge as Edmund Spenser, who could not get a fellowship there, or as John Milton, who was whipt across the buttery hatch.—Prize rams and prize oxen may be had at reasonable notice, but the attempts at rearing prize poets and prize philosophers do not seem to have succeeded so well.

All rules, it is said, have their exception, and we are truly pleased, that fortunately in this case, the exception lies before us. Of all countries in the world we should least have expected a satisfactory dissertation on this subject from France, a land wherein rational religion seems never to have been known, and of all times least should we have expected it at the present, when Bonaparte, most probably a bigoted catholic himself, has restored catholicism, shorn of its beams indeed, but still the same in spirit, still with transubstantiation and auricular confession, a Latin service and a celibate clergy. But France is hardly entitled to the credit of this work: she sent the seed indeed, and has received the fruit of the tree, but the tree itself was reared and the fruit matured in a better country. M. Villers is German in his studies, his opinions, and his philosophy. He is a pupil of Eickhorn's school, and he has learnt in that school a theology which no other could have taught him.

It augurs well for France that the national institute should have proposed such a question, still better that they should have awarded the prize to so truly liberal and enlightened an essay. A very remarkable sentence occurs in the commencement of the work: M. Villers observes that the subject regards both religion and politics, which he calls the two cardinal points of the life of man; '*and of the first prerogatives of liberty, is the power of full and unconstrained expression on those important subjects, and in whatever country that power is exercised, infallibly that country is free.*'

With the opinions of the German writers M. Villers has caught a little too much of their method; their over-solicitude for arrangement—of their first-ing and second-ing, dividing and subdividing, sorting and separating. Order is an excellent thing, but these which are the ornaments of order may well be dispensed with. There is no necessity to label reasonings if they follow in natural sequence. He employs also too much time in clearing the road along which his procession is to pass; this ought to be done, but it should be done before people are assembled to see the show. It is right that he himself should perfectly understand the limits of his subject, but it was by no means necessary that the readers should walk the bounds with him. All that part of the first section, which is to show that every cause is itself an effect of some other cause, till you arrive at a first cause, is mere matter of amplification; that mouthful of froth which disappoints him who would drink.

The second section is upon the essence of reformations in general; here the author speaks of what are the hopes of mankind, and he speaks rationally, religiously, rightly.

"Do we then give permission to him who contemplates the history of the human race, to ask of himself whether tends that succession of tumultuous events, of commotions, and of transmutations in things and in opinions? Let him give free scope to his mind in pursuing the end of so many progressive revolutions. He can find it only in the sublime idea of a state of things, in which the destination of the whole human race being fully consummated, all their physical and moral powers having attained their highest degree of improvement, mankind would be as good, as wise, and as happy as the original qualities of their nature permit. Not that it can be demonstrated that this golden age of mortality, this millennium of philosophy, can ever

realized as the dream of philanthropy ex-
tended to our own imagination. But in the
lot of man, in those of society, we cannot
perceiving a tendency towards the bet-
ter, towards an order of things more just,
more beneficent, in which the rights of every
man are better guarded, and those rights more
equally divided. Let us grant that absolute
perfection will never be the lot of mortals ;
at the same time, let us acknowledge
that this perfection forms the ideal object of
our desire, that it is a want, a demand of
our intellectual nature. It is not clear that
it will ever arrive at it ; but it is certain
they aspire to it. Peradventure the phe-
nomenon of the geometrical asymptote is
destined to be repeated in the moral world,
that we shall for ever approximate to the
ideal without being able to touch it.

Up to our time the species has made
progress ; it is credible that our successors
will be the same. Greece and Italy, barbarous
in their early ages, were far behind Greece
and Italy in the brilliant days of their improve-
ment.

But however eminent, in many re-
spects, that improvement may have been, it
was peculiar to each of those nations, and ex-
cluded with regard to the rest. It belonged
to the citizen of Athens, to the citizen of
Rome. It belonged not to man. All the
inhabitants of the globe were born to an inheritance of
ignorance, and slavery, of practical slavery,
with a few millions of men. Was im-
provement to be confined for ever to a few
nations to a narrow corner of the earth ? Were
billions of human beings who vegetated
in the store-house of nations between the Obi
and the Elbe to remain eternal strangers to it,
to be for ever only the swordsmen or
slaves of the privileged orders ? No ;
certainly ! Among them too the dis-
semination of light was to take place ; an inter-
course was to be formed by which the spirit of
freedom and of Achaia was to be carried to the
Asian Chersonese. To accomplish this
it was necessary either that the small
number of people with whom improvement
lodged should subdue innumerable na-
tions, and penetrate to the remotest corners of
the most distant regions ; or that the mass of
civilized nations should conquer the small
barbarous, and become incorporated with them,
in a sensitive place of illumination. After the
first of those means had been tried, and the
light had penetrated as far as was consist-
ent with a power and a virtue worthy of eternal
glory, the second, more natural, was set
on foot by the mysterious Arbiter of human
fate. The children of the north poured
themselves out upon the south of Europe, and
led their own darkness along with them.
Light appeared to come again. Scarcely
had there a feeble spark of light appear-
ed in the midnight gloom which lasted the
proportioned to the foreign mass which
survived. Ten ages of fermentation were
necessary to assimilate so many heterogene-
ous elements to the better ingredients which

were blended with them. At last the light
burst forth anew on all sides. During three
ages, since its appearance, it has spread, and
made a progress hitherto unexampled. The
illumination of Athens and of Rome is re-
stored, not only throughout Europe, but at
Philadelphia and Calcutta. Rome, and A-
thens, which our knowledge and our arts would
astonish, would admire also the philanthropy
of Europe, which glories in the feelings of
humanity, and allows not slavery to exist on
its soil. Such are the effects which have re-
sulted from the dismal inundation of the bar-
barians in the fourth century ; and in this
manner does time at last vindicate the ways of
Providence, whose power during the course
of one or even of several generations appears
sometimes entirely to have remitted its action.
It behoved me to make choice of this exam-
ple, because the apparent downfall of human
nature, during the long interval of barbarity
in the middle ages, is generally the favourite
theme on which the adversaries of perfectibil-
ity descant in recommendation of their own
doctrine."

The metaphysics of this section con-
cerning the body and spirit of human in-
stitutions might well have been spared. In
the following we arrive at the real subject
of the essay : it contains a sketch of the po-
litical, religious, and literary state of Europe
at the beginning of the 16th century, and of
the political effects which the reformation
produced, such as breaking down the
power of Austria, which would else have
destroyed the liberties of Germany, es-
tablishing the independence of Holland,
and in fact that balance of power which it
has been the object of all statesmen since
to preserve.

Conjectures follow regarding what would
have happened if the reformation had not
taken place. The state of society in Austria,
in Spain, and in Italy, answers the question.
Fanaticism would every where have con-
tinued to make bonfires of reformers and
philosophers, and pederasty to walk abroad
in purple. Bigots would have persecuted
in stupid sincerity, and mitred atheists
have made a common cause with them
against honesty and truth. Some valuable
facts are mentioned in this chapter which
show that though the giant Pope is by
reason of age, and also of the many shrewd
brushes that he met with in his younger
days, ' grown crazy and stiff in his joints,'
he doth still ' sit in his cave's mouth,
grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and
biting his nails because he cannot come at
them.' The holy see has not to this hour
recognised the king of Prussia. Every
year the pope still doth ' excommunicate
and anathematize, on the part of God Al-

... Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and as on our own part for the warmth it seems to have run into it is backed by a deluge of all heresies, as also all those who follow the human empire, and the doctrine of Martin Luther, and all who follow and receive it, and all who read the books of the Bible, or of any other, and in general all their descendants. In the late year 1792, the anniversary of Salzburg, except thirty thousand of his subjects, because they were protestants, and refused them to carry with them any of their property, or even their families. The banishment of the Jews, and the expulsion of the Moravians, have been paralleled in Germany in our own times! Never let it be forgotten that if some new Medea were to suck up the crazy old giant, he would come out of the cauldron as carnivorous and as blood-thirsty as ever. M. Villers says in one of his notes, 'a striking monument of the barbarity which remained in Catholic Germany at the end of the eighteenth century exists in the narration of the adventures of M. Schad, which has been published by that gentleman, professor of philosophy in the university of Jena, who had formerly been a Benedictine monk in the convent of Banz, whence he made his escape, fortunately for himself and for philosophy, which he still cultivates with success. Yet these monks of Banz were regarded as the lights of catholic Germany. It would be difficult to believe the excess of their superstition, if it were not described by an eye-witness, and one who had himself been concerned in it.' It might be rendering some service to this country to translate the book thus spoken of. Bishop Gardiner has still his admirers in England; convents have been re-established here in defiance of the law of the land, and the children of protestant parents perverted, and induced to enter them. However we have been accustomed to hear the present time called the age of reason, and the age of infidelity, it is more truly an age of superstition.

With this enquiry the first or introductory part of the essay concludes. The second, which bears for its general title 'influence of the reformation,' commences with a chapter upon the political situation of the states of Europe. 'Mens agitat molem' is the motto. Almost immediately after Luther had raised the standard of revolt, the popes lose half the empire, more than half Switzerland, all Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England; the resources which

they supplied to Rome were instantly off; nor was the successor of St. Peter any longer the tremendous power he been, even in those kingdoms which preserved their faith. Instead of the law he was now compelled to regulate it, he was now obliged to regulate a reform as the courts of Vienna or Madrid found convenient; and in times to disband his Janizaries, his tried and disciplined band. As his declined, the political influence of men fled away also. Richelieu and Mazarine are only exceptions. A reform manners was forced upon the church the reformation; it has had no since; nor was it possible longer for clergy to remain in their brutal ignorance; when they could not enforce they were compelled to try ment. The Jesuits started up, and had its age of learning, for which again it is indebted to the reformation. There would have been no Laynez if there been no Luther, no Baronius had been no centuriators at Magdenburg Bellarmine and Bossuet had there been protestants.

The reformation furnishes a parallel to the political fermentation of later times. Of the protestant sect M. Villers says, 'what the most imminent danger of the state could not be obtained from individuals, zeal for religion obtained with ease. For the artists, beggars, peasants, ran to arms, and not of them thought of murmuring at the thrice as heavy as those which they sustained before. In the violent agitation into which the danger of religion affected the mind, people offered goods and they perceived not the efforts or burdens with which they would have considered themselves oppressed in a calm situation: substitute king and constitution for religion; and this is the nature of our associations, and lives-and-tunes men. Prodigious power was thrown into the hands of those protestant princes, who, like our Elizabeth, knew how to use it; and on the other hand the struggle in catholic countries between the clergy and the crown ceased for ever and the one leagued itself with the other for the common object of deceiving and oppressing the people, of enslaving the body and soul.

M. Villers briefly notices the jacobinism of the reformation. We find, he says, among some of the extravagant sects, that of the anabaptists, the same protes-

to absolute equality and liberty, as which gave occasion to all the excesses of the jacobins in France. Agrarian laws, the plunder of the rich, formed part of their doctrine also: and on their cards might have been already written, war with castles, and peace with cottages. We have in our possession, a rare curious book, from whence the parallel may be continued. 'It is the very sports of comon people, namely of these maynes, that what so ever they be persuaded unto, agreeable to theyr affections, they shal be ready, in a sodeyn gyre, to complysh; regarding nether daunger, nor commodite, though sone after they repent them. And lyke as the people of bell brought the jewelless of their wives and chyldern to the makinge of golden calts; so dōd they brynge theyr jewelless, beades, rynges, outhes, with pay, both gold and sylver, to the comon hutches so haboundantly for this prodigion, that men doubted, in some place, whether they had poore folke sufficient to consume so excedynge heapes of ryches. At this dout was sone made a playne way; for within a whyle after, the ardent heat of theyr lyberall devocion waxed cold; and because they contynued in styll in bryngynge in theyr oblations, the hutches and coffers were emptye ere they wist it. Then whyles it was considered what waye myglite be beste taken for the preservation of this ordynance, that it shuld decaye, to theyr confusion that began it; some gave counsell that it should be necessarye to depryve the clergy of theyr goodes, and to distribute theyr possessions, landes, and rentes, among lay people, and to throwe downe all monasteries, and churches, makinge coynce of crosses, chalesses, and other sacred revels, for the sustentation of the poore, as they alleged.*'

M. Villers does not do justice to these jacobins of the reformation. Voltaire says, and says truly, of the manifesto which Munzer drew up for them, that it might have been signed by Lycurgus. It is a system, says Robert Robinson, of justice, virtue, and happiness; and so equally dis-

tributed, that it is impossible to know any thing more of the religion of the authors, than that they were christians, who held themselves bound to make the holy scriptures the rule of their actions. And he bids us compare their memorial with the Augsburg confession; each article of which begins with *docent*, and ends with *dammant*. They deserved a more respectful mention, in spite of the excesses to which they were induced by madmen, who can, in all ages and all countries, find followers enough. When we execrate the excesses of the peasants in Germany, and of the jacquerie in France, the heaviest portion of the curse should fall upon the oppressors who provoked them. The insurrections in our own country, under Wat Tyler and John Ball, were disgraced by no such enormities. England was free from the reproach of national cruelty till the accursed proceedings in Ireland.

Notwithstanding, however, the war of the peasants, Germany was infinitely indebted to the reformation. It served Charles V. as a pretext for attacking those states of the empire which were hostile to his ambitious projects, and he probably regarded it as a happy circumstance. But it gave them tenfold strength; it united them in an indissoluble bond of union; and the liberties of Germany were saved; and the consequence is—that there is now broad sunshine in Saxony, and candle-light in Austria—that what Eickhorn publishes at Gottingen is prohibited at Vienna. This very essay will, no doubt, be included in the list of prohibitions, and it is not our fault if the Annual Review be not thought deserving of the same honour.

M. Villers asserts, that Prussia owes much of its popularity, and much of its success, to its religion. In Silesia, and in all the Austrian dominions, the number of secret protestants, the descendants of those who had fought for freedom of conscience, under Zisca and Procopius, was very great. Prussia is every where held up in this volume as the Ormuzd, and Austria as the Ahriman, of Germany. The translator makes some foolish objections to this, which is the prevailing feel-

* The little volume from which this has been extracted is entitled, 'A Dialogue, describing the Originall Ground of these Lutheran Factions, and many of their abuses. Compyled by Syr William Barlowe, Chanon, late Byshop of Bathie. Anno 1553.'—There had been an earlier edition. I conceive this volume to be singularly rare; it was certainly not known to the writer of Sir William's life in the 'Biographia Britannica.' Possibly he himself endeavoured to suppress it, when he thought fit to swim with the stream, resign his house to Henry VIII. take an active part in the divorce, and accept one of the new bishopricks. It is a well-written book; the production of a cool, prudent, sensible man, who felt himself well off, and did not wish for any changes in the state of affairs.

ing throughout all the North of Germany ; but he states truly, that Prussia, liberal and enlightened as its government is, is still a tyranny, and if the sceptre of Frederick-William should descend into the hands of a fool, or of a bigot, it would become, in practice, what it already is in theory. There is, however, this security, that Prussia owes much of its power to its popularity, and if it cease to be the head of the enlightened party, it would cease to be formidable.

In Denmark, the spoils of the clergy fell to the nobles. Gustavus Vasa availed himself, in Sweden, of the reformation, to strengthen his own power ;—his great successor saved the liberties of Germany ; but Sweden has, from that day, declined. There is, however, something vital in the country ;—its sovereigns have always been remarkable :—that law of nature which produces what the Germans call *kukkerla-kens*, seems not yet to have begun its action there.

What relates to Switzerland is admirably said :

“ Republicans and ardent friends of liberty, as were the Swiss, they should, in appearance, have flown to meet a reformation. Seven cantons, however, remained catholic ; and another thing remarkable is, that the cantons which were most decidedly republican, were of that number. This phenomenon is not easy to explain by those who are not well acquainted with the local circumstances. It has been already observed, that the catholic religion neither is nor can be in all places the same ; being modified in different situations, by the nature and circumstances of each. The catholicism of the little cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwald, precisely because it was established among those mountaineers, naturally republican, had assumed a form agreeable to their character, and bent itself to their manners. The imagination, besides, of the inhabitants of mountains is lively, and receives a strong impression from external objects. A worship, therefore, clothed with many forms and ceremonies, must naturally please them better than one more simple and severe. Here had lived the founders of Helvetic liberty ; and the memory of all the events, and of all the great characters of that epoch, were intimately associated in their fancy with the catholic worship, and its ceremonies. The fields of famous battles, the acts of their ancestors, were on their soil designated, not by obelisks, but by chapels. Who has travelled in Switzerland, and not been to see the chapel of William Tell ? A species of idolatry, a national fanaticism, was excited in the little cantons by this mixture of the worship of liberty with that of religion. Such, even at this day, is their catholicism.

They do not even conceive that there is another. The abuses of the church had scarcely been felt among them. The Popes scarcely exacted any tribute of those poor mountaineers ; and their priests, being the persons of any information in their villages and towns, acquired, and have still preserved, a great ascendancy in the deliberations of their assemblies, and in all their affairs. To this, that knowledge had made less progress among them than among their rich allies the plains ; and that, having already made these, as it were, the present of liberty, they were not in a temper to let them prescribe them a change in their religion.”

Geneva also occasions some excellent remarks. “ It may be truly affirmed, says M. Villers, “ that this little republic has had as great an influence on the destiny and improvement of Europe, as several mighty monarchies.

“ This is a new proof of the immense advantage to human nature of little states, and of the employment which is made by their means of the concentrated power of each district of the globe. This proof is repeated at every step in Germany ; where we meet with free cities and principalities of moderate extent, all of which have their principle of life, active, peculiar and independent. Each prides itself on making industry, the sciences and arts flourish in its little capital. Universities and schools are multiplied ; and knowledge becomes more general in the nation. If truth be persecuted by fanaticism in one quarter, it is only to make a step, and it finds a secure asylum on passing the next frontier. In fine, each state in this confederate system regards itself as something in itself ; and by that single circumstance becomes something. Every city, of moderate size, is not struck with a palsy by the idea that it is nothing ; that of one or two hundred leagues distance is another greater city, which is every thing, a gulph, in which its labours are swallowed up ; a place, where the whole glory of the empire is concentrated in one luminous point, away from which there is no safety ; nothing but Herdism, political, moral, and literary, throughout an immense country. Had Athens, had Delphi, Corinth, Lacedemon, Mytilene, Smyrna, not enjoyed this individuality, and had one sovereign city monopolised the whole splendour of Greece, would so many great men, and great virtues, have every where appeared ? Had not the arts and muses of Italy every where beheld courts and flourishing republics in their neighbourhood which smiled upon them ; had genius not been awakened by immediate celebrity and encouragements at Ferrara, Mantua, Venice, Florence, Guastalla, and Sienna, as at Rome and Naples ; had there not been in all Italy but one center, one point ; one city, would that country have become, in the arts, the most classical of modern times ? ”

Holland was disturbed by contending sects, after its independence was secured. It is well observed, that where the prince, as well as the people, became protestant, the old police was maintained with the new religion: an important example to rulers, who had always better lead reformation than be overtaken by it. In the section concerning England, M. Villers is completely misled by Hume.

It is amusing to hear M. Villers talk of the gloomy and inflexible character of the English. What he says of Ireland is unhappily true:

"The reformation, which to other countries has been the source of so many blessings, has been to unhappy Ireland a most disastrous scourge. Treated as a conquered people, and long at the discretion of England, the Irish obstinately remained catholics, precisely because their oppressors were protestants. Their chains were, on that account, rendered the heavier. Their island was filled with rapacious Englishmen, by whom nearly all property was grasped. The despair of these exasperated men at last broke out with fury in 1641. A massacre throughout the island ensued of more than a hundred thousand protestants. Cromwell afterwards took vengeance on them, and delivered up almost the whole island to his soldiers. William III. established there a legal and constitutional tyranny. The catholics were deprived of political existence, of property, and even of education. It pleased England to make of them a horde of gross and barbarous mendicants. It is like barbarians, accordingly, that they have taken vengeance on every occasion which has presented itself. Animosities of this nature remain, and are transmitted through many generations. During the last war, the Irish have sufficiently shewn, that several reigns of toleration have not entirely obliterated their deep resentments."

We now come to the states of which the governments have not embraced the reformation. Spain has been dismembered of its possessions in the Netherlands; internally it has been little changed, for the inquisition is of elder date, and extirpated heresy by one vigorous persecution, which was a mere nothing to its exploits against the Jews. M. Villers says, "the difference between her language, and that of the other nations of Europe, was one obstacle to the new doctrines." It was too slight a one to deserve mention, and in fact, there is as much difference between any other European language, and all its neighbours. There were Spanish protestant writers, but their books were burnt, and themselves too, if they were caught. The state of Spain and Portugal, so far as

regards the freedom of enquiry, (and the consequences extend to every thing,) may, with little hazard, be ascribed to a constitutional disease, not far removed from religious madness, in Isabel of Castile, which became hereditary in her descendants. Such is despotism! the state of one individual's stomach, or gall-bladder, affects the lives and destinies of unborn millions.

Francis the First hated the reformation, because he had sense enough to see that the principles of civil and religious freedom were closely connected, and being a sensual and a bad man, he was of course hostile to liberty and morality. His successors were more bloody than himself; they disgraced their country, and their detestable religion, and human nature itself, by the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, the foulest day in the whole history of mankind. But that throne and that altar which then leagued together for this accursed purpose, were overthrown together by the ultimate consequences of that reformation against which they had so hellishly conspired. The heaven of liberty which Calvinism left behind it ceased not to ferment till it had produced the revolution.

Italy was little affected: it was too immediately under the sword of the pope and of the emperor; and the few reasoning men who did not become either pagans or infidels, retired into other countries. It was the lot of Poland to receive the most illustrious; ignorance has extinguished all that formerly rendered that country illustrious, and the socinians exist no where in any strength but in England.

Second Inquiry. External Situation of the States of Europe in regard to one another.—The religious struggle produced the balance of power, France siding at first with the protestant princes, and calling in the Turk, because France has always made religion subservient to policy. M. Villers thus recapitulates the effects of the reformation, in regard to politics.

"Europe, plunged during several centuries into stupor and apathy, interrupted only by wars, or rather incursions and depredations, without an object useful to the human species, all at once receives new life and activity. A mighty and universal interest agitates the nations; their powers are unfolded; and their minds opened to new political ideas. Preceding revolutions had thrown into action only the arms of men, this set their minds also to work. The people, who till now had been counted only as cattle, passively subject to the caprice of their leaders, begin to act from themselves, and to feel their own importance and utility. Those who embrace the

reformation make a common cause with their sovereigns, and hence arises a close union, a community of interest and action between the prince and his subjects. Both are for ever delivered from the excessive and burthensome power of the clergy, as well as from the struggle, injurious to all Europe, and which lasted so long between the popes and the emperors, for the supreme dominion in that quarter of the globe. The social order is regulated and improved. The Austrian power is restrained within due limits; that of France is raised and opposes it; the importance of durable alliances begins to be felt; the bodiless politics of Europe form a connected system in which one part is balanced by another; a whole regularly organised, of which formerly not even an idea was conceived. States, such as Sweden and Turkey, which scarcely till that time existed with regard to the rest, obtain rank and importance in that system. Others, such as Holland, are at once produced by the mighty shock, and from the beginning acquire preponderance. The foundations are laid of the Prussian monarchy, and of the American republic. In politics a general spirit is formed which embraces all Europe. The art of negotiation is improved; becomes more frank and more certain; and the course of affairs more clear and simple. In this state of union and contact, commotions and wars become more general, but they become also of shorter duration, and their rigour is softened by better and more humane laws of nations.

"In one part of Europe the church ceases to form a foreign state within the state; whence it is easy to foresee that this change will every where be produced; and that the head of the church will be confined to the mere spiritual supremacy. Finally the catholic clergy reform their conduct by the example of the protestants; and they gain in morals, in knowledge, and esteem, what they lose in power and riches.

"At the same time all the governments in Europe increase their internal power; those which are protestant by the union which they form with the mass of the people, and by the wealth, prerogatives, and jurisdiction of the church, upon which they seize; those which are catholic by placing themselves on a formidable footing of war, by reducing the protestants in their own dominions, and thus subduing one part of their subjects by the other, the citizens by the soldiers."

The consequent progress of knowledge is next investigated. The church of Rome said, Submit, without examination, to authority; the protestant church said, Examine and submit only to thine own conviction. Protestantism, says Greiling, is the repulsive power with which reason is endowed to remove and throw off whatever would occupy its place. The first and immediate improvement was in theological studies, which M. Villers, after the

German school, divides into *catechetical* and *homiletical* and *exegesis*, or the critical examination of the text of scripture, of which the *hermeneutical* is a part. The translator has taken occasion here to introduce a very bigoted and unnecessary note. The state of the protestant clergy is then described:—"protestant theology," says the author, "rests on a system of examination, on the unlimited use of reason. It regards the doctrinal part reduced to purity and simplicity as only the body of religion, the positive form which it requires; and it is supported by philosophy in the examination of the laws of nature, of morality, and of the relations of man to the Divine Being. Whoever wishes to be instructed in history, in classical literature and philosophy, can chuse nothing better than a course of protestant theology."

In regard to Philosophy and to the Moral and Political Sciences.—The Romish church has always persecuted philosophy, as well before as after the reformation. Witness Roger Bacon and Galileo, Jordano Bruno, and Vanini. If indeed a philosopher would work miracles like Thomas Aquinas, or sport problems concerning the Virgin Mary, like Duns Scotus, he might then metaphysicize as deeply as he pleased. But the reformation necessarily led to free inquiry; Luther might banish Muncer, Melancthon might cry out against the fanatical anabaptists for disbelieving the devil, and Calvin might burn Servetus, but the flood-gates were opened, and who was to stop the waters? Muncer and Socinus, Middleton and Eickhorn, are the legitimate successors of Martin Luther, though Martin would have bespattered them as furiously with his ink as he did the devil with his ink-stand. In this section M. Villers candidly admits that the number of thinking men who have appeared in France is very limited; and he asserts that the philosophical spirit has for a course of years seemed dead in England. This truth excites the indignation of the translator, who talks loudly of Reid and Beattie. Morals have necessarily been better understood since the casuists have been laid aside, political science partakes of the general progression, and has been so far, and only so far, affected by the reformation. The same may be said of the physical and mathematical sciences. Fine literature owes to it the German and English bibles, which have fixed those languages.

The fine arts have suffered every where, and in Scotland they have been extirpated;

that country is an exception to every thing which has been asserted of the benefits of the reformation; the reformation produced nothing there but degradation, fanaticism, and barbarity. John Knox was the Marat of the reformation.

Consequences of the events which accompanied and followed the reformation. Disturbances and wars in the political world; controversies in the theological world. The argument against the reformation, from the wars which it occasioned, is nugatory and contemptible; it was the *occasion* of these wars, not the *cause*, and the result has been favourable to the liberties and to the happiness and virtue of mankind. These wars produced a long exhaustion in Germany, indeed every where. Sweden and Spain are the only countries which have not recovered it. The Austrian dominions are the only part of the world which has, in every respect, suffered by these wars, but they alone who opposed the reformation are guilty of all the evils which resulted from it. In like manner it was the occasion, not the cause, of much theological controversy; by which, however, no harm is done. It is not indeed the best way of using white paper; but they who have ever seen an income-tax schedule, know that it is not the worst.

A curious section traces the secret societies of free-masons, Rosycrucians, and illuminati, to the necessity which persecuted sectarians were driven to, of secret meeting and signs of recognition. It is added, that there will soon appear a work in Germany, by M. Buhle, which will certainly establish what is thus advanced, and exhibit all the proofs. Some very curious remarks upon this subject may be found in the Monthly Review (xxv. p. 50.) in the review of Barruel, one of the ablest articles that ever appeared in a work of periodical criticism.

The Jesuits furnish the subject of another section, for this association of religious antijacobins is certainly to be placed among the effects of the reformation. Their system of education is thus admirably developed.

“ Their directing principle was to cultivate and carry to the highest possible degree of perfection all those kinds of knowledge from which no immediate danger could result to the system of hierarchical power, and to acquire by this means the character and renown of the most able and learned personages in the christian world. By means of this command of the opinions of men, it became easy for them either to prevent the growth of those

branches of knowledge which might bear fruit dangerous to the papal power, or to bend, direct, and graft upon them at their pleasure. Thus by inspiring a taste for classical learning, profane history, and mathematics, they contrived dexterously to extinguish the taste for enquiry into matters of religion and state, the spirit of philosophy and investigation. The philosophy taught in their schools was calculated to excite aversion and disgust. It was no other than the scholastic system, reviewed and corrected by them, applied to present circumstances, and the controversy with the reformers, whose arguments, it may well be supposed, were always there presented in a manner to fall before the artillery of the schools. With regard to the study of religion, it was confined to the books of theology composed for that purpose by the members of the society, to the casuists, and the Jesuitical moralists. The study of the original charters of religion was prevented; or if the gospels and other pieces appeared sometimes in the books of devotion, (and this it was impossible to avoid, when the translations given by the protestants were public,) they were accompanied with interpretations, and even alterations suitable to the main views of the society. Their great watchword was the utility of the sciences, and the beauty of the belles-lettres. All that relates to the moral improvement, to the ennobling of human nature, all that relates to the philosophical and theological sciences, the Jesuits endeavoured, and in reality were enabled, to retain in oblivion; to render theology as well as philosophy a barbarous system of subtleties, and even ridiculous to men of the world. How can it be determined to what a degree this jesuitical mode of instruction, which became the prevailing mode in catholic countries, and differs so prodigiously from the mode of instruction among the Protestants, modified the species of culture, and the particular turn of mind in Catholic countries, so different in general from what is discovered in the Protestant? From all this however it follows (and this consideration appears to me the key of the very contradictory judgments passed on the plans of the Jesuits in the cultivation of the sciences) that this society performed immense services to certain parts of literature, which it improved; but that on the other hand, it retained, designedly, certain other important parts in the dark, or so obstructed the avenues to them with thorns, that nobody was tempted to enter. Thus, considered generally, the instruction given in their schools, very brilliant in one respect, continued very dark in another, was a system partial, incomplete, and which set the mind in a wrong direction. But, as on the one side all was clearness, and illumination, and on the other all mystery and obscurity, the eyes of men were naturally directed to the illuminated side, and disdained to dwell upon the other, which they acquired the habit of considering as altogether insignificant.

"To model science according to the interests of the pontifical power, and render even science ignorant in all things in which it was requisite that she should be ignorant; to produce some things in the clearest light, and to retain others in the thickest darkness; to fertilize the kingdoms of the memory and the imagination, by rendering that of thought and reason barren; to form minds submissive without being ignorant of any thing but what could effect their submission; like those highly valued slaves of the great men of antiquity who were grammarians, rhetoricians, poets, fine dancers, and musicians, and knew every thing except how to become free; I cannot fear that I shall be contradicted by any impartial man, in stating that such was the system of instruction adopted by the Jesuits. It was ingenious, and inimitably adapted to the end they had in view. It was calculated to form illustrious, and elegant authors, learned men, orators, good Roman Catholics, Jesuits, if you please, but not men in the full acceptance of that term. He who became a man under their management, became so independently of that management, and in spite of it."

As the Jesuits opposed the reformers, and the Jansenists opposed the Jesuits, M. Villers ascribes all the fruits of this latter rivalry to Martin Luther. Without the reformation, he says, there would have been no Jesuits, and without the Jesuits no Port Royal; thus the works of Arnauld, Tillemont, Pascal, &c. are among the fruits of this prolific seed. This is something like the connection between the priest all shaven and shorn, and the rat that eat the malt that lay in the house that Jack built. There is no end of these remote consequences; the price of nutmegs is one, and the archbishop of Canterbury's wig is another.

Reflection concerning the uses made of the wealth of the church. M. Villers regrets the little good use that has been made of this treasury, and yet he supposes the distribution in our own country to be more judicious than it really is; thus much however we may fairly boast, that in no country has it been better applied. The Essay terminates with a brief recapitulation, in which the author ends as he began, by shewing that the reformation, so active a cause to succeeding ages, was itself an effect of the spirit of its own age. What Dante and Petrarca were to poetry; Michael Angelo and Raffaello to the arts of design; Bacon and Descartes to philosophy; Copernicus and Galileo to astronomy; Columbus and Gama to geography; the same, was Luther in regard to religion. All were the first characters of

their respective ages, but their age was ready for them.

A sketch of the history of the church down to the reformation is appended, it might with more propriety have been prefixed. We shall transcribe from this the character of the great founder of christianity, as perfectly explanatory of the author's system of belief.

"He preached with the tranquil majesty of a mind invested with a superior mission, and which had no other business on the earth, but that of establishing truth, piety, and love among mortals. Serious and circumspect in his actions, ingenuous, simple, and sublime in his discourses, his mind appeared calm, transparent, and profound as the ether of heaven. Supremely mild and benevolent, a holy zeal against impiety and vice could alone move or affect him with passion for an instant. Thus is Jesus described to us by his four historians. If he was not such, undoubtedly we must admire the genius of those who imagined so fine a picture, and still more the happy chance by which the same picture presented itself exactly to four evangelists, who, in all probability, could not each copy from the other. But if he was such, as it is impossible to doubt, what then was the nature of this extraordinary being, who resembles none of the great personages represented to us in history, and whose life, without blemish and without affectation, exhibits not one of the weaknesses of human nature?

"Jesus, during the few years of his public ministry, sowed the imperishable seeds of a doctrine of pure adoration, of love and justice; or rather he only sanctioned and vivified those seeds naturally sown in every heart. And what is not less wonderful and extraordinary than his whole mission and character is, that a Jew, a member apparently of a nation unparalleled for its selfishness, its exclusive spirit, and its enmity to the rest of mankind, first presented the notion of an universal religion, of a church for the human race, of a fraternity of all men under the authority of a common father. One father, one family, one service, one love; this idea was miraculous in that age; it was so in a much greater degree produced and established in Judea. Jesus offered it as his only precept; explained, and applied it to every case. He gave charge to his apostles, plain, unlettered men, to go and diffuse it among all nations, declaring to them that every where its effects would be great. They go, they speak, and the world becomes christian. Jesus meanwhile, pursued by the fanaticism of the priests of the ancient law, was the same amid executioners and torments which he had been in the midst of his disciples, a pattern more than human of patience and firmness, of mildness and sublimity. "Father," said he, praying for his executioners, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." This last proof was wanting to enable him to offer a practical example of

the most difficult virtues. After this nothing more remained for him to do: all was *finished* to use his own expression; and he died the noble death of a martyr to truth and virtue."

The whole of this sketch displays a thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical history.

M. Villers has touched lightly upon the evils which the reformation has occasioned; he specifies its injurious effect upon the fine arts, and nothing more. A worse evil is the total stop which it has hitherto put to the progress of christianity; the Danish and Moravian missions are too unimportant to be considered as exceptions. Protestantism wants all the implements for conversion. The Jesuits trained up men for the purpose, always either the most enthusiastic or the most able of their body, and not unfrequently both qualities were found united. Celibacy enabled these adventurers to carry their lives loose about them, they looked on to martyrdom as to the highest blessing, and to canonization as the highest summit of earthly glory—thrones in heaven and altars upon earth were to be their reward. But the Protestant church militant would find but few of its soldiers ready to volunteer upon the forlorn hope. The missionary from a reformed country, sets out with only his own stock of zeal, there are no cooler heads at home to direct him; he has no order to share in the glory of his success, or sing triumphant hymns for his martyrdom; he sees no charms in the stake and the foss, and worst of all, he has no tools to work with, no idols which he can offer to the idolator in exchange for his old gods. It is the state which must convert Hindostan and Polynesia, not the church.

The reformed churches may also envy the admirable skill with which Rome enlisted into its own service all such fanatics as create sects in protestant countries. The Wesleys and Whitfields of catholicism have been the founders of new orders, or the reformers of old ones, and proved its most useful labourers. In that wonder-

ful system of imposition every thing was made useful. The church of Rome sent enthusiasts abroad to extend its empire and be made its martyrs; and those who were too mad for any thing else, it kept at home to feed upon bread and water, flog themselves, wear hair-cloth, see visions, receive revelations, and become saints. Our Bridgets and Gertrudes go to Bedlam, and our Junipers to the parish work-houses.

It has been said, that the reformation was premature, and would have been more effectual had it been delayed; but the example of France does not prove that any great changes in the state of the church are conducted in these times more moderately, more wisely, or to better end, than they were in the sixteenth century. Popery never could have fallen without violence. As for its reforming itself, have we yet to learn that reforms are never to be expected from within; that for goitres and cancers there is but one cure?

That the reformation has not been complete we may acknowledge. What however may be farther wanting in our own country is in the body, not the spirit of the church. Our clergy have kept pace with their countrymen in improvement. Consubstantiation may be in the articles, and transubstantiation in the catechism; but neither do the men who subscribe to the articles think of the one, nor the children who repeat the catechism of the other; they are not insisted upon as points of faith, and they form no part of the national belief. Were the church of England to improve the condition of its inferior clergy, and to make its articles correspond with its actual belief, its friends would have little to wish, and its enemies nothing to hope.

Mr. Lambert's translation has a life of Luther prefixed, which, if not more necessary than Mr. Mill's notes, is not quite so worthless. It is from a later edition, and contains a preface of M. Villers, which shews that his book has excited, as might be expected, some controversy.

ART. XLIX.—*An Attempt to illustrate those Articles of the Church of England which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical. In Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1804, at the Lecture founded by J. BAMPTON, M. A. Canon of Salisbury. By RICHARD LAWRENCE, LL. D. of University College.* 8vo. pp. 460.

It has been justly remarked by an eminent theological professor of one of our universities, that in order to ascertain, or to approach to the primitive sense of our

articles, we must put ourselves in the place of those who compiled them. This is precisely what Dr. L. has attempted in the lectures now before us. He is not

indeed the first, as he acknowledges, by whom this mode of illustration has been adopted; but he has been much more diligent, and much more successful, than those who have preceded him. We will endeavour to give in a brief but faithful sketch, the result of the dry and laborious investigations through which he has been necessarily led in determining the state of religious opinion at the beginning of the reformation in England.

The nature and extent of his design will be evident from the following passage in the first sermon.

"On one hand it has been contended, that our articles are consonant with the creed of Calvin; on the other with that of Arminius. It is not my intention to follow this controverted question into particulars. Yet perhaps it should be cursorily remarked, that even the Calvinist has proved in the most convincing mode, that they are not in their necessary construction completely calvinistical; that something is wanting in them to produce entire satisfaction; for repeatedly has he laboured, although constantly laboured in vain, first to render them explicit on this head, and afterwards to get his favourite emendations approved and established by public authority. But with these points the elucidation, which I propose, is by no means connected. It will be confined to a comparison of our articles with the prevailing opinions of the times when they were composed, at least with those in which they immediately originated, or from which they were collaterally derived.

"If we contemplate them in this view, or rather such of them as will become the subject of investigation, we find, that far from being framed according to the system of Calvin in preference to all others, they were modelled after the Lutheran in opposition to the Romish tenets of the day. The whole scope, therefore, of my design will be, instead of considering them abstractedly, to survey them relatively, with reference to the particular tenets alluded to; and the principal part of my observations will consist in developing these, if not minutely and in full detail, yet sufficiently for the purpose of illustration. But before I proceed to explain the selected doctrines, it will be requisite more at large to point out the real basis upon which the superstructure of our church was raised; and then to give the evidence which the articles themselves exhibit of having been erected upon the same foundation."

The English reformation, which, as is well known, commenced under Henry VIII. was completed, according to Dr. L. in all its essential parts under Edward VI. No subsequent alteration of any importance took place. The original, after which it was moulded, was the Protestant

establishment in Germany. The "men of the new learning," as the English Protestants were called, were all Lutherans; and many attempts were made, both by Henry and Edward, to gain the personal assistance of Melancthon. The two most important publications of Henry's reign, the Bishop's Book and the King's Book, with the exception of a few points breathed the spirit of Lutheranism. "Upon the accession of Edward the offices of the church, observes Dr. L. were immediately reformed (which before had been but partially attempted) after the temperate system of Luther, and not after the plan of subversion, rather than of reformation, which Calvin had recently exhibited at Geneva. Nor were any alterations of importance, one point alone excepted, made at their subsequent revision. At the same period also the first book of Homilies was composed: which, although equally Lutheran, yet containing nothing upon the subject of the sacramental presence, has remained without the slightest emendation to the present day." p. 15. Soon after this Cranmer translated a Lutheran catechism, which he edited in his own name, dedicated to the king, and strongly recommended as a treatise admirably adapted to improve the principles as well as the morals of the rising generation.

"On the whole, therefore, the principles, upon which our reformation was conducted, ought not to remain in doubt: they were manifestly Lutheran. With these the mind of him, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the salutary measure, was deeply impressed, and in conformity with them was our Liturgy drawn up, and the first book of our Homilies, all that were at the time composed."

The articles, Dr. L. asserts, were drawn up by Cranmer, after the model of "that boast of Germany and pride of the reformation, the confession of Augsburg." Upon one point only, the doctrine of consubstantiation, a deviation from it was made; and upon this point the author of the confession was himself suspected. Of their subsequent history Dr. L. observes,

"When a permanent system of faith was settled by the clergy assembled in convocation under Elizabeth, the see of Canterbury was filled by Archbishop Parker, who as an antiquarian and Saxon scholar still ranks high in the republic of letters. Nor as the restorer of our church did he acquire a less solid, if less brilliant, reputation. Called by the providence of God to rebuild the walls of our Zion, rudely subverted by papal bigotry,

neglected not the revered materials of the former fabric. After the revival of our liturgy, his attention was directed to the consideration of speculative questions: and here the temperate proceedings of the assembly, which discussed them, seemed perfectly to correspond with his most sanguine wishes. Instead of entering upon the task of innovation, instead of bringing forward a new code of doctrines, which some might have thought more adapted to the improved state of religious taste and sentiment, the convocation was satisfied to tread in a beaten path; it not only made the articles of Cranmer the basis of the proposed system, but adopted them in general word for word. Of what was the intention in this respect no testimony can be more conclusive, than the evidence of the original document itself, which is still preserved with the signatures of the clergy annexed to it, and which is nothing more than an interlined and amended copy of the formulary, which had been adopted in the preceding reign.

"Whatsoever then might have been the dispositions of a few overzealous men, the members of this important convention displayed a remarkable proof of their moderation and judgment, by generally reviving what had been before established, rather than, in order to gratify the restless spirit of innovation, by inculcating novel doctrines. Instead of increasing the number of the articles, they diminished them; instead of extending their sense, so as to make them embrace a greater proportion of speculative tenets, they contracted them, and appeared in every case more disposed to extinguish difference of opinion, than to augment it by adding fuel to a flame, already rising above controul. In one or two instances indeed additions, or rather additional elucidations, were admitted. Of the tendency however of these we cannot doubt, when we learn that, with the exception of one obvious topic alone, they were not original; that they were neither the productions of Parker nor the convocation; and that they were not borrowed from any calvinistical or Zuinglian, but from a Lutheran creed. The creed to which I allude is the confession of Wirtemberg, which was exhibited in the council of Trent the very year, when our own articles were completely arranged by Cranmer. That their resemblance to this composition should have been hitherto overlooked is the more remarkable, because it seems too visible, one would conceive, to have escaped the notice of the most superficial observer. For it was not confined to a mere affinity of ideas, or the occasional adoption of an individual expression; but in some cases entire extracts were copied, without the slightest omission or minutest variation.

"If then we duly weigh the facts, which have been stated, and the consequences which seem to result from them, we shall not perhaps be at a loss to determine, from what quarter we are likely to collect the best materials for illustrating the articles of our church.

We perceive, that in the first compilation many prominent passages were taken from the Augsburg, and in the second from the Wirtemberg confession; the latter not being considered as a retraction of the former, but rather, what only it professed to be, as a repetition and compendium of it. These were the creeds of Lutherans."

Dr. Lawrence further remarks :

"To the writings of Calvin it will be in vain to apply, as some have done, from any conception, that our clergy in the last revision were eager to propagate the new principles, which they may be supposed to have imbibed during the sanguinary persecution under Mary. For, as if distrustful upon this head, the prudent restorers of our church, unless on an individual question, where the interests of truth forbade a compromise, kept the creed of a different communion in view; the creed likewise of an æra prior to that event, which, by compelling many of our proscribed countrymen to take refuge on the continent, particularly at Geneva, laid the foundation of a controversy respecting discipline and the forms of divine worship, which long disturbed the tranquillity of our ecclesiastical establishment, often threatened its existence, and once actually subverted it. But to the name of Calvin, whose talents even prejudice must confess to have been not inferior to his piety, but whose love of hypothesis was perhaps superior to both, from the celebrity which it afterwards acquired, too much importance has been sometimes annexed. It has been forgotten, that at the time under contemplation, the errors of the church of Rome were almost the sole objects of religious altercation, no public dissension of consequence having occurred among protestants, although thinking variously on various topics, except upon the single point of the eucharist: and that Calvin's system upon this had not obtained its full reputation, his controversies upon the subject not being then in existence; controversies, which first began to perpetuate his name, and to render Calvinism a characteristic appellation. Nor has it been sufficiently observed, that his title to fame on this occasion arose not so much from his opinions themselves, which differed but little, except in terms, from what had been before advanced by Bucer and other mediators between the two extremes of a corporeal and a spiritual presence, as from the perspicuity, with which he explained, and the ability, with which he defended them, when attacked by the Lutherans, who had not yet entered the field of combat against him. But no more convincing evidence, perhaps, can be alleged, that the incense of flattery, which was afterwards abundantly offered up, had not then been received, than the total silence respecting him preserved by a contemporary writer, who seemed pertinaciously attached to all his opinions; I mean the well known author of an Ecclesiastical History, containing the acts and monuments of martyrs. From

the voluminous production alluded to, it appears not that any of those, who suffered in the reign of Mary, were accused of having adopted the sentiments of Calvin; but either of Luther or of Zuingle: nor does the prolix historian himself, while he dwells in detail upon the writings and merits of both the latter, distinguish the name, or attempt to immortalize the memory, of the former.

"It was indeed more to his theory of predestination, than to that of the sacramental presence, that in process of time he was indebted for his renown. Even this however, at the period under review, had not passed the controversial flame, from which, in the estimation of his zealous adherents, it came forth with additional brilliancy and purity. It was not then, as afterwards, the object of applause, but, on the contrary, of disapprobation. For his doctrine of *God's dreadful decree*, which before had attracted little notice, was then beginning to give offence both within and without the territory of Geneva. *Dreadful* I term it, as being no less so to his feelings, than to ours; for the same strong epithet he himself applied to it. '*Horribile quidem decretum fateor*,' were the precise expressions which he used, when shuddering at his own favourite idea of irrespective reprobation."

In this passage there is an inaccuracy. In the last examination of Mr. John Philpot before Bishop Bonner, the Bishop of Coventry thus addresses him: "Your church, of Geneva, which ye call the Catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of."—To which Philpot replies, "I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same, &c."

In his fifth examination also, he asks his persecutors, "Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's institutions, which is minister of Geneva?" And soon afterwards, "In the matter of predestination, he is none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the scriptures."—See Fox's Acts, &c. vol. iii. p. 495 and 470.

But Philpot was not a leading man in the work of reformation; and the doctrine of the English church must be proved by the principles of those who compiled her articles and her services.

To Lutheran writers, therefore, Dr. L. turns in preference; and by their aid he proceeds to prove, that the articles upon original sin, works before grace, and free will, as allied to the same, upon justification by faith alone, and upon predestina-

tion and election, were formed, not according to the principles of Calvin, but with a sole regard to the topics on which the Lutheran reformers were at issue with the church of Rome. That the first English reformers would be chiefly solicitous to counteract the errors of the church from which they had separated, we should be inclined to believe previous to examination; and an accurate investigation of their writings appears, agreeably to the whole tenor of the valuable notes which accompany these lectures, to justify and confirm the position. To follow the learned preacher through the whole of his laboured enquiry, to trace after him, even in the slightest manner, the doctrines of the schoolmen upon the above points, to detail the proofs which, from the works of Luther, Melancthon, Zuingle, and Calvin, from the confessions of the earliest protestant churches, and the writings of our first reformers, he has so amply deduced, in order to illustrate and establish the principle of interpretation which he has advanced, would occupy no small number of our pages without doing sufficient justice to our author. We shall therefore forbear, and be content with subjoining the recapitulation, which Dr. L. has himself inserted near the close of his eighth sermon.

"After having completed the illustration which I proposed, it only remains for me to restate, in a few words, the various topics which have been discussed. In adverting, however slightly, to each, we immediately perceive, that the leading object of our reformers in every instance was to christianize the speculations of the schools; to point out, as I have had frequent occasion to observe, the necessity and efficacy of redemption. According to the perverted theology of their opponents, by whom the oracles of divine truth were little studied, and less regarded, the corruption of our nature, as far at least as it relates to the mental faculties, was deemed wholly ideal; by congruous merit we were thought competent to obtain God's favour here, and by condign the fruition of his glorious godhead hereafter; while it was conceived, that on account of both we were predestined to salvation. Fascinated therefore by the potent magic of the schools, when the soul of man surveyed her powers and her prospects, instead of viewing herself as a sinful and fallen creature, contaminated by original, and ruined, beyond all hope of human remedy, by actual depravity, she beheld herself transformed into an angel of light. Contemplating the approbation of heaven, not as a boon to be supplicated, but as a reward to be deserved, she disdained to accept it gratuitously, but claimed it as the recompence of her virtues, and

challenged it as her due. To her own merits she imputed her justification in this life, and her proud title to bliss in the life to come, un mindful of those, which the christian ought alone to plead at the throne of mercy, and which by repentance and faith he makes his own. Nor did her complacency in her own good qualities and superior endowments rest even here. Arrayed in all the dignity of moral excellence, and the graces of genuine piety, she beheld herself eternally present to the eye of God, elected before others for her intrinsic worth, and predestinated to everlasting felicity, because deserving of it. Where, in such a system, is to be found a place for the full, perfect, and sufficient oblation and satisfaction of him, who came to seek and to save that which was lost?

"On the other hand, when contrasted with the scholastical doctrine, in how advantageous a point of view, how much more consistent with Gospel truth, and declarative of Gospel beneficence, appears that of the church of England! The ever-memorable divines, who compiled her offices, and reformed her creed, instead of exercising their talents in abstruse theory and vain speculation, directed their attention wholly to the word of God. Upon this grounding every position which they established, they taught, with no less simplicity than sincerity, that we possess by nature a tendency to evil, which in itself is no innocuous quality, but one offensive to a just and holy God, when abstractedly considered; that we cannot ourselves in any way atone for sin; but that an atonement has been once made for all by the common Saviour of mankind; and that consequently, instead of attempting to expiate it by our own merits, whether congruous or condign, we ought rather, with a lively faith, united to a truly penitent and contrite heart, to trust in the expiation of Christ alone, because something more is requisite than we can perform, to appease the displeasure, and satisfy the justice of heaven. Thus while their adversaries laboured to promote pharisaical pride, and render the cross of Christ of no effect, they solely endeavoured to inculcate christian humility, and to demonstrate the inestimable value of christian redemption; not indeed in a calvinistical sense, as if faith were appropriated to the elect only, for that would have been to exchange one species of personal conceit for another; but in a sense, which both scripture and reason approve, which makes the light of the evangelical as general in its influences, as that of the natural day. For upon the subject of predestination, as well as upon every other, which has been alluded to, their prudence

was not less conspicuous than their piety. Approaching it with reverence, and treating it with circumspection, they indulged not, like many in the church of Rome, and like some who were enumerated among the friends of reformation; in abstruse disquisitions upon the nature of the divine will; they boasted not of a philosophy, which affected to soar above vulgar view, and fix its sublime abode in the bosom of God himself. That he, whom the wonders of created being perplex, who knows not half the wisdom of the meanest insect, that man, equally imperfect as impure, should presume to investigate the arcana of the omniscient mind, appeared to them the height of extravagance and crime. Their feelings recoiled at the idea of passing the boundary, which the scriptures have prescribed, and of exploring without an infallible guide the abyss of the unrevealed godhead; what no human intellect can comprehend, they were contented in silence to adore. Every attempt therefore to explain the will of the unknown God, as he exists in his native majesty, amid clouds of impenetrable darkness, they utterly disclaimed, and spoke only of that consolatory effect of it, which the sacred volumes disclose to us, and represent as certain, the predestination of christians to eternal life. With this express object in view they intimately blended the doctrine of election with the holy ordinance of baptism, including all in the universal promise, and regulating the decrees of God by our assumption or rejection of the christian character; persuaded that the contrary tenet of a predestination by individual destiny is attended with the worst of consequences; that while it furnishes the profligate sinner with a pretext for his vices, it increases the agony of the desponding, whose petitions for mercy and forgiveness seem never to reach the throne of grace, but return to his afflicted soul disregarded, if not despised; adding tenfold horror to his despair."

In one or two instances Dr. L. may have exposed himself to animadversion, but upon the whole the ground he has taken upon this subject seems to be that which alone is tenable. We have endeavoured to give our readers a view of this ground; and having done this we must for the present rest satisfied. The contest is not yet over: other fields remain to be fought; and we shall, for various reasons, reserve ourselves for some future remarks on the respective strength and skill of the combatants.

ART. L.—*Candid Examination of the Rev. CHARLES DAUBENY'S "Vindicia Ecclesie Anglicanae, in which some of the false Reasonings, incorrect Statements, and palpable Misrepresentations in a Publication, entitled, 'The True Churchmen Ascertained, by JOHN OVERTON, A. B.' are pointed out." With Occasional Strictures on the above-mentioned Work of Mr. OVERTON. 8vo. pp. 141.*

ART. II.—*Four Letters to the Editor of the Christian Observer, being a Reply to that Author's*

'Occasional Strictures on the True Churchmen Ascertained;' in his *Candid Examination of Mr. DAUBENY'S *Indicia Ecclesie Anglicanae*, with incidental Remarks on Dr. Kipling, Mr. Daubeny, the Reviewers, &c.* By JOHN OVERTON, A. M. Rector of St. Margaret and St. Crux, York. 8vo. pp. 106.

THE first of these publications is little more than a transcript of the review of Mr. Daubeny's work, which appeared in the *Christian Observer* for 1804; and we must do our brother-reviewers the justice to observe, that it proves them worthy of the place they occupy in the republic of letters. The charge of false reasonings, incorrect statements, and misrepresentations, which Mr. D. had urged against Mr. Overton, is here successfully retorted upon himself; and he is proved to be utterly unfit for the management of a question which requires sound judgment, patient and accurate reading, a candid temper, and a love of truth rather than of victory.

The occasional strictures have given some offence to Mr. Overton, and he has come forth in vindication of himself, not only against the reviewer in the *Christian Observer*, who, if not a partizan, is a friend to the cause which Mr. O. supports, but also against avowed enemies, such as Dr. Kipling, Mr. Daubeny, and some anonymous opposers. He has conducted his defence with much ability; he has shewn that the author of the strictures

has fallen into error with respect to some parts of his former work; and he has entered upon a further explanation of his views on some points, on which he was liable to be mistaken. A critique upon Dr. Kipling's pamphlet, published in a former volume of our work, is slightly noticed and reprehended by our author. We see no reason to retract the opinion we then offered. Supposing, what we had every reason to suppose, that by calvinism Mr. Overton meant the distinguishing doctrines of the Genevan reformer, we were certainly justified in representing the reasoning of Dr. Kipling as "demonstrative and incontrovertible." If Mr. Overton and his party disclaim any attachment to what we have been accustomed to regard as the true characteristics of the disciples of Calvin, they should contend no longer for a calvinistic interpretation of the articles. Much of this controversy might be avoided, were the disputants careful accurately to define the leading terms they employ, and with more precision to point out the subjects of debate. But of this hereafter.

ART. LII.—*A Memoir of the Proceedings of the Society called Quakers, belonging to the Monthly Meeting of Hardshaw in Lancashire, in the Case of the Author of a Publication entitled, a Narrative of Events which have lately taken Place in Ireland, &c.* By WILLIAM RATHBONE. 8vo. pp. 92.

IN our last volume we noticed at some length the "narrative" mentioned in the above title, and stated the general opinion, that it was the production of an eminent merchant in Liverpool. This opinion has been at length confirmed by the appearance of Mr. Rathbone's name. Considering the general tendency of the narrative to excite a disapprobation of the proceedings that were detailed in it, the liberal spirit of the narrator, and the dispositions which have lately prevailed in the society of Friends, no uncommon foresight was requisite to warrant an expectation that the case of the expelled members in Ireland would soon be also the case of their apologist and historian. If any reader of the narrative formed that conjecture, (and what reader did not?) he will find it verified in the present memoir. The narrative was published on the 30th of March 1804. On the 24th of June following, the overseers of the congregation in Liver-

pool stated to William Rathbone their regret that such a book should have appeared; that it had also given great pain to the society, and that it was much to be lamented that he had not consulted some judicious friend prior to its publication. A report of the publication was laid before the monthly meeting in August; various visits and conferences took place; the usual formalities were observed; and the business terminated with the *disuniting of William Rathbone from membership*, in a monthly meeting held at Manchester, February 28, 1805.

The greater part of the pamphlet now before us consists of a letter addressed to the monthly meeting of Hardshaw, in answer to the charges brought against the author of the "narrative." To an unprejudiced reader we doubt not it will appear satisfactory; while, together with the rest of the memoir, it will shew the dangerous tendency of what is called church

discipline, and the lamentable possibility of the union of ecclesiastical tyranny with a studied simplicity of manners, and a professed abhorrence of priestcraft.

ART. LII.—*A Defence of the Christian Doctrines of the Society of Friends, against the Charge of Socinianism: and its Church Discipline vindicated, in Answer to a Writer who styles himself Ferax: in the Course of which the principal Doctrines of Christianity are set forth, and some objections obviated. To which is Prefixed, a Letter to John Evans, the Author of 'a Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World,' and Strictures on the Eighth and Ninth Editions of that Work.* By JOHN BEVAN, Jun. 8vo. pp. 275.

WE noticed in our second volume, p. 154, one of the tracts against which this volume is written. The point at issue is a question concerning the opinions of Penn, Barclay, George Fox, Isaac Pennington, Claredge, and Morris, who are quoted on both sides as our old divines used to quote St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. It is curious to see the society of friends producing the authority of their fathers!

Thus much seems clear. The quakers have no confession of faith, but they are

assuredly entitled to silence any of their preachers who shall preach doctrines contrary to the received and general opinions of the society. If the separatists were numerous enough, they might form a distinct sect like the general baptists, but for this they have neither numbers nor zeal. They incline to the reasonable side, and reason is not the rock upon which churches and meeting-houses are built. Which is right or which is wrong in the point of doctrine, we shall not pretend to say.

ART. LIV.—*A View of the Old and New Way of Doctrine, Discipline, and Government, in the Churches of Christ, including Remarks on Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Plurality of Elders, their Ordination, &c. &c.* By DAVID M'RAE, A. M. 12mo. pp. 204.

MR. M'RAE, it appears, had not long left the divinity-hall of king's college, Aberdeen, which he had attended three months, when he commenced an itinerant preacher. In this situation he grew more and more dissatisfied with the doctrine and discipline of the church of Scotland. He therefore left the old way, and struck out into a new path, to which he imagines the scriptures of the New Testa-

ment directed him. He has advanced some plausible objections against the practices of the church from which he has withdrawn; but if we have properly understood him, he has not been very successful in his endeavours to discover the apostolic doctrine and institutions. He has left an old way, and turned aside into a new one; there is an older way still, the good old way of Jesus and his apostles.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ART. LV.—*The first Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1805, with an Appendix, and a List of Subscribers and Benefactors.* 8vo. pp. 108.

THIS society was formed in the year 1804, and we sincerely congratulate its benevolent members upon the rapid and extensive success which appears to attend their exertions. The object they have in view is in the highest degree important, and the prospect of its attainment is proportionably encouraging. The committee deserve the warmest praise for the zeal and industry with which they have communicated throughout Europe the institution of the society, and for the judgment with which they have promoted its designs. An institution which solicits the concurrence of persons of every sect and party, may displease the bigot, but whilst it perseveres upon such broad and liberal principles, to give as wide a circulation as possible to the scriptures, in the most generally approved versions, without note

or comment, it will meet with the good wishes and the encouragement of every friend to religion and virtue.

The report now published is highly interesting. We learn from it, that in consequence of a notification of the plan of the society being sent to Germany and Switzerland, a similar establishment has been formed in the imperial city of Nuremberg, supported by contributions from various parts of those countries, and promising to be very extensively useful. There is reason also to hope that a bible society will be soon formed in the German dominions of the king of Prussia. The advantages of these institutions are likely to be extended even to the Roman catholics. In a letter from a priest of this communion, laid before the committee, it is stated:

"That all blind bigots of his church have always spread an opinion, that it was entirely forbidden to the common people to read the bible, and that this opinion is still too prevalent. That notwithstanding this, many of their clergy both in Swabia and Bavaria, not only recommend the reading of the scriptures, particularly of the New Testament, but strongly exert themselves to promote it. That he had himself distributed many new Testaments, and some Bibles, among the more enlightened catholics; that the people seem more and more desirous of perusing the bible, and that the number of clergymen disposed not only to tolerate but to commend it, is daily increasing."

The efforts of the society have been warmly seconded in Scotland and Wales: the deplorable ignorance of the lower classes in Ireland checks the exertions that would otherwise, no doubt, be also made in that country.

At the same that the committee endeavoured to make this institution generally known, their enquiries were directed to ascertain to what extent the want of bibles existed in the christian world at large.

In the southern provinces of Ireland the want of bibles is particularly felt; not above a third part of the protestant families there possess bibles, and amongst the papists, who are far more numerous, a bible is probably not to be found in more than one out of five hundred families. In Sweden and in Holland the inhabitants are well supplied; to the enquiries which have been made with respect to Denmark and the Russian empire, no answer has been returned.

A design of printing copies from a Chinese MS. of the New Testament, has been relinquished, chiefly owing to the expence it would occasion, no less than six thousand pounds being required for the printing of five thousand copies. Two thousand copies of a translation of the gospel of St. John in the Mohawk language have been printed, five hundred of which have been recently sent to America. We cannot consider this as a judicious measure. Had it been the gospel by Matthew or Luke, some good end might have been answered; but a supplementary work, in no small degree obscure, not fully understood by our own divines, will hardly make a favourable or durable impression upon the minds of Indians.

The correspondence annexed to the report is in the highest degree interesting. Mr. Kiesel, a respectable merchant

in Nurenberg, thus writes to the society:

"When sometimes I am privileged to give away a bible or New Testament, father and mother, son and daughter, are running after me, thanking me a hundred, and a thousand times, kissing my hand, and my coat; shedding tears of joy, and loudly exclaiming; 'May God bless you: may the Lord Jesus bless you in time and to all eternity.' Really I felt sometimes a foretaste of heavenly joy, so that I could not sufficiently bless God, for having entrusted me with the honourable commission of steward of the kind benefactions of others. But the more I disperse, the more the petitions both of ministers and school-masters increase, not only from Austria, but likewise from Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungary, insomuch that I am afraid to present their petitions."

A letter from a clergyman in Alsace contains the following curious and interesting passage:

"The first bible shall be given as a present to Sophia Bernard, who is one of the most excellent women I know, and indeed, an ornament to my parish. While unmarried, she undertook, with the consent of her parents, the support and education of three helpless boys, whom their wicked father had often trampled under his feet, and treated in a manner too shocking to relate, when nearly starving with hunger they dared to cry out for food. Soon afterwards, she proved the happy means of saving the lives of four Roman catholic children, who, without her assistance, would have fallen a prey to want and famine. Then she had the management of seven children, to whom several more were added, belonging to members of three several denominations; she now hired a house and a servant girl, and supported the whole of the family entirely with her own work, and the little money she got from the industry of the children, whom she taught to spin cotton. At the same time, she proved the greatest blessing to the whole village where she lived. For it is impossible to be more industrious, frugal, clean, cheerful, edifying by her whole walk and conversation; more ready for every good word and work; more mild and affectionate, more firm and resolute in dangers, than she was: Satan so enraged some of her enemies, that they threatened to destroy her old tottering cottage, but God was graciously pleased to preserve her. A fine youth, of a noble mind, made her an offer of his hand. She first refused, but he declared he would wait for her even ten years. When she replied, that she could never consent to part her poor orphans, he nobly answered, 'Whoever takes the mother, takes the children too.' So he did; and all these children were brought up by them in the most careful and excellent manner. Lately, they have taken in some other orphans, whom they are training up in the

fear and love of God. Though these excellent people pass rather for rich, yet their income is so limited, and their benevolence so extensive, that sometimes they hardly know how to furnish a new suit of necessary clothes. To them I intend to give a bible, considering that their own is very often lent out in different Roman catholic villages."

Nor much less interesting is the information which has been received from a clergyman in North Wales:

"There are none of our poor people willing to live and die without contributing their mites towards forwarding so glorious a design. Their zeal and eagerness in the good cause, surpasses every thing I have ever been witness'd.

"On several occasions we have been oblig'd to check their liberality, and take half that they offer'd, and what we thought they

ought to give. In very many instances, servants have given one-third of their wages for the year.

"In one instance, a poor servant-maid put down one guinea on the plate, being one-third of her wages: that it might not be perceived what she put down, she cover'd the guinea with a halfpenny. One little boy had, with much trouble, reared a brood of chickens; when the collection came to be made, he sold them all, and gave every farthing he got for them towards it; and this was his whole stock, and all the living that he had. Innumerable instances of a similar nature might be mentioned."

We are happy to find that this truly excellent institution meets with so much encouragement; and we hope and believe "that its beneficial effects will be progressive and permanent."

ART. LVI.—*Letters of St. Paul the Apostle, written before and after his Conversion. Translated from the German of the late Reverend John Casper Lacuter, Minister of the Gospel at Zurich.* 8vo. pp. 115.

NO weak evidence in proof of the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament, has arisen from the perfect consistency that appears between the character of the apostles and the writings attributed to them; and if the validity of that evidence required to be demonstrated, an appeal might be safely made to the publication now before us. For any other purpose it is altogether useless. It affords a complete demonstration of the inability of genius to contrive such a forgery as the apostolic epistles would be, had they not been composed by those persons whose names they bear. The character of the apostle of the Gentiles, is in these letters most grossly violated; feelings are attributed to him, which it is evident from his history he never knew; and opinions are here delivered as his, to which he was a total stranger; opinions indeed which were not known in the christian world, till many years after his death had elapsed.

It is hardly worth our while to observe, that these letters are arranged in four parts. 1. Letters to various persons, who agreed with Saul, or differed from him in respect to Jesus and his disciples. These are six in number: to Gamaliel, to Caiaphas, to Simeon, to Eleazer, to Jacob Ben Israel, and to Judas of Damascus. 2. Four letters written immediately after his conversion; to Simeon, to Joseph and Summa, the two witnesses against Stephen, to Gamaliel, and to Ananias. 3. Nine letters to his christian friends, Titus, Timothy, Apollos, Erastus, Aquila and Priscilla, Lydia, Sergius Paulus, Epaphroditus and Luke. 4. Letters to instruct, warn, reprove, and direct persons in error, and backsliders.

Were it possible for any one of the persons here addressed to peruse the epistle inscribed to him, he would assuredly exclaim with Felix, Paul thou art beside thyself!

ART. LVII.—*On Earth Peace, Good Will towards Men; or, the Civil, Political, and Religious means of Establishing the Kingdom of God on Earth, as fully contained and confirmed in the Scripture Prophecies; in which will be comprised, the proper practical Measures of redressing public Affairs, uniting all Parties, and bestowing permanent Peace, Prosperity, and Happiness, on Great Britain, and all Nations. By the Author of the Income or Property Tax.* 8vo. pp. 500.

THE language of this work announces well-inclined benevolent man, much read in the theologians and politicians of the day, who has intertwined into a sort of system the expectations of millenarians and perfectionists, and believes his book to be the predestined harbinger of purified

religion and perpetual peace. Happier who can so dream, than he who estimates more justly the phenomena of reality.

We do not think the work likely to contribute essentially to the rapid progress of the whole toward perfection. It is diffuse, and it is driftless. No precise

counsels are given how to amend the condition of mankind. We are taught to expect this amelioration from Daniel and the Apocalypse; which is calling on Hercules, instead of applying our shoulders to the wheel. The moral tendencies of the human mind are classed; but no discoveries are made in the method of abolishing the selfish, and diffusing the philanthropic affections. The author boasts, (page 469) that he invented the income-tax! let him complain, and welcome, that he is unrewarded by the minister; but let him not claim the gratitude of the people.

With a general complacency in the tendency of this work, we are much at a loss for specific grounds of approbation. A vague metaphysical pious verbiage overflows, like the silver mists of moon-light, every thing definite in the author's prospects. His new Jerusalem is a city in the clouds, to rise like an exhalation, one sees not how, to glisten like a boreal aurora, one knows not whence. Rulers are to govern as if they were christians, subjects are to earn money only to give alms; and war and want are to melt away.

This author's manner is desultory; he immingles dissertations on the philosophy of mind with his religious projects and his political dogmatism: a convenient specimen to detach is the following confused dissertation on the faculty of intellectual combination, which seems written for no other purpose than to display the want of it.

"As this important faculty consists or operates in joining, uniting, connecting, and placing together various things, notions, ideas, thoughts, acts, facts, truths, &c., of different kinds, so as to form from them new or other compounds, objects, subjects, &c.; for instance, a notion, a complex idea, a song, an oration, a picture, imagery of various sorts, &c.; and as it may thus be considered as the creative faculty of the mind, for which we want a proper name, those of imagination and invention being exceptionable in some respects.

"As expression is a principal adjunct, or of material consequence in all those kinds of compounds, works, &c. of the intellectual combination, wherein language, painting, &c. are employed as mediums to communicate them, and become farther important for the purposes of rendering them more pleasing, instructive, and entertaining, as well as more powerful and extensive, in the effects they produce: as therefore those combinations in which language, painting, &c. are such essential ingredients, may be called compositions, which term will happily and conveniently dis-

criminate them from those wherein language, &c. are less material, or dispensable.

"As the different kinds of intellectual combination may, conformably to this distinction, be arranged under the following heads:—

Ordinary intellectual combination,
Original intellectual combination,
Ordinary composition,
Original composition,
Imaginative composition,
Original imaginative composition,
Wit,
Association.

"As ordinary intellectual combination is employed in putting our acts, thoughts, &c. together, in order to execute various performances, express our sentiments, &c. according to modes common to all men in respect of different incidents, and for the various purposes of human life: as it is, in an indefinite point of view, of important service in joining different ideas and notions into others more complex, and giving these proper names whereby they may be fixed in future, generally known, and more readily recalled: or in farther enlarging them by a similar junction as the advantages of science or the improvement of society may require; or in alienating, modifying, and subtracting from them, as may be requisite: as general notions and theories which are of the greatest advantage in life, &c. naturally formed by the mind in various processes: this faculty combining abstract ideas, &c. together for the purpose, the preceding forming methodical arrangements which comprehend the different particulars brought under them, and the thorough conception of one individual of the same species agreeing in general with that of all of them except in a few circumstances, which however the mind soon learns to lay aside.

"As original intellectual combination has been of singular service in forming very valuable compound notions and ideas; for instance, in respect of numbers, the compound notions of which, as hundreds, thousands, millions, &c. enable us to form satisfactory conceptions of the largest amount of individuals: as it has been still more serviceable or meritorious in various views, projects, and actions, which it has concerted and carried into effect, of superior excellence to such as were common and known before: as it is thus from the greatest strength and extent of its powers above those of the others entitled to the rank and distinction of genius. For literature is incompetent to form this, and could not elevate Cæsar above Alexander the Great, as a consummate general; and though it is an object highly desirable, that genius should not only perform, but by language transmit to posterity the noblest services, and the most finished monuments of taste, yet it is probably here deficient, only because it has neglected, or has not had the opportunity of acquiring literary talents.

"As it appears unnecessary, and even improper, to speak at large of the nature and process of plain literary composition, whether

ordinary or original: for what may here be said in respect of combination and expression, or of the requisites of either, is too well understood and generally known to require any explanation; and there is no want of excellent examples of both.

"As imaginative composition corresponds in general with these last remarks: as it often borrows its combinations or descriptions from nature, yet displays them with just selection and discrimination, as well as with great elegance and talent: as imaginative composition, and original imaginative composition, are characterised from their ability to gratify our taste and feelings according to the system and principles, the heads of which are given in the end of the second subdivision of the mind: as they both affect and captivate, elevate and astonish, delight and gladden mankind with their powerful and diversified performances, but require for this purpose all the advantages, graces, and charms of nature, fancy, and expression: as imaginative composition has often been confounded with the mere recollection of its own imagery, or of pleasing conceptions, notions, or ideas in art or nature: as excellency of original imaginative composition is often considered as the highest effort of human ability; and as the most serious subjects of plain literary composition demand their assistance in some degree, in order to acquire suitable charms and perfection.

"As the excellency of original combination in general, if it be occasionally the gift of nature, can often be formed or created by different means: and as it is greatly dependent on various external circumstances, and on the happy and proper employment of the powers of the mind in general; on the quantity and nature of the information or materials gathered and combined; on temper and character; on the predominance of certain passions, particularly of those which excite, elevate, and inspire the mind and fix its attention; on the intellectual faculties; on these being fully and variously exercised, particularly in the different modes of combination; on their penetration, and the manner in which they observe things; on their comprehensive views of the largest and most minute objects; on memory and recollection, and on their being stored with objects applicable to the purposes pursued; on surrounding scenes and situations, as favourable to the progress of peculiar thoughts; and on the mind not being restricted to present attainments, but daring to launch forth in a free manner in pursuit of such as are yet undiscovered or unemployed, and being

competent to convert them with propriety and advantage to its particular purposes.

"As wit itself is allied with imaginative and original composition, and may be benefited by the preceding observations: and as it consists or operates in forming a composition or picture, the unexpected and fanciful relations or analogies of which surprise, please, excite risibility, and constitute in a great measure its peculiar nature.

"As association may be considered to be a species of intellectual combination, by which we attach things intimately to each other, which yet are so different in nature, that they cannot unite and form a whole; we thus associating external objects, circumstances, and qualities together, thoughts with other thoughts, feelings with other feelings, thoughts and feelings together, and any of these with external objects, and often with little or no examination, and from the slightest relations: as thus various opinions, dictates of the passions, notions, and ideas, are improperly associated, but being respected by us, the things with which they are associated act upon us by their means, and thus appear different to us from what they actually are: as the motives of our actions are in like manner very subject to such associations, and under the impressions of these influence our conduct: as even the beauty and sublimity of material objects may in a great measure depend upon the ideas and feelings, which we have attached to them: and as the recurrence of a thought, or object, often causes us, to recollect its associations."

This whole passage, and many another such, has nothing to do with peace on earth, good will towards men, or the civil, political and religious means of establishing the kingdom of God on earth, which are the professed purposes of the writer. It exhibits an extraordinary want of memory. The phrases flow so quickly from the author's pen, that he forgets, over his explanatory amplifications, the purpose, the design, the end, the aim, the scope, the drift of his assertions; and each paragraph terminates without coming to any one proposition whatsoever. We have as again and again, but never arrive at the so. We are much afraid the writer's millennium, like his argument, will be always about to begin: and then the paulo-post-future of prophecy is in fact an aorist tense.

ART. LVIII.—*A few Thoughts on the Creation, Generation, Growth and Evolution of the Human Body and Soul: on the spiritual and immortal Nature of the Soul of Man: and on the Resurrection of his Body, at the last Day, in a spiritual, incorruptible, and glorified State.* 8vo. pp. 171.

"It will, no doubt," says the unknown author of this tract, "be granted, that in vain do the ministers of God preach to

men concerning the care and salvation of their immortal souls, while, according to the fashionable doctrines of the times,

they believe that they have no souls to be saved." Introd. Rem. p. vi.

From such an exordium what may not be expected? Among many other brilliant discoveries no one can be more acceptable than a complete answer to the enquiry which has been so often instituted concerning the seat of the soul:

"As, therefore, Adam was created alive, then breathed the same common air as did the other living creatures; so it is evident, that the inspiration of God into his nostrils, was not for the purposes of common animal breathing, but for the formation of his living soul. And is it not highly probable, that this inspiration was meant to pass into the brain, in the course of the olfactory nerves, to pervade its substance, and from thence to be diffused through the whole body?"

And again:

"That the soul's residence in the body is extended throughout the whole, appears to be further implied from the following circumstance: When the surgeon amputates a leg, the patient, often, afterwards complains of the toes of that foot, although they have, with the leg, been separated from the body; and this symptom has generally been accounted for, by saying that it arises from the irritation of

the extremities of those nerves, by which the nervous influence was conveyed to the toes. But it seems to me rather to intimate, that this sensation is conveyed from that part of the soul itself which formerly resided in the toes, and now exists in a new situation; for though the surgeon amputated a part of the body, he could not also divide a portion of the soul; as it most probably shrunk from his knife, and retired upwards."

Every other inquiry upon this important subject is decided with equal ingenuity and precision. Texts of scripture that have puzzled the ablest commentators, are here presented to the reader freed from every obscurity. Dr. Priestley is clearly convicted of ignorance of physiology as well as of the language of holy writ; and bishop Law is proved to have been a bungling interpreter. Nay, so confident is this advocate of immaterialism in the ability with which he has managed that cause, that he thinks he may venture to assert, that, if the excellent bishop of Carlisle was now alive, he would rejoice, yea, greatly rejoice, to see the subject placed in that clear point of view, in which it is now permitted to appear. p. 157.

ART. LIX.—*The Christian Mirror; exhibiting some of the Excellencies and Defects of the religious World. Containing various Essays in Prose and Verse.* 12mo. pp. 283.

THIS is not altogether an uninteresting collection of essays upon various religious and moral subjects. The principles which are inculcated are those usually deemed orthodox; the characters in-

troduced are supported with some degree of spirit; and the general tendency of the whole is to correct the errors and to improve the virtues of those who profess to entertain a reverent regard for religion.

ART. LX.—*A View of Religions, in three Parts: Part I. Containing an alphabetical Compendium of the Denominations among Christians. Part II. Containing a brief Account of Paganism, Mahomedism, Judaism, and Deism. Part III. Containing a View of the Religions of the different Nations of the World.* By HANNAH ADAMS. A New Edition, with Corrections and Additions. To which is prefixed, an Essay on Truth. By ANDREW FULLER. 12mo. pp. 300.

THIS will be found a very useful compilation by those who have not Broughton, Mosheim, and other works of a similar kind in their possession. The authorities seem in general to be well selected, and the leading principles of different sects are represented with fidelity and candour.

We transcribe as a specimen, the following account of the Greek church:

"GREEK CHURCH. In the eighth century there arose a difference between the eastern and western churches, which was carried on with great vehemence during the ninth century; and in the eleventh century a total separation took place. At that time the pa-

triarch Michael Cerularius, who was desirous to be freed from the papal authority, published an invective against the Latin church, and accused its members of maintaining various errors. Pope Leo the ninth retorted the charge, and sent legates from Rome to Constantinople. The Greek patriarch refused to see them; upon which they excommunicated him and his adherents publicly in the church of St. Sophia, A. D. 1054. The Greek patriarch excommunicated those legates, with all their adherents and followers, in a public council; and procured an order of the emperor for burning the act of excommunication which they had pronounced against the Greeks. This rupture has never been healed; and at this day a very considerable part of the world profess the religion of the Greek, &c

eastern church.—The Nicene and Athanasian creeds are the symbols of faith in this church.

"The principal points which distinguish the Greek church from the Latin, are as follow:—1st, They maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Father and Son.—2d, They disown the authority of the pope, and deny that the church of Rome is the true catholic church.*—3d, They do not affect the character of infallibility.—4th, They utterly disallow works of supererogation, indulgences, and dispensations.—5th, They admit of prayers and services for the dead, as an ancient and pious custom; and even pray for the remission of their sins: but they will not allow the doctrine of purgatory,† or determine any thing dogmatically, concerning the state of departed souls.—6th, They sometimes defer the baptism of their children till they are three, four, five, or ten years of age.‡—7th, The chrism, or baptismal unction, immediately follows the immersion of baptism. The priest anoints the person baptized in the principal parts of the body, with an ointment consecrated with many curious circumstances for that purpose by a bishop: this chrism is called the unction with ointment. Extreme unction is called the consecration with holy oil. This chrism is a mystery peculiar to the Greek communion, and holds the place of confirmation in that of the Roman: it is styled *the seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost*.—8th, They insist that the sacrament of the Lord's supper ought to be administered in both kinds:¶ and they give the sacrament to children immediately after baptism.—9th, § They exclude confirmation and extreme unction out of the seven sacraments.—10th, They deny auricular confession to be a divine precept, and say it is only a positive institution of the church. Confession and absolution constitute this mystery|| in the Greek church, in which penance does not make a necessary part.—11th, They

do not pay any religious homage to the eucharist.—12th, They administer the communion to the laity both in sickness and health.—13th, They do not admit of images in bas-relief, or embossed work; but use painting and sculpture in silver.—14th, They permit their secular clergy to marry once; but never twice, unless they renounce their function, and become laymen.**—15th, They condemn all fourth marriages.

"The invocation of saints, and transubstantiation, are alike received by the Greek and Latin churches. They observe a number of holidays, and keep four fasts in the year more solemn than the rest; of which the fast in lent, before easter, is the chief.

"The service of the Greek church is too long and complicated to be particularly described in this work: the greatest part consists in psalms and hymns.—Five orders of priesthood belong to the Greek church; viz. bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and readers; which last includes singers, &c. The episcopal order is distinguished by the titles of metropolitan, archbishops and bishops. The head of the Greek church, the patriarch of Constantinople is elected by twelve bishops, who reside nearest that famous capital; but the right of confirming this election belongs only to the Turkish emperor. The power of this prelate is very extensive. He not only calls councils by his own authority to decide controversies and direct the affairs of the church, but, with the permission of the emperor, he administers justice, and takes cognizance of civil cases among the members of his communion. The other patriarchs are of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, who are nominated by the patriarch of Constantinople. Besides the power of nominating the other three patriarchs, and all episcopal dignitaries, the patriarch of Constantinople enjoys a most extensive jurisdiction; comprising the churches of Anatolia, Greece, Wallachia,

* The eastern church attach no idea of personal sanctity or infallibility to the patriarch of Constantinople, their supreme head, although he bears the style of the thirteenth apostle.

† The Greeks, and all the eastern nations in general, are of opinion that departed souls will not be immediately and perfectly happy; but that the first paradise will be a state of repose, and the next of eternal felicity.

‡ This is the custom of the Georgians, who are a part of the Greek church. The Greeks perform baptism by dipping the person three times under water distinctly, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

¶ The napkin which is spread upon the holy table must be consecrated by a bishop, and have some small particles of the relics of a martyr mixed in the web, without which the eucharist cannot be administered.

§ The last sacrament of the Greek church, is that of the holy oil, or *euchalaion*, which is not confined to persons in the last extremity, like the extreme unction of the Roman church; but is administered, if required, to devout persons upon the slightest malady. Seven priests are required to administer this sacrament regularly, and it cannot be administered at all by less than three. After the oil is solemnly consecrated, each priest, in his turn, anoints the sick person, and prays for his recovery.

|| Sacraments are called mysteries in the Greek church. By the Greeks, a mystery is defined to be a ceremony, or act, appointed by God, in which he giveth, or signifieth his grace; and of the seven which they celebrate, four are to be received by all christians; viz. baptism, the baptismal unction, the eucharist, and confession. None of the other are considered as obligatory upon all. See Supplement to the Encyclopædia, vol. i. p. 487.

** Their regular, or monastic clergy, are never allowed to marry.

Moldavia, and the islands of the Archipelago.—For the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, a synod, convened monthly, is composed of the heads of the church resident in Constantinople. In this assembly the patriarch of Constantinople presides with those of Antioch and Jerusalem, and twelve archbishops.

In regard to discipline and worship, the Greek church has the same division of the clergy into regular and secular, the same spiritual jurisdiction of bishops and their officials, the same distinction of ranks and offices with the church of Rome.

"There is a branch of the Greek church that, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with the patriarch of Constantinople, refuse to receive his legatees, or to obey his edicts. This division is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers, who are independent on all foreign authority.

"The Greek church comprehends in its bosom a considerable part of Greece, the

Grecian isles, Wallachia, Moldavia, Egypt, Abyssinia, Nubia, Lydia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Silicia, and Palestine; Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; the whole of the Russian empire in Europe; great part of Siberia in Asia; Astracan, Casan, and Georgia.

"It is asserted by Dallaway, in his account of Constantinople, ancient and modern, which was published in 1797, that all orders of the Greek clergy inferior to bishops are permitted to marry. Celibacy and the assumption of monastic habits, are indispensably requisite in those who are candidates for the mitre.

"The riches of some of the Greek churches and monasteries, in jewels, particularly pearls, in plate, and in the habits of the clergy, are very great, and reckoned not much inferior to those in Roman Catholic countries."

The least valuable part of the work is the inconclusive and illiberal essay on truth which is prefixed by the English editor.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY, POLITICS,

AND

STATISTICS.

IF we estimate the value of an historian by the research which he displays, the highest place among the writers whose works we are about to notice, is unquestionably due to Mr. S. Turner: his former volumes on the History of the Anglo-Saxons, have already received from us their merited praise; and his concluding volume on their Manners and Literature, possesses the same solid merits, and will prove more acceptable from its subject to the general reader. Mr. Belsham has also concluded his well-written and spirited though prejudiced History of the Present eventful Reign. Capt. Rainsford has communicated some new and curious information concerning the recently established Negro Empire of Haiti; and the Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, collected by the late Mr. Orme, will bestow upon him an additional claim to the respectful remembrance of his countrymen.

The spirit of political controversy has been unusually quiet during the last year: the Catholic Petition, indeed, has stimulated the angry spirits of a few obscure politicians, to repeat some old and often refuted calumnies, but the general good sense of the nation appears satisfied, that not merely a nominal but a real union and co-operation of all the subjects of the realm is absolutely necessary to the independence and political existence of Britain.

It is curious to observe, notwithstanding the notorious and systematic discouragement to literature which has distinguished the administration of this country for the last twenty years, that the influence of the reading and writing part of the public has been silently but rapidly increasing; in consequence of which the candidates for literary fame, among the higher ranks of society, have been of late more numerous, and we may add (without disrespect to the noble and royal names in Walpole's catalogue), more meritorious than formerly. A new direction also appears to have been given to their studies: the desire of writing indifferent verses has been replaced by the more honourable ambition of excelling in those studies, connected with national and general politics, which are strictly professional to every British nobleman, and to every member of the House of Commons. Hence we have to rank among the foremost names in our present Chapter, the Earl of Selkirk, for his enquiry into the state of the Highlands; the Earl of Liverpool for his letter to the King concerning the Coins of the Realm; the Earl of Lauderdale

for his work on the state of the Circulation; Sir J. Sinclair for his History of the Revenue; and Mr. Rose for his enquiry into the Poor-laws.

The new principle of maritime law lately put in practice against the Americans, has met with a specious anonymous advocate. The national defence and state of our military forces have been treated of by two or three writers, and the rising commerce of the Black Sea has given occasion to some interesting and practical information in a pamphlet on the subject.

ART. I.—*The History of Egypt, from the earliest Accounts of that Country till the Expulsion of the French from Alexandria in the Year 1801.* By JAMES WILSON, D.D. 3 Vols. 8vo.

THESE three volumes are dedicated to the son of sir Ralph Abercromby, and may be considered as a result of that interest, which, since his achievement, the British public has taken in Egypt.

The history of distant ill-known countries ought always to begin with a geographical sketch of those permanent features of the land, water, and air, which influence the distribution, the movements, and the manners of the inhabitants; because whatever peculiarities of the present dwellers necessarily result from their situation, may confidently be ascribed to the antient ones, although not specifically recorded of them. Mr. Wilson has with propriety consecrated his first chapter to the geography of Egypt. We should have preferred a description more entire of the features of nature from Bruce and Brown, and of the monuments of art from Pocock. We are sorry at observing references to Bryant; this looks as if his dreams were trusted.

The second chapter treats of the manners of the early Egyptians. Closely connected with these phenomena is the investigation of their origin. Volney, from personal observation, and Monboddo, from ancient authority, have thought that the progenitors of the Copts were negroes. Mr. Browne does not perceive, in these Copts, the African physiognomy, but rather the Arabian; and denies to them the snub nose and the woolly hair. There are other clues of investigation which may be called in aid. A close resemblance has been observed between the Hindoo and the Egyptian superstitions: the names of several divinities agree; the veneration for the cow, and for the lotos, as an emblem of production, prevail among both; their zodiacal signs are alike, and are of a nature to have been invented in India; both nations were divided into casts; both had underground temples, an arcane theology for the educated, and a gaudy idolatry for the multitude. It is

likely, therefore, that the Egyptians are from one stock with the Hindoos. The Hindoos are from Tibet; for it is clear that they flourished in the Penjab, and adown the Indus, or Sind, as well as adown the Ganges: and it is also clear that a people, having many of the radical rites and manners of the Hindoos, must have descended the yellow river, and have formed the basis of Chinese population. A situation about Tibet for the progenitors of the Hindoos solves all the phenomena. But how could these people get to Egypt? The most probable answer is this; coastwise, from river's mouth to river's mouth. Colonies spread in the antient world, as in the modern. Those who inhabited the Delta of the Indus, would, in their coasting voyages, discover the Delta of the Euphrates. The merchants of Patala, Minnagora, and Barigaza, would found a Babylon; and attempt there the same interchange of finger-work for food, of manufactured for raw material, which our merchants began successively at the mouths of the American rivers. The Delta of the Sind, or Indus, has incurred desertion, probably from natural causes; perhaps from some very great flood, of which the early settlers at Babylon and in its vicinity seem to have preserved a strong recollection.

From the Jewish or Babylonian scriptures it appears, that this same people had already in the time of Solomon, founded sea-ports, or emporiums, in both the forks of the Red Sea, at Ezion-geber, and at Eloth, or Suez. From this last place the colonization of Egypt is a mere step; and it seems to have begun about Cairo, or Kahira, as a town called Babylon, after the old country, existed in that neighbourhood in the time of Cambyse. Tyre branched from Ezion-geber, as well as the first seats of Egyptian commerce. Memphis, signifying *mouth*, was, when first founded, on the Mediterranean: the Delta is subsequent accretion.

This order of filiation being admitted, the Copts, or ancient Egyptians, must be referred to the Asiatic Blacks, to the same human race as the Lascars, and not to the African breed. But although the inhabitants of Memphis and Cairo, and the commercial population of the Delta, may with great confidence, be derived from an oriental source, it is not equally clear that No-ammon in Upper Egypt, the Diospolis or Thebes of the Greeks, was a colony from the same quarter. Its population may have ascended the Nile; but there is not proof so strong: a resemblance of language however is stated to prevail between Upper Egypt and Abyssinia, and the language of Abyssinia is said to resemble that of Syria and Arabia: so that an oriental and not an African origin may most rationally be assigned to the whole Egyptian nation, and indeed to the mass of settlers on the African coast of the Red Sea. Pyramids seem to have been contrived for places of refuge during inundation: the numerous or lower classes were naturally arranged on the wide steps; the priests, the nobles, and the kings, on the narrower summits of the structure; and thus each order of the people was secure, during the public danger, in proportion to its rank in the social pyramid. The tower of Babel, according to the description of Herodotus, must have been a pyramid of this kind, consisting of seven mounds, or steps. The rage for these anti-diluvian structures would be peculiarly natural in a people, compelled by inundations to emigrate from the Delta of the Sind. It may be inferred, from the description of the ark of Noah, that the navigation of these early merchants and fugitives, was conducted in ships of wicker.

What the Greeks called the aversion of the Egyptians for strangers, seems to have been nothing more than the enactment and execution of some quarantine precautions: for the fact of a ready intercourse with Persians, Jews, and Greeks, at all periods of their history is notorious: and the Greeks had a landing-place, or as we should call it a lazaretto, assigned to them at Naucratis, on their complaining of these restraints.

In the second book Mr. Wilson begins the history. The first chapter talks of Menes, Osymandias, Sesostris, and Pheiron. It is wise to say little about them. All nations were originally governed by judges, or village-caciques, each of whom was sovereign in his own establishment,

or district. Beside these local, hereditary, patriarchal, petty, sovereigns, who are often called kings by the historians of early times, another class of powerful chieftains existed, elective generals of the fighting population, a sort of leaders of banditti, whose trade, like that of the Arabs, was plunder, and who occasionally collected for some specific inroad a considerable army: these military chieftains are also called kings. Of this last kind was Sesostris; but the relations concerning him are too extravagant to merit more than a qualified confidence.

Mr. Wilson relies too much on Diodorus Siculus, a compiler of Greek romance, who flourished under Augustus: it was the story of Herodotus that should have been told, if it was not to be sifted, as having some claim to the rank of early and original testimony; but Herodotus himself may safely be corrected by the book of Joshua.

In mentioning the Sethos of Herodotus, Mr. Wilson might more confidently have attributed to him an identity with the king Hezekiah of the Jews. Among the Greeks, the Jews passed, like their Chaldean and Persian progenitors, for fire-worshippers; and hence it happens that Hezekiah is called a priest of Vulcan. We may know the fire-worship to have been at most emblematic, or rather ritual; but the idolatrous by-stander, seeing no image, supposed the worship addressed to the flame on the altar. Michaelis assents entirely to the identity of Sethos and Hezekiah. The deliverance of Hezekiah from Sennacherib must have been recorded in hieroglyphic characters, whence Herodotus inferred a deliverance by mice. He says mice gnawed the bowstrings of the Assyrians, and thus compelled their retreat. But we know from the hieroglyphics of Horappollo (No. 50) that the mouse was the symbol of disappearance, and from 2nd Chronicles (xxxii. 21.) that the disappearance resulted from an epidemic malady, by which armies have often been thinned; yet there are hints which may infuse the suspicion that this disappearance was partly accomplished by the payment of a contribution out of the temple-treasury.

Psammetichus was the true founder of kingship, of an hereditary dynasty of sovereigns, among the Egyptians: his brother-judges lifted him into power, and thus his authority partook the stationary character of theirs, and comprized twelve hitherto independent pharaohships. The

defeat of the Scythians in Palestine, celebrated in the xxxviiith and xxxixth chapters of Ezekiel, is perhaps to be dated under Psammeticus.

To him succeeded Necho, the enemy of Josiah; he was a sovereign of merit, and patronized voyages of discovery; his ships are said to have girdled Africa. Psammis, Hophra, and Amasis succeed. References to authorities are in this part of the work very scarce; and the chronological difficulties in reconciling the Babylonian and Egyptian series of kings are eluded by silence, not met, not conquered.

With the third book begins what may be called settled history. It extends from the accession of Cambyses upon the Chaldean throne, until the death of Alexander, and the consequent partition of his conquests among the generals of his army.

The fourth book condenses the history of the Ptolemaic dynasty: they were the Medici of the antient world: literary without talent, opulent without virtue, perfidious and profligate, but munificent and sociable, both the families presided in the seats of refinement, during an age of culture, over a commercial and luxurious people, which ascribed to their patronage the wealth, the wit, and the art of Alexandria and of Florence. The literary history of the Alexandrian school of poetry and philosophy ought to have been given with more extent and elaboration: on these periods of bloom the historian should be careful to bid the reader's eye repose.

The fifth book gives the civil history of Egypt while it continued a Roman province; and the sixth book the literary and ecclesiastical history of the same period: here was an opportunity to use some recent discoveries of the German theologians.

The seventh book details the state of Egypt under the Ommiad, the Abbassid and the Fatimite caliphs. The eighth narrates that celebrated crusade in which Richard Lion-heart acquired so high a reputation for personal prowess. This portion of the narrative may serve to give an idea of the historian.

"The kings of England had but lately appeared on the great theatre of conquest and fame, whereas those of France, from their situation and circumstances, had been more known and celebrated in war. Philip Augustus was one of the greatest princes who had appeared since Charlemagne; and therefore he entered the camp of St. John d'Acre with many prejudices in his favour; but the address

and courage of Richard, king of England, struck the whole armies with surprise; and in the sight of the Saracen, as well as the christian warriors, Philip of France was cast into the shade.

"Scarcely was the capitulation of Acca settled, when the French king made known his intention of returning home. Many might have been the reasons which produced this sudden determination, and some of them are ascribed to bad health, and danger from poison; but the principal causes seem to have been, disgust at the celebrity of his rival, and unjustifiable designs of aggrandizing himself at home, in Richard's absence. If honour, nay, if vows could have bound him, he must have pursued a different course; but he left Syria, and his departure was disgraceful. To injure the character of Richard, and, if possible, to veil his own perfidy, Philip falsely accused the king of England of hiring ruffians to murder Conrad. But the truth is, that the prince of Tyre had given offence to the old man of the mountain, and, having refused redress, that revengeful chief sent assassins, who cruelly put him to death.

"The origin, name, and conduct, of the tribe of assassins are thus recorded: Hassan Sabah was a Persian of science, and travelled much in pursuit of knowledge. He began to establish a new religious sect; and, in the career of his ambition, founded a dynasty. He made conquests of considerable importance, and took up his residence in the castle of Rudbar; but afterwards removed to Almut, which was a place of greater strength. His followers were taught the most absolute submission to their chief; and if they did his will, they were promised the most delightful abodes in Paradise. The chief of that people became terrible among the nations; for wherever he received an offence, real or imaginary, thither his servants secretly found access; and neither sovereign nor subject was secure from vengeance. They carried a concealed dagger, and, in the least suspected situation, stabbed, and put to death, the objects of their resentment. It was in this manner, and by such means, that Conrad suffered death.

"The prince of this tribe was called in Arabic Sheik al Gebal, that is the senior of the mountain; for the part of the Persian Irak, over which he presided, was the most elevated district of the country. His title, therefore, was the senior of the mountain; but the historians of the crusade, translating the word Sheik literally, denominated him the old man, instead of the prince or lord of the mountain. The assassins entertained some fanatical and dangerous notions about religion; and though they were occasionally weakened, yet they continued to infest the eastern world, till, in the year 1172, they were finally destroyed by Bibars, the sultan of Egypt. They were called assassins by the writers of the west, either from Hassan their founder, or from the name of their concealed

poniard, and hence secret and determined murderers are denominated assassins.

"While the king of France was pursuing unfriendly measures at home, Richard was warmly engaged in arranging the affairs of the Holy land. Philip, with a show of zeal for the interests of the crusade, left in Palestine, the duke of Burgundy, with 10,000 men. Richard, with the troops which were at his command, laid siege to Ashkelon, took the city, and added other towns and possessions to the remaining fragments of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was sufficiently evident, that these successful efforts were intended, as preliminary measures, for making a grand attack upon the city of Jerusalem. When Saladin was compelled to leave Ashkelon, he hastened to the Holy city; and the king of England, having paused during the months of winter, followed him to Jerusalem. The approach of Richard spread consternation through the city; and it required all the influence and address of the Egyptian sultan to prevent the citizens from delivering the keys to Richard Plantagenet.

"Still, however, Saladin's prospect of success brightened; and when the hour of surrender appeared to have arrived, suddenly the king of England's army stopped, and the pursuit of victory was abandoned. The number of his soldiers had indeed been diminished by the fatigues and calamities of war, and there was a general desire of returning home. These occurrences were marked, and eagerly aggravated by the duke of Burgundy, who, like his master, the king of France, was jealous of Richard, and desirous of bringing him into disgrace.

"But whatever was the cause of deserting Jerusalem at the moment it might have been taken, we may presume that the fault was not in the king of England, and that it did not accord with any wish or desire of his, though the enemies of Richard have painted it in different colours. He heard the resolution with astonishment; he saw their retreat with affliction; he pled and threatened, but his prayers and threats were in vain. His laurels began to wither on his brow, and in agony he ascended a hill in sight of Jerusalem, to take his last look of the Holy city. But so completely was he overwhelmed with grief and shame, that he wrapt his face in his garment, in order that he might not behold the hill of Calvary, which he could not deliver from the power of the Turks.

"But in his retreat Richard was still formidable. His courage was terrible to his enemies; and in token of martial prowess, he was surnamed *Cœur de Lion*. With considerable advantage he finished a truce with Saladin, for the space of three years and upwards. Ashkelon and Ramla were to be dismantled; Tripoli and Antioch were to be respected by the Turks; and the whole sea-coast, from Jaffa to Tyre, was to be possessed by the Christians. The pilgrims of Europe were to be under the protection of Saladin, and to en-

joy every comfort, as if Jerusalem had not been taken. Saladin and Richard were struck with each other's greatness; and the historians of either party have done ample justice to the conduct of the heroes. The advantageous terms which Richard procured in a season of desertion and departure, are sufficient proofs of his wisdom and greatness. There was one proposal, however, in the terms of agreement, which may imply a greater regard to family aggrandisement, than to the general cause of the crusades. A marriage was suggested between Al Adel, a brother of the sultan of Egypt, and the queen dowager of Sicily, who was sister to the king of England. Though Richard may be charged with undue attention to the interests of his own family, yet an ingenious advocate might plead successfully in his behalf, and shew, that private interest was in that respect the public good.

"The conduct of Richard's troops would not allow him to persist in the attack upon Jerusalem; and, if the venerable city could not be taken by force, it was promoting the comfort of the christian pilgrims to have it placed under the direction of those who would yield them protection. It was stipulated, in the proposal of marriage, that Al Adel should be proclaimed king of Jerusalem, and St. John d'Acre was to be given in dower with the sister of Richard. Hopes might be entertained, that Al Adel, through the influence of a christian wife, might be persuaded to embrace the christian cause, or at least, in case of progeny, that the heir to the kingdom might prefer and adopt the sentiments of his mother. But the difference of religious opinions, and national manners, were unfriendly to the compact; and after mature deliberation the marriage proposal was mutually rejected. But the treaty in all its other parts was brought to a conclusion, and sanctioned with every usual solemnity.

"Richard, on his way to England, met with many difficulties, and was taken prisoner by the sinister conduct of his enemies; but he was soon set at liberty by the interposition of his subjects, and the influence of the pope. He was received at home with great demonstrations of joy; and was the first king, of the Norman race, who displayed much attachment to England, or was much beloved by his English subjects. After escaping many dangers in Syria and Palestine, he died upon the 6th of April, A. D. 1199, of a wound, which he received from an arrow in besieging the castle of a refractory vassal.

"The departure of Richard having delivered Saladin from the intrusions of a formidable enemy, he put the affairs of state in order, and returned to his favourite residence at Damascus. His health had been much impaired by the toils of a military life; and he had suffered greatly by the uncommon resistance which was necessarily required in opposing the crusades. He was seized with a loss of appetite, his spirits sunk; and at the age of little more than fifty-five years, he finished a

life of labour and success. He had reigned about twenty-four years over Egypt, and almost nineteen over Syria.

"A. D. 1193. The mourning, which was universal throughout the realm, sunk deeper than the exterior trappings of woe. He was a great, a generous, and a virtuous prince. By address, courage, and wisdom, he rose from an humble station, to the exalted rank in which he died. Ambition was the leading tendency of his character; and so eagerly did he strive for power and conquest, that though he owed every thing to Nouredin, yet he was guilty of ingratitude. The character of the times in which he lived, and the nature of his pursuits, did not permit him to be altogether free from violence; but, in general, he was a just and benevolent prince. He did not oppress his subjects; and though, in that unsettled state of society, he might have fleeced the rich, and harassed the poor, yet he often remitted the tribute which was due. He was illustrious in works of public charity, and encouraged every valuable pursuit. He was a devout Muselman, and punctually performed the various services which his religion enjoined. He set a high value upon the Sonnite traditions, and was rather gloomy and superstitious in his views."

The ninth book sketches in too concise and rapid a manner the fortunes of Egypt under the Ottoman dynasty. Mignet is the authority most habitually relied on: the abridgement of the Ottoman history by Digeon has the merit of being derived wholly from oriental sources, and might have supplied several particulars toward filling the interstices of this chronicle. The ninth book ought to have consisted of the first chapter only: as the second begins a wholly new subject, and treats of Egypt, since it has been dragged by the French into the list of territories to be contended for by the Europeans.

A tenth and concluding book, undertakes a delineation of the present state of Egypt. In discussing the object of Leib-

nitz's memoir (Vol. ii. p. 306.) we have given our opinion of the statistical value of the country: we value it lower than this author; and we wish that the peace-mongers of Amiens had consented to evacuate it in favour of the French; if thereby a recognized possession of some equivalent African territory, as from the Cape to the Zaire, or from the Gambia to the Senegal, could have been obtained for this country. There is in the climate and conformation of Egypt an overruling force which condemns it, like Arabia, to a stationary condition: the French will not be able to render it important: it is in the main what it was of old. That stage of civilization which excited the wonder of the primeval savages of Greece is now barbarism: that degree of wealth which excited the cupidity of Roman armies and pro-consuls is now mediocrity.

This work is composed in a clear, agreeable, and lively manner, with too current a pen to allow careful investigation, and with too eager an expectation of the concluding campaign to allow all the requisite details: yet there are few writers who could have executed quick work so well, or good work so quick. We wish that the author would consider this as the sketch, the outline, the promise of a future more learned and more elaborate history of Egypt; and that in the progress of his enquiries he would allot more attention to the modern annals, which occupy less than their fair proportion of the whole composition. The talents, the acquirements, and the taste of Mr. Wilson are worthy to produce a more lasting monument: are worthy to attain a more courageous tone of criticism.

A map of ancient as well as of modern Egypt would have been convenient to the reader.

ART. II.—*History of Great Britain, from the Revolution, 1688, to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, 1802.* By WILLIAM BELSHAM. Vols. XI. and XII. 8vo.

THE task of a contemporary historian is peculiarly difficult: much trustworthy information always remains inaccessible during the life of the concerned: much known truth is veiled or varnished from motives of fear or hope. 'Tiberii Caique, et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis, compositæ sunt.' A high degree of merit ought to be ascribed therefore to the mere courage of sincerity; it is of all qualities the scarcest, and of all

qualities the most important, in the witness of the transactions he has to record. This merit belongs to Mr. Belsham beyond his competitors.

One critic of Mr. Belsham's history has received a pension for disputing his account of the origin of the antijacobin war. When denial is recompensed so high, some impression must have been felt from the assertion. Yet we cannot but admit that for research Mr. Belsham has not merited so much praise as for freedom; and that

many sources of intelligence, especially the foreign, have been left unexamined with a negligence not entirely creditable to his industry or to his acquirements.

Mr. Belsham has the virtue, as Pausanias would call it, of writing with a plain style. 'Liceat denique hic addere (says this author, *De Arte historica*) cavendum esse historico ab libris belle scriptis. Nam quamvis optimum dicendi genus cum summâ veritate possit conjunctum esse: tamen tanta est animi humani fragilitas, ut vix ac ne vix quidem hæc duæ virtutes uno in homine simul possint locum habere: ita ut qui amœno et florido scribendi genere utuntur, an etiam verum dicant, merito semper dubitandum sit. Exemplo possunt esse Xenophon e Græcis, et e Latinis Curtius, qui ditissimo dicendi genere usi, fere non historias, sed Milesiacas fabulas, videntur composuisse. Potest e recentioribus exemplo esse Voltarius, quo nemo verum historiæ genium possidebat magis, nemo scripsit luculentius ac disertius, sed quo nemo plus fabularum finxit.'

The earlier volumes of this work have perceived the date of our notices: this eleventh begins with the year 1799, and with the thirty-first book of the history, and, after mentioning the king's speech, it recapitulates the debate on the habeas corpus act. It was worth while for the historian to observe, because the orators did not make the observation, that the habeas corpus act is of little value in quiet times; ministers have ordinarily no interest to interrupt the regular administration of justice: if in all unquiet times it be taken away, it might as well not exist. When the constitution is not strong enough to protect itself without despotic powers, let the constitution be strengthened by the insertion of more representatives popularly chosen; but let it not exhibit the detestable spectacle of despotism attaining the ends of orderly government, while liberty and justice are asserted to be impotent. Such profane disbelief in principle, in virtue, the representatives of the people should loudly excommunicate.

In narrating (page 120) the entrance of the French troops into Naples, Mr. Belsham talks of 'the interesting spectacle of liberty crowned by the hands of religion.' In the first place, allegorical spectacles are not spectacles at all.

"So I have seen in Araby the blest,
A phoenix couch'd upon her funeral nest."

What happened? Did the religious part of the Neapolitan people join the French? No. They adhered to cardinal Ruffo, who 'bearing aloft the crucifix in the one hand, and brandishing the sword in the other,' was very successful, especially through Calabria, in collecting recruits to oppose the invaders. The higher orders, the infidel classes, of society, were at Naples the only friends of the French; the populace were hostile, partly from the wholesome instinct of patriotism, and partly from superstition for those creeds which they knew the French despised. A few priests may have been hired with the silver spoils of their own altars to betray a country which they despaired to arouse; but the ecclesiastical order was not in the interest of the French. Their guides were found among the lawyers and students chiefly. This method of narrating in abstractions, and of substituting allegory to fact, is rarely consistent with historical precision: it is oftener adopted to conceal idleness, than to abridge the result of enquiry.

In the thirty-second book occurs a narrative of the expedition to Holland. This was the most important and the most ill-managed of all the undertakings of Great Britain during the whole war: the most important, because it directly tended to check and to limit the northern aggrandizement of France, which alone interferes with our security and our independence; and the most ill-managed, for reasons which parliamentary accommodation may have suppressed, but which the historian ought to promulgate. The expedition was fitted out too late in the season. There was a want of geographical information in landing at the Helder at all; because the passes between that place and the seats of population and authority in Holland, are defensible by an inferior force against any invader. There was so little contrivance in the equipment that half-disciplined militia-men were embarked for a difficult service; and that horses came in one ship, and their saddles in another. It was rumoured that the cavalry would either not come or not be wanted, and the saddles were thrown overboard into the mud, purely for a pier to step ashore upon. Care should have been taken to land unexpectedly in some place whence it was possible to march rapidly to Amsterdam: no cavalry should have been sent: rash battles should have been fought (this depended on the general selected); for a mere regular progress was

certain disappointment of the end in view: and a defeat was no greater evil than a detention. Such remarks the historian of his own times should collect from the individuals engaged: and he should state them without reserve; not for the purpose of exciting indignation, that would be useless, but in order that the eye of public mistrust may in future be turned on those individuals who have so conducted the cause of their country. We are fighting for our last stake. If the constitution necessarily secures to birth, to rank, to wealth, to sympathetic opinion, an influence which they deserve not, the only chance for remedy lies in vigorous denunciation. Let the historian brave an unjust exile, in order to rescue his country from ignorant, or base, or perverse councils. On this occasion, and on some others, we feel inclined to censure the urbane, the tame lenience of Mr. Belsham's criticism.

At page 205 there is an extenuatory passage in the note which respects the butchery at Jaffa. Bonaparte is represented as less blameworthy than Suwarrow. The Russians had been irritated by the previous massacre of their troops in Warsaw, which the royalists, commanded by Kosciuszko, had perpetrated. Suwarrow had vindictive feelings to satisfy, and had probably orders to satisfy them. But Bonaparte's butchery was self-willed, and a sacrifice in cold blood. And why is Bonaparte to be censured with qualification? Is he not the subverter of liberty, the abolisher of the political equality of religious sects, the conqueror of anarchy, not by voluntary, but by despotic means, free from family affection or expansive humanity, ignorant and superstitious, another Septimius Severus? If glory be at the service of such usurpers, there will be no end of them. The greatest of warriors is not the greatest of men.

In the eleventh volume the thirty-fourth chapter narrates with becoming courage a reprehensible outrage.

"Nearly at this time a most extraordinary and signal act of vengeance was inflicted on the inhabitants of Cesenatico, a small maritime town situated on the Adriatic Gulf. The municipality of this obscure place, had, it seems, according to the accounts transmitted to lord Keith, arrested a British officer charged with public dispatches. As they might, not improbably, have acted under constraint from the French troops stationed in their vicinity, it would have appeared to the world no derogation of dignity, and much more agreeable to equity, if the noble commander had made

some enquiry into the previous and attendant circumstances; instead of which, the *El Corso* and *Pigmy* sloops were, after a lapse of time which seemed to indicate that the offence, whatever might have been its magnitude, had passed into oblivion, dispatched 'to make a proper example of the town.' The boats of both vessels landed at dawn of day on the 27th of August, and, after some opposition from a body of French troops, made themselves masters of the place, which they then, agreeably to their orders, completely destroyed—the vessels and the harbour forming but one flame.—'Of thirteen vessels, of different descriptions, lying within the mole of Cesenatico, two were sunk, and eleven burnt; the harbour was choked by the wreck of four purposely sunk in the mouth of it, and both piers entirely consumed.' Thus did the mighty arm of Britain, by a touch rather than a blow, 'all the flourishing works of peace destroy' of an industrious and humble, but probably happy community, who could scarcely suppose the possibility of so terrible a calamity; for a revenge so dreadful, incited by an offence so trivial, was perhaps never before inflicted in any age, or heard of in any country the name of which is known among civilized nations."

The popularity of the British character among foreign nations is so essential to the success of our remote expeditions, that these wanton piratical freaks of enterprise cannot be too steadily discouraged. A less unwelcome specimen of Mr. Belsham's mode of narration will be the following:

"The routine of parliamentary business went on as usual during the illness of the king; but his majesty having now happily recovered, the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed and regular form; and on the 17th of March, Mr. Addington was sworn into his high office as first lord of the treasury, with the chancellorship of the exchequer annexed; and Mr. Pitt was divested of that power which he had exercised, in times the most eventful and important, for the long period of seventeen years; during which the character of this minister was as fully developed, as clearly discriminated, and as strongly marked, as that of any statesman who ever directed the councils of Britain. His early declaration, on the removal of lord North, and the advancement of lord Rockingham to the station of first minister, 'that he would not accept of any subordinate situation,' exhibited at once the extent and the irregularity of his ambition. In proportion as his pretensions were high, his manners were haughty. Instead of the generous feelings and noble enthusiasm of his father, he discovered a disposition selfish, cold, and artful; and it was quickly seen that he possessed no quality of youth but its presumption. In his conduct there was never found that fearless

simplicity, that dignified candour, which are the genuine offspring of an elevated mind, and the true criterion of real wisdom. At no time did he display that commanding foresight which marks a superior intellect, or that controlling prudence which knows how to avert impending mischief. At no season did he endeavour to stem the torrent of public prejudice, or to make the people calm and wise when they were inflamed and ignorant. The stream of public opinion he submitted diligently to watch; and suffered himself rather to be carried away with it, than to aim by arduous efforts to direct its course where wisdom or patriotism might suggest. The mind of the nation, under his auspices, made no advances: on the contrary, its movement was uniformly retrograde. The errors of the public he laboured to convert to his own advantage, not to correct at the hazard of his power. He was the attentive observer of times and seasons, not the beneficent and enlightened instructor of nations. His eloquence, for which he was deservedly celebrated, was chiefly characterized by what rhetoricians call *amplification*. He possessed in perfection all the modes and subtleties of reasoning, and was copious, even to the brink of verbosity. He had the faculty of speaking much and saying little; and, when silence was impracticable, he knew how to make language subservient to all the purposes of taciturnity. His solemn avowals were clothed in impenetrable darkness: and his explanations were calculated equally to elude the vigilance of the watchful and the curiosity of the inquisitive. The connexion between the means and the end appeared seldom intimate in his thoughts, and was rarely either defined in his words or exemplified in his conduct. The plans, therefore, which he designed, although prosecuted with courage, constancy, and vigour, almost invariably failed in the execution. It is remarkable, that, during the seventeen years of his administration, no one act of patronage was extended to literature, to the sciences, or the arts.

"That spirit of violence which had so long actuated the proceedings of the late administration, suffered no abatement to the very last moment of their political existence. On the 21st of January Mr. secretary Dundas, by letter, apprized the lords of the admiralty, 'that it was his majesty's pleasure to revoke the indulgence granted to the French fishermen; and that they and their boats should be henceforth subject to capture—advice having been received that these fishermen were under requisition, and that even those who had been released from prison, in order to be sent home, under the express condition of not serving again, were comprised in that requisition. It was his majesty's further pleasure, that all those set at liberty on their parole be required to return into this country; and that those among them who shall neglect to obey these orders, shall be made to suffer all the rigors of the laws of war, in case they should again be made prisoners while serving

the enemies of his majesty.' A copy of this letter was transmitted to M. Otto on the 29th of January; and he immediately apprised M. Talleyrand of this measure—the true motives of which he declared himself unable to conjecture—at the same time expressing his fears that, from the intentional delay in the communication of the order, a great number of unfortunate persons must have fallen victims to it. M. Otto also addressed, upon this occasion, a most able reply to the English government, stating his 'astonishment that mere apprehension and conjecture should have been made the ground of such a procedure, without any complaint, formally or previously offered, and much less any refusal of justice on the part of the French government. He deprecated the effect of a measure hostile to a peaceable class of people for the most part aged, invalids, or children, who were consequently incapable of hurting the enemies of their country; and whose simplicity of manners and industrious habits could not give any umbrage. Those,' he says, 'who have submitted to the English government the reports on which its late determination is founded, cannot therefore have any other view than to add to the numerous subjects of irritation which a protracted war has produced between the two nations.' This act of provocation awakened the highest degree of resentment in the mind of the first consul; and instructions were forthwith transmitted to M. Otto, to declare to the British government, 'that he could no longer remain in a country, where not only every disposition to peace is abjured, but where the laws and usages of war are disregarded and violated; but that the first desire of the French government having always been to soften, as much as possible, the horrors of war, that government cannot, on its part, think of making the poor fishermen victims to the prolongation of hostility: it will therefore abstain from all such reprisals; and, on the contrary, it has given orders for all French ships, armed for war or cruising, to leave the occupation of fishermen uninterrupted.' Such and so striking was the contrast exhibited by the two governments! But the prudence of M. Otto foreseeing that an amelioration might take place in the English councils, in consequence of the changes in contemplation, he postponed his departure till the new ministers had taken upon them the actual management of public concerns: and a favourable omen of the better spirit which now predominated in the national councils very early appeared, in the notice transmitted to M. Otto on the 3d of March, of the suspension of the late order respecting the French fishermen; and, in the sequel, the dispute was happily and silently adjusted.

"But a far more flagrant, though perhaps not in its tendency a more fatal, proof of the disposition of the late ministers to involve the nation, as it were, beyond all redemption, and to stake its very existence on the result of the quarrel, appeared in the order of council, dated the 14th of January, for laying an

embargo on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels in the British ports, of which several hundreds were actually seized and sequestered. So that, far from harbouring any intention of resigning the government for the sake of effectuating the great object of peace, as some refining politicians dreamed, those daring and desperate ministers seemed rather inclined to extend and aggravate the horrors of this odious war to the utmost of their power, in order, if possible, to deter and affrighten others from undertaking the future conduct of it."

The whole conduct of Great Britain toward the northern powers, is recorded with spirited disapprobation: the first step toward a recovery of their friendship is to acknowledge the turbulence of our arrogance. Perhaps a little maritime, as well as diplomatic criticism, might have been hazarded on the battle of Copenhagen: it is said an earlier attack could have been made, with the advantage of an opposite wind, and a profounder knowledge of the soundings could have been obtained from the Hull and Yarmouth pilots who were on board the fleet. Seidelin's narrative ought to have been consulted as a corrective of the English accounts.

In the thirty-fifth chapter Mr. Belsham applauds the clergy-incapacitation act. Why is this state never to avail itself of the Wolseys, the Richlieus, the Ximenes, the Leo X., the Talleyrands, who may happen to originate among its clergy? Why is any specific form or grade of religion to disqualify from public office? Why are holy orders to be treated as a disgrace, and to debar a man from sitting among the representatives of his country? Above all, why is the character of priest rendered indelible, and made an infliction for life, even on those who renounce it? This bill is the creature of a vile superstition, and proceeds on the supposition that it is sacrilege to secularize what has once been dedicated to God. Suppose it were necessary to bring in a bill for the repeal of the act of uniformity, it could not conveniently originate in the lower house, because there can be no clergy to overlook and criticize its provisions. The Commons have defrauded themselves of a power of legislating in church affairs. There was a time when Mr. Wyvill was the natural candidate for Yorkshire, and when popular gratitude ought to have placed him on the hustings. At all times the best orators among the clergy are the natural representatives for Oxford and Cambridge.—But there's the rub. Persons high in power began to ap-

prehend, it is said, clerical antagonism and an encroachment on the equality of the civil rights of the people of Great Britain weighs nothing against a personal accommodation.

At page 322 Mr. Belsham a little out of his course to comment the *concordate*, or fundamental religious legislation of the French. It is well known that French policy concerning religion is borrowed from that which the peace of Westphalia legalized in Germany, and borrowed for the purpose of facilitating German conquests. The privileges of establishment are conceded to three distinct sects: the Romish, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist, and all others are in the eye of law not even tolerated: thus a sort of trinitarian trinity in unity becomes the exclusive religion of the state; and the magistrate distributes the ecclesiastical ferment of the three rival parties. In the case of the protestant sovereignty of Germany this policy softened the animosities between the two protestant sects and nearly melted them into one; the catholics grew less numerous. In the case of the catholic sovereignty of France we shall see the protestants grow less numerous. Indeed we already see the protestant prefects attending mass, and accepting incense at the hands of the catholic priesthood; and this occasional conformity is applauded by protestant ministers, who are candidates for the patronage of Bonaparte. It surprises us that Mr. Belsham should delight in the coestablishment of three sects, of which the unitarian is not one.

In the XXXVIth Book Mr. Belsham narrates the peace of Amiens, and debates upon it. Those who wished to keep the peace, of course, praised it; the whole; those who wished to break the peace, of course dispraised it: but it was so unskillfully made, that neither party was satisfied. Something might have been added to the parliamentary criticism of the measure. Instead of agreeing to evacuate Egypt, it would have been better to dispose of it, and to dispose of it in favour of the French. The Cape, Pondicherry, and New Orleans, and Malta too, would have been all abandoned readily to us: and the French would have had a colonial drain for men of spirit and adventure; who, if pent up in European France, will constantly be overflowing contiguous departments, and strengthening their country by annexations where her strength is a nuisance.

from Egypt France cannot hurt our Hindostan; and with Egypt all her aggrandisement would tend southerly, whère it is innocent, and not toward Holland, and the Weser, and the Elbe, where it is pernicious indeed. It was the project of Leibnitz (See Annual Review, VOL. II. p. 6), to give Egypt, the African Holland, to France, in order that she might spare European Holland. In three generations more the ministers of Britain will perhaps attain to that degree of prospective wisdom, which the literary world possessed three generations ago. Too often one is reminded of the truth of the Swedish chancellor Oxenstierna's remark, how little wisdom is made use of in governing the world, *quàm parvâ sapientiâ regitur mundus*. A gross instance of statistical ignorance occurs in lord Hawkesbury's speech (p. 379): 'The cession of Louisiana by Spain, to France, is another ground of complaint. That province had originally been a French colony, having been ceded by France to Spain after the treaty of 1763. The value of it at present was nearly nominal. As a naval station New Orleans was unimportant.' Here the value of Louisiana, which sold for several millions, is represented as merely nominal: and New Orleans is wrongly placed in Louisiana; and is of course erroneously supposed by the minister to have passed into the hands of the North Americans when they purchased that country: whereas the purchase of New Orleans was the subject of a subsequent treaty, which is probably contrary to the law of nations. New Orleans could have been asked for, in the negotiation of the peace, but was forgotten. And New Orleans, which is to the Mississippi what Alexandria is to the Nile; which must become the depository of the produce of all the interior of North America; which, by means of a canal into the Bay Spirito Santo, can be made accessible for ships from the sea even during the overflowings of the river; which is likely to grow with the rapidity of Liverpool, and to outgrow it by all the difference between the Mersey and the Missouri; is held up as an unimportant place of shipping. No wonder that the island, on which New Orleans stands, was neither attacked during the war, nor treated for at the peace; although it begins to be already, what Trinidad cannot of a century become, the emporium of an inland commerce through well-watered provinces, where the arts of civilization, and the

wants of luxury, have struck root, and are growing. But however deficient lord Hawkesbury may have been in those geographical studies, which to a negotiator are indispensable, we cannot agree with Mr. Belsham in the censure past on his conduct (p. 395) respecting the French emigrants resident here. We do hold it for the king's dignity to protect entirely the obeyers of the laws; and should not murmur at a war undertaken to prevent the quondam lodgers in Holy-rood house from being turned out at the instigation of Bonaparte.

Mr. Belsham has displayed, in the accomplishment of his vast task, perseverance, sincerity, principle, a love of liberty, and an independence of character, of rare example. He may be considered as the bishop Burnet of the present age; as an historian of his own times, who possesses almost the same unaffectedness of manner, the same honesty of nature, pushed occasionally by whiggish warmth beyond the exact path of impartiality; who has perhaps less continental literature, but who has more fearlessness of power, and a purer indifference to patronage.

Had Mr. Belsham's history been dedicated to the prince of Wales, he might aptly have repeated the words of Tindal's celebrated address. 'Here then, as from a faithful monitor, uninfluenced by hopes or fears, your royal highness will learn, in general, that to a prince nothing is so pernicious as flattery, nothing so valuable as truth; that proportionate to his people's liberty and happiness, will be his glory and strength; that true valour consists not in destroying, but in protecting mankind; not in conquering kingdoms, but defending them from violence; that a prince's most secret counsels, motives, and pursuits, will probably one day be published and rigorously judged; and, however flattered while living, yet, when dead, he will be treated as his actions have deserved, with honour or reproach, with veneration or contempt. But above all, you will here see the nature of our excellent constitution, where the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the subject are so happily proportioned, that the king and the people are inseparably united in the same interests. Accordingly you will here constantly find, that in the reigns where this union was cultivated, the kingdom flourished, and the prince was glorious, powerful, trusted, beloved; on the contrary, when by an arbitrary disposition or evil counsels, it

was interrupted, the constitution languished, mutual confidence vanished, distrust, jealousy, and discord arose; and, when entirely broken, as was sometimes the case, confusion and civil war ensued.

• This passage is deservedly classed among those praises proceeding from a good inclination, accompanied with reverence, which lord Bacon considers as the appropriate form of addressing kings, and great personages: *laudando præcipere*. By affecting to lay before them

what they are, you may humbly put them in mind what they should be.

But he is not less useful who *teaches dispraise*; who, by censuring the faults of former princes and governors, shall deter their successors from jealousy against the progress of freedom, from intolerance for the variations of superstition, and from a conniving indifference to the extravagant augmentation of court patronage and expensiture.

ART. III.—*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Marattoes, and of the English Concerns in Indostan; from the Year 1639: origin of the English Establishment, of the Company's Trade, at Broach and Surat; and a general Idea of the Government and People of Indostan.* By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F. A. S., To which is prefixed, *Account of the Life and Writings of the Author.* 4to. pp. 472.

MR. ROBERT ORME was born at Anjengo, in the Travancore country, on the 25th December, 1728, and was sent over to England for education at two years of age. His father, a physician on the Company's establishment, consigned this son to an aunt of the name of Adams, who resided in Cavendish-square, London. There he received the elements of education, and was put at six years of age to Harrow-school. In 1742 he returned to Calcutta, where he was placed in the house of Jackson and Wedderburn, in order to be qualified for commercial pursuits. A writership had been obtained for him in England; and at the end of five years, as is the usual routine, he became a factor. His attention to commerce was assiduous and profitable; he made a voyage round the Peninsula to Surat; he penetrated into the interior to make purchases. His intelligence became so conspicuous that in 1752 he was consulted about the reform of the police of Calcutta, and suggested a separation of the powers hitherto confided to a single Janadar. He drew up at this period a general idea of the government and people of Hindostan, now first published entire: it was corrected and completed on board the Pelham, in which vessel he went, in 1753, to Europe.

Lord Holderness was at that time a secretary of state: he consulted with Mr. Orme, and corresponded with him: he attended minutely to his advice, and began a negotiation with the French ministers for the purpose of thwarting the ambitious projects of M. Dupleix in India. The wise suggestions of Mr. Orme occasioned the adoption of a train of measures, which lord Clive was appointed to conduct, and which terminated so advantageously for the British interests. Mr.

Orme went on a confidential mission back to Hindostan, in 1754, and sailed on his return for Europe in 1758. Unfortunately the Grantham, in which he embarked, was taken by the French, and carried to Mauritius; thence he got to Nantes in the spring of 1760: he passed some months agreeably in the French metropolis, and came to London the following October. A new house was purchased for him in Harley-street: he arranged there his valuable library, and began to compose the History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan. He had collected for this purpose, while in the East, the requisite documents. The first volume was published in August, 1763: in the Annual Register for the following year it was reviewed or characterized, as is supposed by Mr. Burke.

“The manners and characters of the various people who inhabit the great empire of Indostan, the peculiarities of their religion and their policy, and the astonishing events which have lately happened in that part of the world, have rendered the history of the war in India an object of general curiosity. The great interest we have still in that empire, always as a trading, lately as a conquering people, will make a proper narration of our former proceedings there a matter of the most useful instruction. The author of this work has gratified this curiosity, and communicated this instruction. No historian seems to have been more perfectly informed of the subject on which he has undertaken to write; and very few have possessed more fully the talent of impressing it, in the clearest and most vivid manner, on the imagination and understanding of his reader. In this work the events are fully prepared; the characters strongly delineated; and the situations well described. It is no uncommon thing to find in ordinary writers more of the confusion, than of the life

nd spirit of the fight, in their descriptions of a engagement. But nothing can be more bar and satisfactory than the whole detail of military transactions which we find in this work. Whether the march or the retreat, the attack or the defence, the encampment or the battle, every thing is drawn with accuracy and precision, in great detail, but without any tediousness. In these particulars, Polybius will be scarcely thought to exceed him.

"It must be observed likewise to his honesty, that there reigns through the whole an air of disinterestedness, and of freedom from all passion and prejudice, public or private. The Frenchman who acts gallantly wisely, finds as much justice done to his actions and his conduct, as any of the author's countrymen. The same impartiality seems to have been observed with regard to all personal connections. This volume does not try the war further than 1755."

Mr. Orme was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in March 1770: and was soon after appointed historiographer to the India Company, with a salary of four hundred pounds yearly. He visited France a second time in the spring of 1773, and was introduced to general Anquetil du Perron, who expressed his satisfaction at the justice done by Mr. Orme to the French officers, invited him to his villa, and communicated some maps and other instructive documents, of which Mr. Orme made himself in the second edition of his book, which appeared in the following summer. Two years later, in 1775, an appendix, containing several notes and an index, was issued in addition to the first volume: the second volume was published in October 1778. In 1785 a third edition became requisite, and Mr. Orme undertook to prepare notes and an index to the second volume similar to those which had been annexed to the first; but the declining state of his health interrupted the progress of this toil.

In 1782 Mr. Orme gave to the press *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns in Hindostan*, from the year 659. This laborious work had been in preparation long: it was intended to assume a completer form; but a marked decay of vigour and a disinclination for study occasioned an abandonment of the pursuit of higher perfection.

Mr. Orme's debility was of that kind which British constitutions often incur from the effects of the climate of Hindostan: it did not unfit him for lively participation in the pleasures of society, or in the incidents of public affairs. He possessed and indulged the accomplishments

of the luxurious world. He listened frequently to music; he visited and criticized the exhibitions of painters and the galleries of art; he prized the pleasures of the table, and the conversations of the literate; he composed verses, his address to the moon and the accompanying melody still remain engraven in our song-books. He exchanged the atmosphere of London for that of Ealing in 1792, and only came to Harley-street during a month or two of the winter: he sold the city-house in 1796. At Ealing he died, in January 1801, in the seventy-third year of his age; and bequeathed to the India Company those parts of his library, chiefly manuscript, which related to the history, the literature, and the affairs, of the East. Anquetil du Perron, who was a judge both of the oriental and of the European acquirements and information of Mr. Orme, characterizes him as *eruditissimus et veritatis amantissimus India historiographus*. (See the *Oup'nechat*, vol. ii. p. 755.)

The rank of Orme among our historians is not well ascertained or universally agreed: he is seldom mentioned as the rival, still less as the surpasser, of Robertson: yet we suspect that an impartial inquiry into the relative merits of these two writers would terminate in awarding the preference to the native of Travancore.

Gibbon is the greatest of our historians: for appropriate learning and research; for judgment and sagacity in the conciliation of testimony, and in the approbation of character; for force of thought and stateliness of diction; he is alike admirable: the fault of his matter is the disproportion of the parts, of his style to narrate in abstractions.

The second rank must be conceded to Hume. The author of a dissertation on the literary history of Scotland, prefixed to some recent lives of the Scottish poets, has thought fit (p. 167) to attempt the degradation of Hume below Robertson, with a zeal more honourable to his christianity than to his critical orthodoxy. Of Robertson's high merit we are amply convinced: his best history however is that of Charles V.: great part of the work respects the affairs of the Germans; yet he does not appear to have consulted a single one of their native vernacular writers on the subject of these affairs. He is deficient therefore in the first quality of an historian, *research*. In Thucydides, in Tacitus, in Machiavelli, one admires a strength of mind, an energy of intellect, a thinking force, which sometimes reveals

itself in their burning words, sometimes in the sharpness of their personal characterizations, sometimes in the depth of their moral and political inferences and reflections. But who can find up in his common-place book a single striking maxim extracted from the writings of Robertson? In what are our statesmen the wiser for his narration? By the facts alone. He is deficient then in a second desirable quality of the historian, which might not unaptly be termed *thoughtfulness*.

Hume also wants research. The History of the House of Tudor was his first and his best historic effort: that of the House of Stuart is partial, and not sifted: his *Ancient History of England* is notoriously inferior to that of Milton. But Hume displays the thinker, exercises the philosopher, and instructs the statesman. Robertson's whole knowledge seems confined to his topic; Hume's to embrace every other: yet Hume is then most excellent, when he draws not from without, but from within. The style of Robertson is plain, not always clear, though often picturesque. The style of Hume is tame, but beautiful; it is far superior for purity, euphony, precision, and selection of ornament, to that of Addison, whom he imitated: it is the transparent garb of ideas shapen with the chisel of a master.

Without the strength of mind or the classical learning of Gibbon and of Hume, Mr. Orme excels the former in the proportion and disposition of his matter, and the latter in inquiry and fidelity. His preliminary dissertation has been compared and preferred to the introductory book of Thucydides; to whom he is only inferior in not decorating his speeches and narrations with the inferences of a sententious wisdom. Orme is a more instructive historian than Robertson: practical men can rely on the one, not on the other. Compare the siege of Pondicherry at the close of the first book of Orme, with the siege of Metz in the eleventh book of Robertson: a military man will better know how to invest Pondicherry in future from Orme's account; but nobody can learn from Robertson how to defend or attack Metz. The use of history is to preserve the lessons of experience.

In the characterization of individuals, Orme draws his inferences from facts and observations, not from the balance of testimony: but Robertson leans wholly on the accident of testimony; and, sooner than miss an opportunity of drawing a parade character, he gives a fictitious importance

to insignificant men. Thus for pope *Mucellus* II. he provides as pompous a panegyric, as if this old man had been elected for his efficacy, and not for his decrepitude. The character of Luther, again, is a mere repetition, and a very tedious one, of ecclesiastical puffs; his low buffoonery, and his insincere use of vulgar credulity, in asserting the apparition of the devil, and professing to receive the Apocalypse after having denied its canonicity, when he found it could be employed as a tool against the church of Rome, are suppressed, dishonestly, by Robertson, but from ignorance of facts, which he seldom looks for at the source. How superior is Orme's character of Dupleix, (book v. year 1762) where the grounds of every panegyric are recorded, and the most exemplary and exquisite justice is shewn to an enemy. Orme is superior to national prejudice. Robertson, imbued even with sectarian Orme contents himself with noticing what is peculiar; Robertson prolongs his delineation with scholastic phrases, of universal applicability. Orme paints from nature. Robertson from books: Orme with precision of portraiture.—Robertson with the vague distortion of the rhetorician. Orme has too great a crowd—Robertson too thin a groupe of agents. Orme owes our neglect to the strangeness of his personages—Robertson our favour to the celebrity of his. Orme is growing on our interest with the empire whose origins he sketched—Robertson is fading on our interest with the dissolution of the religious and political parties which he described but did not dare to criticise. Orme is the raciness, and foliage, and verdure, of living history, sprung up among the men and on the spot—Robertson the scarce-vested stateliness of the monumental trophy.

Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro
Exuvias veteres populi, sacrataque gestas
Dona ducum: nec jam validis radicibus
hærens,
Pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per æta
ramos
Effundens, trunco, non frondibus, effudit
umbram.

The works collected in this volume form an essential appendix to Orme's *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan*. They consist of the *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, first published in 1782; and of three posthumous publications, drawn up on specific occasions; namely, 1st, Orme's

of the English Establishment at Broach and Surat. 2d, Idea of the Government and People of Indostan. 3d, Effeminacy of the Inhabitants of Indostan. These tracts are accompanied with maps, with some elucidations, and with a biography of the author. From the last of these dissertations, which constitute the only wholly new portion of the volume, we shall borrow some valuable observations.

"This great extent of country has, from the earliest antiquity, been inhabited by a people who have no resemblance, either in their figures or manners, with any of the nations which are contiguous to them; and although these nations have, at different times, sent conquerors amongst them, who have established themselves in different parts of the country; although the Mogul Tartars, under Tamerlane, and his successors, have, at last, rendered themselves lords of almost the whole of it, yet have the original inhabitants lost very little of their original character by these mixtures; contrary to the effects of conquest in all the Christian, and in most of the Mahomedan empires, in which Cyrus, Vercingetorix, and Cæsar, if risen from the dead, could not distinguish any traces of the men who obeyed them in Persia, in Gaul, and in Italy; but this might Porus in India, on the very spot in which he submitted to Alexander.

Besides the particular denominations which they receive from the casts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiscriminately, to distinguish the original natives from all who have intruded themselves amongst them; Hindoo, from whence Indian. And throughout the millions of Indians which inhabit Indostan, although situated at such distances as would suffice to form them into several distinct nations, are visible the strongest marks of one general character, in their dispositions, in their observances, and in their form.

"The colour of the Indians is, generally, either that of copper, or of the olive, but both with various shades. It is not absolutely the proximity of the inhabitant to the equator, that determines his complexion in India; other physical causes, from differences which arise as by starts, in regions equally distant from the sun: and it is in their complexion that less national generality is found, than in any other of the properties of their figure: some are almost black; but these are either inhabitants of the woods, or people inured to labour and fatigues uncommon to the rest of their countrymen.

"The hair of the Indians is, without exception, long, fine, and of a jet black. The nose, if not always aquiline, is never buried in the face, nor with large distorted nostrils, as in the Coiffrees of Africa, and in the Malay nations. Their lips, though in general larger than in Europeans, have nothing of that disagreeable protuberancy projecting beyond the nose, which characterises the two people

just mentioned. The eyebrows are full in the men, slender in the women, well placed in both. The eyelid is of the finest form,—long, neither opening circularly, as in many of the inhabitants of France, nor scarce opening at all, as in the Chinese. The iris is always black, but rarely with lustre, excepting in their children, and in some of their women: nor is the white of the eye perfectly clear from a tinge of yellow; their countenance, therefore, receives little animation, but rather a certain air of languor, from this feature. From the nostrils to the middle of the upper lip they have an indenture, strongly marked by two ridges, seldom observable in the northern Europeans, but often in the Spaniard and Portuguese; and from the middle of the under lip there is another such indenture, which loses itself a little above the chin: these lines, chiefly remarked in persons of their habits, give an air of sagacity to the men, and of delicacy to the physiognomy of the women. The outline of the face is various, oftener oval than of any other form, particularly in the women; and this variety of outline is another of the principal characters which distinguisheth the Indian from the Tartar as well as Malay; whose faces are universally of the same shape; that is, as broad as they are long.

"The climate of India is divided into two seasons: from the month of October to March, the wind continually blows from the northern, and in the other months from the southern points of the compass. These seasons, called by navigators monsoons, are suspended twice in the year, for the space of twenty or thirty days, whilst one of the reigning winds is losing and the other acquiring strength. The southern winds, passing through regions inflamed by a perpendicular sun, and accompanying its approach, diminish nothing of its influence; the season of their duration is, therefore, very hot indeed. The northern winds, after having scoured the vast plains of Tartary, receive additional keenness in their passage over the summits of mount Caucasus, covered with eternal snows: they bring intense cold into the countries which lay at the foot of these mountains; but do not carry more than a very moderate degree of it beyond the 30th degree of latitude; for as, during the whole time of their continuance, the air is pure and unclouded, the sun has always heat at noon; and so much in the southern parts of India as to give Europeans very little, if any sense of cold, not more than that of the month of June in England.

"The texture of the human frame in India, seems to bear proportion with the rigidity of the northern monsoon, as that does with the distance from Tartary; but as in the southern monsoon heats are felt at the very foot of mount Caucasus, intense as in any part of India, very few of the inhabitants of Indostan are endowed with the nervous strength, or athletic size, of the robustest nations of Europe.

"On the contrary, southward of Lahore,

we see, throughout India, a race of men, whose make, physiognomy, and muscular strength, convey ideas of an effeminacy which surprises when pursued through such numbers of the species, and when compared to the form of the European who is making the observation. The sailor no sooner lands on the coast, than nature dictates to him the full result of this comparison; he brandishes his stick in sport, and puts fifty Indians to flight in a moment: confirmed in his contempt of a pusillanimity, and an incapacity of resistance, suggested to him by their physiognomy and form, it is well if he recollects that the poor Indian is still a man.

"The muscular strength of the Indian is still less than might be expected from the appearance of the texture of his frame. Two English sawyers have performed in one day the work of thirty-two Indians: allowances made for the difference of dexterity, and the advantage of European instruments, the disparity is still very great; and would have been more, had the Indian been obliged to have worked with the instrument of the Europeans, as he would scarcely have been able to have wielded it.

"As much as the labourer in Indostan is deficient in the capacity of exerting a great deal of strength at an onset, so is he endowed with a certain suppleness throughout all his frame, which enables him to work long in his own degree of labour; and which renders those contortions and postures, which would cramp the inhabitant of northern regions, no constraint to him. There are not more extraordinary tumblers in the world. Their messengers will go fifty miles a day, for twenty or thirty days, without intermission. Their infantry march faster, and with less weariness, than Europeans; but could not march at all, if they were to carry the same baggage and accoutrements.

"Exceptions to this general defect of nervous strength, are found in the inhabitants of the mountains which run in ranges, of various directions, throughout the continent of Indostan. In these, even under the tropic, Europeans have met with a savage whose bow they could scarcely draw to the head of a formidable arrow, tinged with the blood of tigers, whose skins he offers to sale. Exceptions to the general placid countenance of the Indians, are found in the inhabitants of the woods, who, living chiefly on their chase, and perpetually alarmed by summons and attacks from the princes of the plains, for tributes withheld, or ravages committed, wear an air of dismay, suspicion, treachery, and wildness, which renders them hideous; and would render them terrible, if their physiognomy carried in it any thing of the fierceness of the mountaineer.

"The stature of the Indian is various: the northern inhabitant is as tall as the generality of our own nation: more to the south their height diminishes remarkably; and on the coast of Coromandel we meet with many whose stature would appear dwarfish, if this

idea was not taken off by the slenderness and regularity of their figure. Brought into the world with a facility unknown to the labourers of European women; never shackled in their infancy by ligatures; sleeping on their backs, without pillows; they are, in general, very straight, and there are few deformed persons amongst them.

"Labour produces not the same effect on the human frame in Indostan as in other countries: the common people, of all sorts, are a diminutive race, in comparison with those of higher casts and better fortunes; and yield still more to them in all the advantages of physiognomy. Prohibited from marrying out of their respective tribes, every cast seems to preserve its respective proportion of health and beauty, insanity and ugliness. There is not a handsomer race in the universe, than the Banians of Guzerat: the Haramecores, whose business is to remove all kinds of filth, and the buryers and burners of dead bodies, are as remarkably ugly.

"Nature seems to have showered beauty on the fairer sex throughout Indostan, with a more lavish hand than in most other countries. They are all, without exception, fit to be married before thirteen, and wrinkled before thirty—flowers of too short a duration not to be delicate; and too delicate to last long. Segregated from the company of the other sex, and strangers to the ideas of attracting attention, they are only the handsomer for this ignorance; as we see in them, beauty in the noble simplicity of nature. Hints have already been given of their physiognomy: their skins are of a polish and softness beyond that of all their rivals on the globe: a statuary would not succeed better in Greece itself, in his pursuit of the Grecian form; and although, in the men, he would find nothing to furnish the ideas of the Farnesian Hercules, he would find, in the women, the finest hints of the Medicean Venus.

"If we consider the impossibility of a stranger being admitted into any one cast, to which a Bramin will administer any of his sacerdotal functions, and the universal restriction of marriage to persons of the same cast, we shall not be surprised to find that the Indian has preserved his physiognomy from a resemblance with any of his neighbours.

"Montesquieu attributes much to the effect of climate; and his critics impute to him, to have attributed much more to this effect than he really does. It is certain, that there is no climate in which we may not find the same effects produced in the human species, as in climates entirely different in situation, and in every other circumstance. The Sybarites, whose territory was not more than a day's journey from the country of the Horatii, the Cincinnati, and the Scipios, were more effeminate than the subjects of Sardanapalus; and there are Sybarites at this day, in the country of Vercingetorix. The Britons, although they possess, at this day, all the courage of their painted ancestors, who beat

the greatest general of the world out of their country, are, doubtless, incapable of bearing like them the fatigues and hardships of a campaign.

"But it would be to contradict all our feelings, not to allow that it is much more difficult to bring the human race to particular habits in some countries than in others. To make a Sybarite of an inhabitant of the 30th degree of latitude, infinite inventions must have been carried to the greatest degree of perfection: apartments must be closed and fuelled so as to render the alterations of seasons little sensible to him: he must be carried in vehicles, contrived to be as warm as the apartments he leaves, and almost as easy as the chair in which he slumbers: his food must be every thing that is not simple.

"To produce the same effect in such a climate and such a country as Indostan; nothing is necessary but to give the man his daily food. The effect of the sun on the perspiration of the human body, together with the softness of the air, render this secretion in India more powerful than the effect of labour in other countries. The awkward constraint arising from rest in northern climates, is the call of nature to throw off something obnoxious to the habit, or to quicken the circulation into warmth. Sensible of neither of these impulses, and satisfied with the present sense of ease, the inhabitant of Indostan has no conception of any thing salutary in the use of exercise; and receiving no agreeable sensation from it, esteems it, in those not obliged to it by necessity, ridiculous, or the effect of a discontented spirit.

"This general tendency to indolence being admitted, we shall find nature encouraging them in it.

"The savage, by his chase, and the perpetual war in which he lives with the elements, is enabled to devour, almost raw, the flesh of the animals he has killed. In more civilized nations, the plowman, from his labour, is enabled to digest, in its coarsest preparations, the wheat he has sown. Either of these foods would destroy the common inhabitant of Indostan: as he exists at present his food is rice.

"To provide this grain, we see a man of no muscular strength carrying a plow on his shoulder to the field, which the season or reservoirs of water have overflowed. This slender instrument of his agriculture, yoked to a pair of diminutive and feeble oxen, is traced, with scarce the impression of a furrow, over the ground, which is afterwards sown. The remaining labour consists in supplying the field with water; which is generally effected by no greater a toil than undamming the canals, which derive from the great reservoir. If, in some places, this water is drawn from wells, in most parts of India it is supplied by rain; as the rice in those parts where the rainy season is of two or three months' duration, is always sown just before this season begins. When reaped, the women sepa-

rate the grain from the husk, in wooden mortars, or it is trampled by oxen. Instead of hedges, the field is inclosed with a slender bank of earth.

"A grain obtained with so little labour, has the property of being the most easily digestible of any preparation used for food, and is therefore the only proper one for such an effeminate race as I have described. It is wheat in India; it is produced only in the sharper regions, where rice will not so easily grow, and where the cultivator acquires a firmer fibre than the inhabitant of the plain. It was, probably introduced with the Alcoran, as all the Mahomedans of northern extraction prefer it to rice, as much as an Indian rejects a nourishment which he cannot well digest, even in its finest preparation.

"Water is the only drink of every Indian, respectable enough to be admitted into their assemblies of public worship, as all inebriating liquors are forborn, through a principle of religion; not that the soil is wanting in productions proper to compose the most intoxicating, nor themselves in the art of preparing them for the outcasts of their own nation, or others of persuasions different from their own, who chuse to get drunk. They have not equally been able to refrain from the use of spices, and these the hottest, without which they never make a meal. Ginger is produced in their gardens, as easily as radishes are in ours: and chilli, the highest of all vegetable productions used for food, inasmuch that it will blister the skin, grows spontaneously: these, with turmeric, are the principal ingredients of their cookery, and by their plenty are always within the reach of the poorest. A total abstinence from animal food is not so generally observed amongst them as is imagined; even the Bramins will eat fish; but as they never prepare either fish or flesh, without mixing them with much greater quantities of spices than Europeans suffer in their ragouts, animal food never makes more than the slightest portion of their meal; and the preference of vegetables, of which they have various kinds in plenty, is decisively marked amongst them all. The cow is sacred every where: milk, from a supposed resemblance with the amictor or nectar of their gods, is religiously esteemed the purest of foods, and receives the preference to vegetables in their nourishment.

"If the rice harvests should fail, which sometimes happens in some parts of India, there are many other resources to prevent the inhabitant from perishing: there are grains of a coarser kind and larger volume than rice, which require not the same continuation of heat, and at the same time the same supplies of water, to be brought to perfection: there are roots, such as the Indian potatoe, radish, and others of the turnip kind, which, without manure, acquire a larger size than the same species of vegetable in Europe, when assisted with all the arts of agriculture, although much inferior to those of Peru, of which Garcilassa

della Vega gives so astonishing a description: there are ground fruits of the pumpkin and melon kind, which come to maturity with the same facility, and of which a single one is sufficient to furnish a meal for three persons, who receive sufficient nourishment from this slender diet. The fruit-trees of other countries furnish delicacies to the inhabitant, and furnish any thing more; in India there are only which furnish at once a delicacy and no contemptible nourishment: the palm and the cocoa-trees give in their large nuts a gelatinous substance, on which men, when forced to the experience by necessity, have subsisted for fifty days: the jack-tree produces a rich, glewy, and nutritive fruit: the papa and the plantain-tree grow to perfection, and give their fruit within the year: the plantain, in some of its kinds, supplies the place of bread, and in all is of excellent nourishment. These are not all the presents which the luxuriant hand of nature gives as food to the inhabitant of India; but as the natural history of this country is reserved for more diligent and able enquirers, this imperfect enumeration is sufficient to prove that the Indian, incapable as he is of hard labour, can rarely run the risk of being famished; and that, from the plenty which surrounds him, he is confirmed in the debility in which we now see his frame.

"Nature has made them still other presents, which supply many other of their wants, without exacting from them the exertion of much labour. The bamboo, which grows every where, requires only one stroke of the hatchet to split it from one end to the other, and to divide it into laths of all lengths, and of the smallest sizes; at the same time that, intire, it is large and strong enough to serve as the support of such houses as the climate demands; for in the greatest part of Indostan the bare earth affords a repose, without the danger of diseases to so temperate a people. The palm and the cocoa-nut-tree give their large fan leaves, which naturally separate into several long divisions, with which a mat may be made in a few minutes: a number of these mats laid over the scaffolding, erected with no other materials than the bamboo and packthread, compose, in a day, a house, in which the Indian may live for six months, in those parts of Indostan which are not subject to much rain. If a better house is required, walls of mud are carried up to the height of six or seven feet, and rendered, in a few days, extremely hard, by the intense heat of the sun: these are covered with thatch, made of rushes, or the straw of rice; and many persons of good casts, and far from distress in their fortunes, even Bramins, are satisfied with such a habitation. There are bricks, and very good ones, in India; but a brick house is a certain mark that the inhabitant is extravagant or rich.

"The sun forbids the use of fuel in any part of the year, as necessary to procure warmth; and what is necessary to dress their victuals, is chiefly supplied by the dung of their cows.

"The want of raiment is scarce an inconvenience; and the most wealthy remain, by choice, almost naked, when in their own families, and free from the intercourse of strangers; so that all the manufactures of cloth, for which India is so famous, derive more from the decency of their character, the luxurious taste of a rich and enervated people, and from the spirit of commerce which has prevailed among them from time immemorial, than from wants really felt; and if the manufacture of a piece of cloth was not the least laborious task in which a man can be employed in India, it is probable that the whole nation would, at this day, be as naked as their Gymnosoplists, of which the ancients say so much, and knew so little. Breathing in the softest of climates; having so few real wants; and receiving even the luxuries of other nations with little labour, from the fertility of their own soil; the Indian must become the most effeminate inhabitant of the globe; and this is the very point at which we now see him."

The founders of the printing-press at Calcutta, have prepared the obliteration of these enduring habits. Where printing is unknown, tradition supplies the place of recorded experience: it is there, in fact, the most perfect form of preserving the inferences drawn by our ancestors, from their local observation. It is entitled to the same sort of deference and obedience which we Europeans shew, in many questions of morals, to the opinion of the higher classes, or of the world, where our sacred books, and our moral philosophers, have decided differently from the world. It does not follow that a prevailing practice is wrong, because the motive for it has not yet been translated into words, and intelligibly recorded. But now that we print about every thing, and about nothing more frequently or more usefully than the moral habits of the several peoples of the earth, every nation in its turn is put on the defensive, and obliged to account for its practices, or to abandon them. The authority of ridicule is a counterpoise to the authority of tradition. Laughter is, in almost all cases, a retrograde motion of traditional impressions. The satyrist, the comic writer, the novelist, so soon as they can diffuse, in the language of the Hindoos, their criticisms, can cause to be dropped, by imitation, whatever practice was learned by imitation; unless there is a reason in nature, a cause founded in the circumstances of the time and place, for such practice. Ridicule is never successful against a rational practice, because men return to it for the same reasons which occasioned its institution; they learn again, experimentally, what they

and left off from ignorance of the motives which led to its adoption; they come again *a posteriori* to the usage which an *a priori* syllogist had exploded. If they record their experience when they resume their usage, ridicule not only can never triumph again, but cannot even be brought to bear against such usage. We can no more laugh at a proposal to reverse actions wisely willed, than at a paralytic stroke. Where marriage takes place so early as in Indostan, tradition needs to have great weight. The boy and girl housekeepers could not go on, unless they took almost every action of life upon trust, and managed by imitation like their parents. By the time they have learnt they have got to teach the arts of life: not the slightest interval, during which the acquirements of education could be compared with the wants of society, is allowed. The child must be educated exactly like its parents, or not educated at all, wherever the system of very early marriage prevails. Early gestation shortens the endurance of feminine beauty. This circumstance, added to the legal permission of divorce, must render the proportion of faded widows, whose endowments are coveted, very considerable in the East; and may have favoured that

inhuman state of opinion in which widow-burning was preached into vogue. In order to abolish the practice, our oriental novelists should make the attack on the surviving relations, and represent them as in conspiracy with the priest, to seize and divide the property of the sacrificed enthusiast. Let it become a disgrace to a family, that, from eagerness to inherit, it avoided to dissuade the voluntary death of a mother. But these are speculations, in which it is rash to indulge without local observation.

These, like all the other productions of Mr. Orme, will be a lasting honour to his country: nor has the utility derived from them, practically, been less conspicuous than their literary merit. We trust that the possessors of the History will occasion a sufficient demand to clear off the copies printed of this supplemental volume, and that a new edition of the works of Orme, chronologically arranged, will speedily illustrate the London press.—We are not convinced that Mr. Orme's orthography of proper names ought always to be respected; and we recommend that, at least in the indexes, the oriental orthography be given in Persian characters.

ART. IV.—*An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti: Comprehending a View of the principal Transactions in the Revolution of St. Domingo, with its Ancient and Modern State.* By MARCUS RAINSFORD, Esq. late Captain of the Third West-India Regiment, &c. &c. 4to. pp. 467.

CAPTAIN Marcus Rainsford has passed about twenty-five years of his life in the British service, and was on duty in the West Indies during the late war, at the time of the attack on St. Domingo. After the evacuation of the island by the British troops, Mr. Rainsford took occasion to embark in Jamaica for Martinique, on board a Danish schooner, the *Maria*, which was overtaken by a hurricane, and obliged to seek refuge in Cape François; it was thought most expedient and most safe to announce him as an American passenger, in which capacity he was freely received by Toussaint L'Ouverture, and saw much of the internal composition of the black republic. The information collected during that interesting residence was laid before the public in a small book, which was reviewed in our first volume. Other particulars have since been collected of the negro-insurrection, an introductory history of St. Domingo is prefixed, public papers and documents are reprinted as an

appendix, and thus a great book has grown out of a short and accidental visit. The map has merit: the other engravings demerit.

The introduction contains an analysis of the principal sources of intelligence consulted by the author. He calls the Abbé Raynal's work an able compilation: we think otherwise. The information it offers concerning the West Indies may be more trust-worthy than that concerning the East Indies; but he who asserts after the Abbé Raynal risks rashly; and he who enquires after him will usually find that much was narrated as true which is wholly invented and fictitious, that more was already known than his pretended diligence collected, and that his declamatory interferences are politically unwise. The Abbé Raynal's is, in the literary world, a dropt book: his intelligence is derivative, and his sources must all be reconsulted.

The first chapter of this history gives a succinct view of the fortunes of St. Do-

zingo or Hayti, from its discovery by Columbus in 1492 to its highest prosperity during the penultimate peace. The statistical is better executed than the historical information. A curious but inaccurate assertion occurs, that the food of the early inhabitants of St. Domingo has been the model of nourishment for the negro-slaves throughout the West Indies.

"The food of the early inhabitants of St. Domingo, appears to have comprised a similar description of vegetables to that of the negroes at this day: plantains, Indian wheat, millet, the cassavi root, potatoes, and Caribbee cabbage. Their quadrupeds included the smaller species of a lizard, yet the delicacy of a West India table; the Agouti rat, of which a description are yet found in some of the islands; and the alco, a small short-tailed dog, which did not bark, with others whose names have not come down to us. Their fishery was more abundant, every bay and creek furnishing an ample supply, as many of them do to the present time. The European quadrupeds now supply the necessary food of European colonists, with only such local additions as are objects of delicacy, or introduced by custom; among these may be named the land crab, the ortolan, and a variety of wild fowl of delicious taste and flavour. The indigenous vegetables yet remain, including plantains, yams, a species of spinach, potatoes, cassava, Indian wheat, and cabbage; to these are added the European roots, herbs, and pulse; and no want is found of cabbage, turnips, carrots, parsnips, peas, beans, artichokes, &c. A variety of fruits ornament the luxury of the table, among which the melon and pineapple, peaches and strawberries, oranges and lemons, the cashew, apples, pears, plums, and nuts, are plentifully combined with a variety of productions introduced from different countries."

The second chapter treats of the origin of the revolutionary spirit in St. Domingo. This is justly enough ascribed to the French revolution, to the discussions it occasioned, to the various elective assemblies of the inhabitants for sending deputies to the states-general, and to the society of the friends of the blacks; but above all, to the versatile legislation of the National Assembly, which left to each party the hope of the eventual aid of government. There is, however, a remoter cause, which may produce analogous effects elsewhere; the very large proportion of opulent and free people of colour, who enjoyed the advantages of education, and incurred the mortifications of exclusion. St. Domingo, being the oldest of all the European settlements in America, is naturally stocked with a larger share of creole

population: unless care had been taken to connect political privileges with property and not with skin, it was natural to find, at any opportunity of commotion, a common cause made against the white intruder first, and next against the slave-owner. We admire a bronze statue, no less than a statue of marble; it is a foolish prejudice of the eye not to know how to detect the forms of beauty, and the expressions of intellect, in living olive-coloured figures. Addison holds up his Cato as approving the addresses of the black Juba to his daughter; but such intermarriages have been too rarely encouraged by the European planters, to bring about a community of interest among those privileged classes, whose labour is not saleable by their employer.

The third chapter gives an account of the progress and accomplishment of the independence of St. Domingo. Much use is made of Mr. Edwards's excellent narrative. The following relation occurs of the capture of Port-au-Prince by the English, whom certain planters had invited over.

"The capture of Bizotton determined the fate of Port-au-Prince. The party remained in the fort till joined by the main body of the army from L'Arcahay, which, one part by land, and the other by sea, made its approach on the side next the rich plain of Cul de Sac. On the 4th of June they arrived within three miles of the town, and, at ten in the morning, the detachment of colonel Spencer marched to occupy a post on the heights behind the capital. When they had advanced about half way they were met by a mulatto woman, who acquainted them, to their surprise, with its evacuation. Colonel de Charmilly, with fifty of the colonial cavalry, were dispatched to ascertain the fact, which they found as she had stated; and they immediately took possession of the fort of the gate of Leogane. About half an hour after, a cry was heard from a cellar in a very concealed situation, and upon the door being broke open, a negro was discovered, surrounded by barrels of gunpowder. The unhappy wretch had been placed there, according to the opinion of M. de Charmilly, the preceding night, to blow them up at a certain time, but his match being extinguished, his own life, as well as that of those who surrounded him, were thus spared by mere accident.

"The fort De L'Hôpital was the next to be taken possession of, which was accomplished in the same manner, but with the appearance of imminent danger they escaped with their lives; for here the commissioners had planned their principal blow to destroy the new matters of the place, which had been defeated by the rain just mentioned. A train of powder

was found reaching from the magazine, (where several of the barrels had their bottoms knocked out, and the powder strewed about the floor,) to the thickets behind the fort; the whole, fortunately, was wet, and by precaution every accident was prevented.

"Fort Robin, in which were between two and three hundred men, who had refused to fly with the commissioners, readily surrendered to M. de Charmilly. The Baron de Montalembert was sent to take possession of Fort St. Joseph, which commanded the gate of the town leading to the Cul de Sac, and a detachment of troops from Leogane went to the Fort de St. Claire. Thus, in a few hours, the English were in full possession of Port-au-Prince. The commodore, who had entered the road, took possession of Fort de l'Islet, and sent in a British flag, which De Charmilly hoisted at Port Robin, with sensations that are easier to be felt than described. "I considered," says he, "this happy event as a recompence accorded me by fate for all my labours, and all my troubles in the salvation of St. Domingo." At six o'clock General Whyte arrived.

"Such was the capture of this important capital, whose character and wealth had tempted every person employed in the intended conquest of the island. Within the compass of its lines were one hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon regularly mounted in batteries. In the harbour were twenty-two vessels laden with sugar, indigo, and coffee, of which thirteen were from three to five hundred tons burthen, besides seven thousand tons of shipping in ballast, in value amounting to 400,000*l*. A booty much more considerable was conveyed away by the commissioners, who loaded two hundred mules with their riches, and carried away near two thousand persons in their train. Having previously arranged their affairs, and finding the people of colour, (of whose aid they had only intended to avail themselves temporarily,) possessed of the whole natural strength of the island, under the mulatto Rigaud, and a negro named Toussaint L'Ouverture, they soon after quitted the colony, consigning immense wealth both to America and France, leaving General Laveaux in the character of commander in chief; and returned to France, where they received from the government presiding at that time a sanction of their proceeding. Polverel soon after died, the victim of a life of dissipation, but Santhonax lived to pay the colony a triumphal visit.

"Much controversy has existed on the idea of some private arrangement having taken place between them and the commodore, with whom several flags of truce passed during the three days in which the detachment from the army was kept inactive. How this was has never been explained, but from the situation of the road from Port-au-Prince to Jacmel, it is clear, that their retreat might have been interrupted, and, according to some, the fate of the colony determined. Immediately after

Port-au-Prince came into the possession of the British, more than three thousand armed inhabitants assembled in the town, ready to undertake any enterprize for the further reduction of the colony. Unfortunately, no use was made of the present advantages, but what they afforded in profit; thus an opportunity was lost, which, as is often the case, never occurred again.

"The capture of Port-au-Prince, so much desired, seems to have formed the height of British power in St. Domingo. "From that period the affairs of its possessions," says an old English officer employed on the spot, "began to decline in proportion, as it were, to the vast accumulation of expence; and all was languor, disease, or peculation." As soon as the general satisfaction gave way to the necessary consideration for defence, the soldiery were compelled to assist in raising intrenchments on the side of the town next the mountains by day, and to perform military duty at night, thereby suffering the effects, alternately, of the sun and the dew. Many of these men had been six months on ship-board, and the season was unfavourable to them. At this unfortunate juncture arrived the Experiment frigate, with the remainder of the troops ordered from the Windward Islands, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Lennox, consisting of eight flank companies belonging to the 23d, 23d, 25th, and 41st regiments. Now commenced in St. Domingo the ravages of that contagion, which, with a power more terrible than ordinary death itself, has bereft so many families of their hopes, and cut off the flower of a promising army, without the gratification of an honourable conflict."

This chapter and the ensuing one, or fourth, are more complete than the two first chapters; they throw a new and original light on many incidents and transactions, and offer important warnings to high communities. A good sketch is given of the state of manners resulting from the independence of the blacks; this is the most racy portion of the history; it is not repeated from the observations of other writers, but painted in a lively manner from personal inspection. The military exercises of the blacks are stated to resemble those of our rifle-corps, and to be performed with admirable skill and celerity. Subordination, or rather distinction of rank, is known only in the field; the drummer, the private, and the colonel, dine at the same ordinary, and take a new precedence by seniority, or by the accident of arrival. Those of the blacks, who have attained to prosperity during the revolution, as many have done by the salaries of office and the appropriation of spoil, live with a more than European

pomp and etiquette; they gladly employ mulatto servants. To the American merchants, who bring over what they want, they are hospitable and attached. Many Americans have settled among them, and have married rich women of colour. They have French plays: the mass of actors are negroes, but a few French players remain to instruct and to chieftain the rest. The negroes are very fond of the theatre, as well as of music and dancing, and billiards. They eat dogs. They practise polygamy. They labour less than before, but enough to provide for their simplified wants. The love of country and of independence is loud: no invader would have much chance of success. They venerate the memory of Polverel and Santhonax.

"The situation (says our traveller) of those who still remained in humble privacy, and who formed the great bulk of the people, was indeed very greatly changed. Their condition, agreeably to their capacities of enjoyment, approached nearer happiness than many others which are considered its ultimatum. Crimes were by no means frequent, and those rather attributable to accident than vice. They were perfectly at liberty as regarded themselves, and were more ready to perform their social duties, than the state was urgent in requiring them. Those qualities conspicuous in the negroes under their worst circumstances, their regard for all the relations of life, and tenderness to each other, seemed expanded with their freedom, and many of the little prejudices that had existed were away. Those amusements, which were formerly suppressed, had now free scope, but they restrained themselves from public annoyance with more regularity than could have been effected by the strictest police.

"The *menage* of the labourer of the town and its vicinity, was improved in a proportion equal to his condition. A rough, yet neat couch, supplied the place of the wretched bedding of a former period, and the visitor was not unprovided for, though it is lamentable to state, that in several instances the furniture of the cottage was beholden to the public commotions, and in one instance, painfully risible, a beautiful fire-screen, the dextrous workmanship of some fair sufferer, concealed a dog then roasting from some of their fellows, who considered it opprobrious to be *mangeurs des chiens*.

"In one instance, the writer was introduced by a brigand of peculiar intelligence, (with whom he had frequent conferences on the military tactics of the black army) to the cottage of a black labourer, of whom an account may not be uninteresting. He had a family of thirteen children; eight of them by one woman, and the remainder by two others; the former only lived with him in the same cottage, with his mother, who was aged and infirm; the other two, separately, at a small

distance. This man was an epitome of legislation, and his family a well regulated kingdom in miniature. His cottage consisted of three irregular apartments, the first of which was his refectory, where, as often as possible, and always on *jours de fêtes*, his subjects assembled, including on those occasions his three wives. The furniture of this apartment was entirely of his own making, even to the smallest utensil, and with an ingenuity beyond what might be expected from perfect leisure, notwithstanding the artificer, during the process, had been obliged to attend his labour in the fields, and was a considerable time in arms. On a neat shelf, appropriated peculiarly to their use, lay a mass book, and a mutilated volume of Volney's Travels, some parts of which he understood more than his visitor. Every thing convenience required was to be found on a small scale, and the whole so compact, and clean, with such an air of propriety throughout as was absolutely attractive. His own bed-room was furnished with an improved bedstead, supported by tressels, with a mattress and bedding of equal quality with the other furniture, but that of his children and mother surpassed the whole. One bedstead contained them, yet separated the male from the female, the young from the aged, and was separated or combined in an instant. The third was his kitchen and store-house, and might also be called his laboratory, for conveniences were found for chemical experiments, though not of the most scientific kind; but every utensil for culinary purposes were provided in the best manner. The wife of this labourer (for he had submitted to the ceremony of marriage with the female who had borne him the most children, as is the general custom with them) was nearly as ingenious as himself, and equally intelligent. The mode he pursued in the regulation of his domestic economy was excellent; as continence is not a virtue of the blacks, the increase of his family was not confined to his own house: yet, even in his amours he was just; and as the two mothers before-mentioned were less protected than his ostensible wife, the primary object of his consideration was to have the whole of his children under his own care. This was reconciled to all parties from the first, in so mild a way, that no distinction was perceivable but in age, while the mothers held a relationship to their domiciliated offspring similar to that of an aunt or cousin, each exerting herself for the purpose of adding to the comforts of her own child. On festive occasions, the two mothers sat alternately on the right or left of the mistress of the house, with as much etiquette as might be perceived in a more elevated station, and with the utmost harmony. The master of the family was absolute, but with him it was in theory, not in practice, for all seemed to vie in forbearance. As soon as the children could contribute their little powers to labour, they were employed; the younger (except as regarded their strength) being subject to the in-

and offices; and, singular as it may appear, on the few occasions alluded to, they waited upon their seniors, though but by a few years, and seemed delighted in the office. Agreeable to this rule, in accordance with that reverence for age so remarkable among blacks of every condition, the grandmother received the affection and attention of all; and though often crabbed, infirm, and discontented, no one seemed to consider her failings as such, but as a duty prescribed them to bear."

Some indiscretions of the author in returning ashore after his embarkation exposed him to the suspicion of being employed as an English spy. He was seized, imprisoned, in a fixed open cage, and was supplied during the night, through the bars of his grate, with fruits and refreshments, by the humanity of a woman of colour. A tribunal of black judges summoned and questioned him. Luckily his papers, which did contain some military plans and comments, were timely destroyed. The case was reported to Toussaint, who good-naturedly ordered the prisoner's release, accompanied with a gentle hint that he did not mistake the author for an American. The biography of Toussaint must not be passed over:

"Toussaint L'Ouverture was born a slave in the year 1745, on the estate of the Count de Noé, at a small distance from Cape François, in the northern province of St. Domingo, a spot since remarkable as the very source of revolution, and site of a camp, (that of Brech.) from whence its native general has issued mandates more powerful than those of any monarch on the earth.

"While tending his master's flocks, the genius of Toussaint began to expand itself, by an attention towards objects beyond the reach of his comprehension; and without any other opportunity than was equally possessed by those around him, who remained nearly in impenetrable ignorance, he learnt to read, write, and use figures. Encouraged by the progress he rapidly made in these arts, and fired with the prospect of higher attainments, he employed himself assiduously in the further cultivation of his talents. His acquirements, as is oftentimes the case, under such circumstances, excited the admiration of his fellow slaves, and fortunately attracted the attention of the attorney, or manager of the estate, M. Bayou de Libertas. This gentleman, with a discrimination honourable to his judgment, withdrew Toussaint from the labour of the fields, to his own house, and began the amelioration of his fortune, by appointing him his position, an enviable situation among slaves, for its profit, and comparative respectability.

"This instance of patronage by M. Bayou, impressed itself strongly on the susceptible mind of Toussaint. True genius and elevated sentiments are inseparable; the recollection of the most trivial action, kindly bestowed in obscurity, or under the pressure of adverse circumstances, warms the heart of sensibility, even in the hour of popular fervour, more than the proudest honours. This truth was exemplified by the subsequent gratitude of Toussaint towards his master. He continued to deserve and receive promotion, progressively, to offices of considerable confidence.

"Among other traits fondly preserved in St. Domingo of the conduct of Toussaint during the early period of his life, are his remarkable benevolence towards the brute creation, and an unconquerable patience. Of the former, many instances are related which evince a mind endued with every good quality. He knew how to avail himself so well of the sagacity of the horse, as to perform wonders with that animal, without those cruel methods used to extort from them the docility exhibited in Europe; he was frequently seen musing amongst the different cattle, seeming to hold a species of dumb converse, which they evidently understood, and produced in them undoubted marks of attention. They knew and manifested their acquaintance, whenever he appeared; and he has been frequently seen attending with the anxiety of a nurse any accident which had befallen them; the only instance in which he could be roused to irritation, was when a slave had revenged the punishment he received from his owner upon his harmless and unoffending cattle. Proverbial became his patience, insomuch that it was a favourite amusement of the young and inconsiderate upon the same estate, to endeavour to provoke him by wanton tricks and affected malignity. But so perfectly he had regulated his temper, that he constantly answered with a meek smile, and accounted for their conduct by such means, as would render it strictly pardonable. To the law of self-preservation, or the misfortune of not knowing the delight of philanthropy, he would attribute an act of brutal selfishness; while he imputed to a momentary misapprehension, an inclination to rude and malicious controversy. Thus was his passive disposition never in the smallest degree affected, being ready on all occasions to conciliate and to bear, in circumstances whether frivolous or of the highest importance.

At the age of twenty-five Toussaint attached himself to a female of similar character to his own, and their union cemented by marriage, which does not appear to have been violated, conferred respectability on their offspring. Still he continued a slave; nor did the goodness of M. Bayou, although it extended to render him as happy as the state

of servitude would admit, ever contemplate the manumission of one who was to become a benefactor to him and his family. Such is the effect of ancient prejudice, in obscuring the highest excellence of our nature; he who would perform godlike actions without hesitation, from any other cause, shrinks from a breach of etiquette, or a violation of custom!

"In the comforts of a situation possessing a degree of opulence, Toussaint found leisure to extend the advantages of his early acquisitions, and by the acquaintance of some priests, who possessed little more of the character than the name, acquired the knowledge of new sources of information, and a relish for books of a superior order than first attracted his attention; the author of whom he became the most speedily enamoured, was the Abbé Raynal, on whose history and speculations in philosophy and politics he was intent for weeks together, and never quitted, but with an intention to return, with renewed and additional pleasure. A French translation of Epictetus for a time confined him to its doctrines, which he often quoted; but he soon sought higher food for his capacious mind, and found in a portion of the ancient historians, the summit of his wishes. He was there seen studiously consulting the opinion of those who teach the conduct of empires, or the management of war; yet, he neglected not those who aim to harmonize the mind, and teach man himself; the only difference in his habits inbibing these treasures created, was, an external polish, which imparted an uncommon grace to his manners.*

"Thus proceeded this illustrious man: like the simple acorn, first promiscuously scattered by the winds, in its slow but beauteous progress to the gigantic oak, spreading its foliage with august grandeur, above the minor growth of the forest, defending the humble shrub, and braving the fury of contending elements.

"Continuing on the estate on which he was born, when the deliberations preceding the actual rebellion of the slaves, were taking place upon the plantation of Noë, the opinion of him who was always regarded with esteem and admiration was solicited. His sanction was of importance, as he had a number of slaves under his command, and a general in-

fluence over his fellow negroes. Among the leaders of this terrible revolt were several of his friends, who he had deemed worthy to make his associates for mutual intelligence; yet, from whatever cause is not ascertained, he forbore in the first instance to join in the contest of liberty. It is probable that his manly heart revolted from cruelties attendant on the first burst of revenge in slaves about to retaliate their wrongs and sufferings on their owners. He saw that the innocent would suffer with the guilty; and that the effects of revolution regarded future, more than present justice. When the cloud charged with electric fluid becomes too ponderous, it selects not the brooding murderer on the barren heath, but bursts, perhaps, indiscriminately, in wasteful vengeance, o'er innocent flocks reposing in verdant fields.

"There were ties which connected Toussaint more strongly than the consideration of temporary circumstances. These were, gratitude for the benefits received from his master, and generosity to those who were about to fall,—not merely beneath the stroke of the assassin, for that relief from their sufferings was not to be allowed to all, but likewise the change of situations of luxury and splendour, to an exile of danger, contempt, and poverty, with all the miseries such a reverse can accumulate.

"Toussaint prepared for the emigration of M. Bayou de Libertas, as if he had only removed for his pleasure, to the American continent. He found means to embark produce that should form a useful provision for the future; procured his escape with his family, and contrived every plan for his convenience: nor did his care end here, for after M. Bayou's establishment in safety at Baltimore, in Maryland, he availed himself of every opportunity to supply any conceived deficiency, and, as he rose in circumstances, to render those of his protégé more qualified to his situation, and equal to that warm remembrance of the services he owed him, which would never expire.

Having provided for the safety of his master in the first instance, Toussaint no longer resisted the temptations to join the army of his country, which had (at this period) assumed a regular form.† He attached him-

* The following books were conspicuous in the library of Toussaint, a list of which was handed to the author in consequence of his enquiries respecting the progress of his mind:

Scriptores de re Militari.

Cæsar's Commentaries, French translation, by De Crisse.

Des Claison's History of Alexander and Cæsar.

D Orleans' History of Revolutions in England and Spain.

Marshal Saxe's Military Reveries.

Guisard's Military Memoirs of the Greeks and Romans.

Hærodotus, History of the Wars of the Persians against the Greeks.

Le Beau's Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Lloyd's Military and Political Memoirs; the Works of the English Socrates, Plutarch, Cornilius Nepos, &c. &c. &c.

† It is pleasing to reflect, that Toussaint was not the only instance of a similar conduct to the present. It occurred, with many variations, in numerous cases; an eminent instance of which will be found in the third chapter of this work.

self to the corps under the command of a courageous black chief, named Biassou, and was appointed next in command to him. Though possessed of striking abilities, the disposition of this general rendered him unfit for the situation which he held; his cruelty gained him to be deprived of a power which he abused. No one was found equally calculated to supply his place, with the new officer, Toussaint; therefore, quitting for ever a subordinate situation, he was appointed to the command of a division.

"If during this early part of his life, the black general had shone conspicuously, through every disadvantage, with the brightest talents and the milder virtues, he now rose superior to all around him, with the qualities and rank of an exalted chief. Every part of his conduct was marked by judgment and benevolence. By the blacks, who had raised him to the dignity he enjoyed, he was beloved with enthusiasm; and, by the public characters of other nations, with whom he had occasion to communicate, he was regarded with every mark of respect and esteem. General Laveaux called him "the negro, the Spartacus, foretold by Raynal, whose destiny it was to avenge the wrongs committed on his race;" and the Spanish Marquis d'Hermona declared, in the hyperbole of admiration, that "if the Supreme had descended on earth, he could not inhabit a heart more apparently good than that of Toussaint L'Ouverture."

"His powers of invention in the art of war, and domestic government, the wonder of those who surrounded, or opposed him, had not previously an opportunity for exhibition as at the period to which we have arrived in this history. Embarrassed by a variety of contending factions among the blacks, and by enemies of different nations and characters, he was too much occupied in evading the blows constantly meditated in different quarters, to find leisure for the display of that wisdom and magnanimity which he so eminently exercised. Nevertheless, a variety of incidents are recorded in the fleeting memorials of the day to corroborate the excellence of his character, and still more are impressed on the memory of all who have visited the scene of his government. Notwithstanding the absoluteness of military jurisdiction, which existed with extra power, no punishment ever took place without the anxious endeavours of the General-in-Chief to avoid it, exerted in every way that could be devised. No object was too mean for his remonstrance or advice; nor any crime too great to be subjected to the rules he had prescribed to himself. The punishment of the idle or immoral labourer was, being withdrawn from agriculture, and condemned to a military service dangerous or severe. In cases of treason he was peculiarly singular in his ideas, and the following incident will afford a specimen:—

"Shortly after general Maitland arrived upon the island, four Frenchmen were re-

taken, who had deserted the black chief with aggravated treachery. Every one expected a vindictive punishment, and of course a cruel death. Leaving them, however, in suspense as to their fate, he ordered them to be produced in church on the following Sabbath, and, while that part of the service was pronouncing which respects mutual forgiveness, he went with them to the front of the altar, where, impressing them with the flagitiousness of their conduct, he ordered them to be discharged without farther punishment."

The anecdote is omitted that Toussaint was fond of theatric declamation, and especially of Saurin's Spartacus. As the third scene of the third act has had an obvious influence on his turn of sentiment, and may not lie within the reader's reach, we shall reprint it: the vein of sentiment is worthy of Corneille.

"*Messala*.—Esclave des Romains, permettez qu'on vous dise. . .

"*Spartacus*.—Leur esclave! Et quel droit me mit entre vos mains?

A quel titre, au berceau ravi par les Romains,

Le fils d'Argetorix a-t-il porté vos chaînes?

Rome m'opposera ses fureurs inhumaines:

Elle voudra s'en faire un titre révéré?

Quoi! son ambition, à qui rien n'est sacré,
Traîne en de vils liens, le fils avec la mère,
Insulte la fille captive, en présence de son père,
Et prétend s'arroger un juste droit sur eux?
C'est le droit qu'un brigand a sur le malheureux,

Dont il prend dans un bois la dépouille et la vie:

Mes fers sont un forfait qu'il faut que Rome expie.

Eh, n'ai-je pas le droit d'en être le vengeur?
Il faut détruire enfin ce fléau destructeur,
Dont les dieux trop long-temps ont affligé la terre.

Il est temps que mon bras, au défaut du tonnerre,

Ecrase des tyrans, dont l'orgueil se croit né

Pour tenir à son char l'univers enchaîné.

"*Messala*.—La force fonde, étend, et maintient un empire.

Le droit de dominer, où chaque peuple aspire,
Des talens, du courage, est le prix glorieux:

Et si de l'univers Rome fixant les yeux,

Passé les nations en talens, en courage;

Le droit de dominer est son juste partage.

Tous ont même desir, mais non mêmes vertus;

La loi de l'univers, c'est malheur aux vaincus.

"*Spartacus*.—Et malheur donc à Rome!
Autrefois son esclave,

Aujourd'hui son vainqueur, j'ai le droit du plus brave.

Ses titres aujourd'hui sont devenus les miens;

Puisque, de votre aveu, le succès fit les miens.

Qu'étoit Rome en effet? Qui furent vos ancêtres?

Un vil ramas de serfs échappés à leurs maîtres,

De femmes et de biens, perfides ravisseurs ;
Rome, voilà quels sont tes dignes fondateurs !
Laissez donc là mes fers, non pas que j'en
rougisse ;

La honte en est à vous, ainsi que l'injustice ;
La gloire en est à moi, qui de ce vil état,
Qui, du sein de l'opprobre, ai tiré mon éclat ;
Qui, votre esclave enfin, scut, créant une
année,

Me faire le vengeur de la terre opprimée.
Que Rome quitte donc cette vaine hauteur,
Qui lui sied mal sans doute, et devant son
vainqueur.

En barbares, sur-tout, ne faites plus la guerre.
" *Messala*.—Mais vous-même de sang in-
ondant cette terre,

N'en avez vous versé qu'au milieu du combat ?
Tarente, abandonnée aux fureurs du soldat . . .

" *Spartacus*.—Malgré ma vigilance, il est
mille désordres,

Que n'ont pu prévenir ni mes soins, ni mes
ordres ;

Par un vil intérêt le soldat excité,
Au désir du butin, joint la ferocité.
Et ce sont ces cruels, ces âmes sanguinaires,
Des plus nobles projets, instrumens merce-
naires,

Qu'il faut faire servir au bonheur des humains.
Nous avons trop peut-être imité les Romains.
Mais, en plaignant l'abus, j'envisage les suites.
Eh ! quels sont en effet quelques cités dé-
truites,

Quelques champs ravagés ? si j'atteins à mon
but ;

Si, du monde opprimé, leur perte est le salut ;
Et si, des nations, par mon bras affranchies,
Les biens, les libertés, les honneurs, et les vies,
Ne sont plus le jouet de ces brigands titrés,
De tous ces proconsuls, à qui vous les livrez.

" *Messala*.—Votre projet est grand ; mais
souffrez qu'on vous dise,

Que le succès encore est loin de l'entreprise :
Plus d'un obstacle encore vous reste à sur-
monter ;

Et j'ose . . .
" *Spartacus*.—Il faut les vaincre, et non
pas les compter.

Tout projet, qui n'est pas un projet ordinaire,
Veut que l'on exécute, et non qu'on délibère.
J'ose tout espérer : les miracles sont faits
Pour qui veut fermement la mort, ou le
succès."

As some poets copy their characters from nature, so some natures copy their characters from the poet. The feeling and loftiness manifested on all occasions by Toussaint, seem to place him in this class. It appears, however, that one Pascal, a descendant says our author erroneously of the celebrated writer, an abbé Molière, and an Italian ecclesiastic named Marini, were among the literary coadjutors of Toussaint, and drew up his proclamations and constitutions of government. The Moses is oftener of essential importance than the Joshua of a revolution, because he is less replaceable:

courage and command are more common gifts than intellect and acquirement. San Domingo the ecclesiastic committed of law-givers remains, and will, it may be hoped, guide Dessalines, and the successors of Dessalines, in the steps of the past Toussaint. Yet the civilizing influence of his personal virtues is irreplacable. This admirable hero has been treated Bonaparte in a manner at which one ought to shudder. The purest feelings of our nature were employed to decoy him into submission.

"Of a scene equal to the highest efforts of the drama, narration can give no semblance without using the language of passion so dangerous to truth. Enough, however, is learnt from the self-condemning account of the tale to prove, that it was of the most affecting nature. This wretch, with a heart cold as a cell in which he was bred, viewed the emotions of this interesting family, only to his advantage of their situation. When the burst of joy and affection were over, and hero turned to careen him, to whom he immediately owed the delight he had experienced, Coisson began his attack. "I saw them," says he, "and, wishing to take advantage of a period which I conceived to be favourable, I stopped him at the moment when he stretched out his arms to me ;" he recapitulated the letters of Bonaparte and Clery, and invited him to accede to them. He painted the intentions of France towards the island in the most fascinating language ; scribed the advantages of resuming its relations with the mother country ; and declared, with the utmost solemnity, that it was not the intention to interfere with the liberty of the blacks ; concluding with a wound that struck to the heart of Toussaint,—his orders to turn with his charge to the Cape immediately if he did not consent. The wife of Toussaint recovered from the convulsive joy with which she was seized, commenced solicitations of a milder kind, and, notwithstanding the check by a frown, from that face which had beamed with tenderness upon her, continued to urge the advantages with which she impressed. The unconscious children described the happiness in which they had been nurtured, and the hero seemed to hesitate opposing solicitations so tender, when the well-practised tutor again assailed him, becoming less cautious, hinted at his immediate junction with the Captain-General Toussaint, now confirmed in his suspicion, instantly retired from the view of his wife, children, and when Coisson expected, infernal pleasure, his fraudulent victory, him this dignified determination. "Back my children, if it must be so, I am faithful to my brethren and my God!" characters of father and hero could not be in this trying situation. Toussaint did not see another sight of his children, but in less than two hours from the moment of his arrival.

ported again for the camp, from whence he returned a formal answer to the letter of General Le Clerc. This circumstance appears to have developed in a clearer view the intentions of the invaders, and is an explanation of the marked hostility in the onset, although supposed to be only intended to re-establish the colonial relation of the island to France. The answer was conveyed by Granville, the son of the younger sons of Toussaint, a Frenchman; and a correspondence was commenced with the same demands on the one part, and an evasion of satisfactory explanation on the other."

The calling in of the domestic affections, as means of influencing public conduct, has in it much of the barbarian; and calls the infancy of society, when the young Coriolanus was brought to order his mama. Where such means are in vogue, one part of heroism must be placed in overcoming the private attachments. But proceedings, which imply in those who recur to them a want of the finest sensibilities of our nature, ought to be held, like the use of blooded weapons in war, or of the torture in jurisprudence, deeply, indelibly disgraceful, not only to those who actually engage in them, but to the nations which employ for their public agents those who engage in them. Manœuvres, less unobjectionable because more conformable to the routine of political villainy, at length introduced from Toussaint his most active supporters, and furnished the means of apprehending his person, and of sending him to France, where he died in custody in a non-descript manner.

The yellow fever having thinned the ranks of Le Clerc, a war with England was recommenced which lessened the number of recruits from France, the dissensions of the blacks with every form of domination having broken out afresh, and resumed the assertion of a glorious independence. It may endure, if so, it will rebarbarize the island, and heedless extravagance of the black people, and the dislike of industry among their followers, must speedily create a scarcity of all the productions of interdependence. Some taste for the luxuries of Europe will remain; and at last perhaps African practice will be resorted to, of falling into slavery the superfluous population, in order to obtain iron utensils and distilled liquors. Thus a new and ignominious mart of slaves may be founded in the West Indian Archipelago, by the means resorted to for abolishing

The usual effect of violence is to defer its gratification. The revolt of the helots during the earthquake of Laconia, terminated in changing their bonds into fetters. The revolt of the Italian slaves under Spartacus delayed, by intimidating the masters, an alleviation of their condition. Industry begets property; property, justice; and justice, freedom. Whenever the natural process is interrupted, by calling in force, the entire progress must begin anew. Security will first be re-established, and concession be made the recompence of a penitent and experienced submission. The inhabitants of San Domingo are more likely to owe independence than liberty, to the negro army. The fee-simple of the confiscated and plundered estates may by degrees pass over to the American merchants; and a maroon gypsy-like population of ownerless negroes may live in idle savagism among the mountains; but the proprietors, whoever they are to be, will at last purchase the alliance of the public force, and introduce the cheapest method of cultivation.

Agricultural communities suffer more and oftener than commercial ones from the insurrection of journeymen. By throwing open the ports of the West Indies to American commerce, a further settlement of the trading classes would be attracted to the island sea-ports. A direct trade with the East Indies would be a more advantageous measure, and a means of gradually transferring many articles of cultivation, and many arts of life, from the Asiatic to the American world, together with a mass of free labourers, accustomed to tropical industry. Thus a middle order of people might be domesticated in our West Indian islands, whose presence would defend the planters against rebellion, and the vassals against ill usage. The consumption of our domestic manufactures would be much greater; for one white, or one free mulatto, consumes three times as much apparel as the half-naked negro, not to reckon his other less certain wants, which increase with his prosperity. And a provision would be made for the easy obtainal and gentle substitution of hired labour, during the accidental or local revolts of the negroes, during the pressure of seasons or the arrival of fleets, and during a dearth of the Africans.

Sir George Leith's history of Pulo-penang shows how very rapidly all our new colonial establishments could be pro-

vided with inhabitants, if they were but open to the reception of the superfluous population of our Asiatic possessions. Not only Trinidad and Bulama might be at once stocked with men; but the island of Marayo, which ought also to be seized, and which is better situate for internal trade with the South-American continent

than Trinidad, would without difficulty be supplied with elemental settlers. What use is it to possess both the east and the west, unless we render them conducive to one another's well-being? We serve our colonies, inasmuch as we leave them in trust for the benefit of the world.

ART. V.—*The History of the public Revenue of the British Empire. Containing an account of the public Income and Expenditure from the remotest Periods recorded in History, to Michaelmas 1802, with an Account of the Revenue of Scotland and Ireland, and an Analysis of the Sources of public Revenue in general. By Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, Baronet, M. P. Vol. III.*

THE two former volumes of the work before us preceded the commencement of our literary annals. This begins with an analysis of the British national debt, as it stood in 1804, and computes its capital amount at 337,660,465*l.* and its yearly interest at 22,877,954*l.* By this time, no doubt, half a million each week is put in circulation by the issue for interest merely. We agree with sir John Sinclair in thinking that this is not an alarming sum. The credit of an individual is always sufficient to borrow up to the whole amount of his fixed property: and the credit of a nation, if taxes were always laid on the rental of fixed property, would nearly suffice to the same extent.

The second chapter treats of the revenue of Scotland, and the third of that of Ireland. A more interesting speculation is contained in the fourth chapter, which treats of the national resources.

Sir John Sinclair enumerates frugality first. This is Ciceronian rant. *Optimum, et in privatis familiis et in republica, rectigal est parsimonia.* Sober philosophy will put less confidence in retrenchment. We seek in vain for the historical instance of a revenue permanently invigorated by mere parsimony. Sully, it is boasted, was a niggard to the beggarly courtiers, and, without new taxes, wound up an insignificant revenue to five times its original amount. But he took in hand a country desolated by civil war, at the low produce of anarchy, and by buying in cheap the doubtful claims on the state, and by extending the collection of the taxes over the whole surface of France, he might well work the apparent miracle of paying in ten years two hundred millions of debt, and increasing the public income from thirty to one hundred and fifty millions. The case of Great Britain is diametrically opposite. Here we have already the alert collection of a strong go-

vernment busily going on. The country is hollow-drained with revenue, and every drop of profit, that uses the bounty of nature or the pressure of labour, from the heavens above or the earth beneath, is presently gathered into the main trunk, and absorbed in the pool of the treasury. Courageous men would hazard so much allegiance as to endanger tranquillity. Our pens are either the recompence of public service, which it were unjust to withdraw; or the wages of corrupt obedience, which is unsafe to dispense with. Suppose public faith broken with all those powers, who have been quartered on the national treasury, not for public service for the private services, the corrupt, the abused influence of their hirelings; could half a million a year, a single week's expenditure, be so misimised? And is nothing to be feared from the tongues, the pens, or the weapons of a gang of court parasites turned to starve? In times like these, when conspiracies are among the amusements of genteel life, it is cheaper for the state to have too many guests than too few besiegers. Suppose a better system of book-keeping introduced in all the offices; and that every receipt and every bill were posted by double entry with the bidexter formality of an Italian book-keeper, and that every account was not only kept clearly and accessibly, but printed: would the new army of cost much less than the old army of bezzlers? Yet this reform, as it would increase the patronage of government, the expence of unfair hangers-on, is not enough to be realized. *Frugalitas est rumoris boni*, said Laetorius, and has usually proved in ministers of state. Necker expected by simple frugality to meet the deficiency in the French finances; a more courageous taxation

priety, would have saved the public credit. We admit generally the expediency and duty of frugality; but we do not rate it high as a resource: like a sumford kitchen, what it saves in coals it spends in machinery; and varies the form of waste without much affecting its amount.

Sir John Sinclair has especially censured (p. 216) the extravagance of the finance-department, an extravagance that is unpardonable, as our artillery is not on a capital footing. Among the sound plans suggested by him for the improvement of the revenue, we class a commutation of the duty on coal carried coastwards, for an excise-duty on coal to be levied by weight at the mouth of the pit: and also the following comments on ecclesiastical income:

"Of all the corporations that exist in this country, none can be compared in point of dignity, importance, or wealth, with the church of England, including the various seminaries in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which are so intimately connected with it.

"Many friends to ecclesiastical reformation have contended, that a complete alteration of the present system is necessary; that the hierarchy ought to be totally abolished, and its property vested in the public; and that either a national church ought to be established, on the presbyterian model, being the least expensive; or, that the clergy should be entirely dependent on the voluntary contributions of the people. But in every plan so important a nature, extremes ought to be avoided; and a prudent man, who would not probably give his voice in favour of the hierarchy, were it now for the first time to be proposed, instead of rashly altering ancient institutions to which a nation has been accustomed, would rather endeavour to make the present church establishment of as much public service as possible, by compelling the clergy to reside more in their respective parishes; and, in some cases, by imposing additional taxes upon the income they possess.

"It has already been remarked, in a former part of this work, that prior to the restoration, or at least to the establishment of the commonwealth, the clergy taxed themselves, and frequently paid two shillings in the pound

more than their lay brethren. Without extending such a regulation to the whole church, it might surely be adopted so far as respects some particular classes*.

There is no tax that has been more generally approved of, than that which imposed a certain duty upon the different sinecure offices of the state; and it has been well urged, that since those who are employed in the service of government, must submit to the reduction of their salaries, why should not the dignified clergy, who enjoy many valuable places, with very little trouble attending them, be considered in the same light, and be made subject to the same law, particularly as the offices held by deans, residentiaries, canons, prebendaries, precentors, treasurers of cathedrals, masters of colleges, &c. have this advantage over many of the civil offices, that they are enjoyed for life, and that the holders cannot possibly be deprived of them by any thing short of legislative authority.†

"Those who enjoy a plurality of livings, ought also to be liable to an additional tax of two shillings in the pound. However vehemently such accumulations may be defended,‡ they are equally contrary to the genuine principles of ecclesiastical polity, and to the soundest doctrines of the christian religion. When once the extent of a parochial district is ascertained, if it furnishes a sum adequate to the maintenance of a pastor, the inhabitants of the district are entitled to have a clergyman residing among them, to inculcate the principles of religion, and to edify them by his example; and if a plurality of livings is at all to be permitted, such as are suffered to enjoy so considerable an advantage ought to pay a duty to the public for the privilege they possess.

"Heavy taxes ought also to be laid upon non-resident clergymen, whether pluralists or otherwise, who do not fulfil the object of their appointment.§ The ignorance and profligacy of the lower ranks in England are, perhaps with some justice, attributed to the inattention of their pastors. It cannot be expected that those who are abandoned by their natural instructors, and left to the guidance of their own impetuous passions, should always act as becomes the professors of the christian religion. And it is of little consequence, that a wretched curate is left, with a pitiful salary, to conn over the lessons of the day, or to preach a cold and lifeless sermon upon Sunday, whilst his proud superior is amusing himself in the capital, or wandering

* It need hardly be remarked that the property of the church is subject to the present land tax in common with the rest of the kingdom.

† See Considerations on a new Place-tax, printed anno 1756:

Mr. Wharton, in his Defence of Pluralities, as now practised in the Church of England, printed anno 1703, has attempted to defend the holding of two benefices at the same time; but his principal argument is, that pluralists are not more useless in their profession than non-residing clergymen; which cannot have much weight with any body, and far less with those who think that all clergymen should be residents.

‡ Perhaps the tax should also be extended to those who present themselves, and who consider the livings in their gift in the same manner as an hereditary estate.

from one wrong place to another, in search of pleasure and preferment.

"But it is a tedious, dangerous or impossible to carry these principles into effect, yet surely the clergy ought no longer to be suffered to engross any part of the national income. In the reign of Queen Anne, a popular cry was raised in favour of the church, of which a party in opposition took advantage to overturn the administration of the day; and, in recompence thereof, an act was passed, by the instance of the new ministers, in consequence of which the first fruits and tenths, a part of the revenue of the crown, were taken from the public, and appropriated to the augmentation of the smaller clerical benefices. This branch of the revenue amounted to about £14000 per annum; and on the first of January 1735, the governors of that charity possessed besides, from savings and private benefactions, the sum of £152,500 of Old South Sea Annuities, and £4,957: 2: 11, of cash in the hands of their treasurer.* Whatever the state of that fund may now be, yet surely, if the small livings of the church required to be augmented, it is not from the revenue belonging to the crown, and to the public, but from the church itself, where its emoluments are confessedly too great, that the addition ought to be demanded."

A third project, more practicable than praise-worthy, is the hide-tax recommended at page 257. The tax on leather already subsisting is too heavy, and compels poor children to go unshod; this practice brings on diseases of the foot and ankles, and disablement for military service. We should prefer a total repeal of the tax on leather to any additional assessment; and we presume that much more leather could be exported from this country, if hides both came and stayed free of duty.

- Another important hint is thrown out in the following passage:

"When the revenue arising from the first fruits and tenths, was originally appropriated

for ecclesiastical uses, various means were adopted that might in the private advice to devote some part of their property to purpose; and it is an important circumstance to mention, that in the space of about fifty years and a half commencing anno 1716, less a sum than £15,0000, was acquired by different persons for augmenting small livings in England.† That was at the rate of about 10,000l. per annum; and such a sum upon a 4 per cent. stock, would have paid the space of a hundred years the sum 1,250,0000l.

"But it is not the church alone that has been benefited by such contributions. It is hardly a town in Great Britain of any considerable importance; there is not a rural foundation of any kind; nay, hardly a parish in Epsford, to which some benefactions have not been made, which, were they accumulated into one sum for any particular object, would be productive of astonishing effects. The charitable donations for the relief of the poor, in England and Wales alone, exceed 250,000l. per annum. If that sum, operating upon a 4 per cent. stock, would have accumulated, in the space of a century, to the amount of 300,0000l. and consequently our debt, if heavy as it is, might have been actually discharged before this time, by voluntary contributions had such a system been properly understood and encouraged at the revolution.

"Nay, the particular idea above hinted has not been neglected. Anno 1733, Richard Norton, Esq. of Southwick, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, left his property and estates to parliament to pay the public debts.‡ Sir Joseph Jekyl, master of the mint in the reign of George II. who died anno 1738, bequeathed effects to the amount of about 26,000l. to the sinking fund.§ parliament was afterwards prevailed upon to reverse the will of that public-spirited citizen, yet that very sum would have bought, in the space of forty-five years, the sum of 103,0000l. of 4 per cent. stock; and at the conclusion of a century sir Joseph Jekyl would have been recorded as a benefactor to the public to the amount of 1,255,0000l. Such a sum

* See Lords' Journals, vol. xxiv. p. 665. The return was printed anno 1736, in one volume folio.

† See Ecton's Liber Valorum, third edition, printed anno 1728.

‡ Paterson's Description of the Roads of Great Britain, p. 17. Road from London to Portsmouth. It is said, that the will was set aside. A copy may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine. Vol. iii. p. 57. (February 1733.)

§ The history of Sir Joseph Jekyl's legacy was as follows: By his will, dated the 4th of May 1738, he left 10,000l. East India stock, and 10,000l. South Sea stock, to be applied, after the death of Elizabeth his wife, to the use of the sinking fund, in such manner as should be directed by act of parliament. His widow died anno 1745; and the East India stock was sold anno 1747, for 15,872l. 14s; and as the South Sea stock was then about par, the whole legacy amounted to about 26,0000l. By 20 Geo. III. cap. 34. £13,582: 9: 2 in money, was given from the sinking fund to the residuary legatees. By an act passed anno 1772, (12 Geo. III. cap. 53.) the sum of £2,290: 4: 10 of this legacy was directed to be paid into the exchequer, to be applied to the sinking fund. This was the only advantage reaped by the public from this particular legacy. By 14 Geo. III. cap. 89. the balance of his legacy was given to his heirs.

It has been encouraged, would have soon met. The author of this work, having discussed among his friends, a small tract recommending such an idea, was happy to find it met with the warmest approbation; some by whom it was perused, expressed the strongest anxiety, that the necessary laws for that purpose might be enacted without delay, that they might have an opportunity of seeing, how sincerely desirous they were, of removing the interests, by voluntarily consenting to diminish the heavy burdens, to which their fellow-citizens were subject.

As a strong and useful incitement to such beneficent actions, it might be enacted, that any sum thus given, should be accumulated in compound interest in the name of the donor, and the politic regulation that was decided in regard to the augmentation of the livings of the clergy, ought to be altered, by which a sum equal to the money borrowed, should be taken from the general fund, and appropriated to the same purpose. The consequences of such a regulation may be easily supposed from this, that there is only a citizen in this country, who by great industry and minute attention might not accumulate 1000*l*. in the space of a few years. If that sum were laid out in 4 per cent. stock, in the course of a century it would purchase 20,000*l*. of stock; and if an equal sum were taken from the sinking fund, at the end of a hundred years he would appear a benefactor to the state to the amount of half a million, at the conclusion of which period a statue should be erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey, or some other conspicuous edifice, as a mark of the public gratitude. Thus might a private individual, acquire immortal honour, by means perfectly practicable and easy."

The sale of the crown-lands is advised with convincing arguments at page 294. Some reserve of timber-ground for naval supply has been pleaded for; but we believe that private interest and private luxury will always provide the requisite stores. Besides, if ship-building should become too dear, the laws which privilege British-built ships can be repealed. Some scanty hints occur at page 303 concerning the availability of our East Indian conquests. Local loans might there be made, funded, and provided for.

Among the papers included in sir John Sinclair's appendix may be distinguished the first, entitled an analysis of the sources of public revenue. It compiles a vast mass of fact and reference concerning taxation in different ages and countries; and marshals in convenient arrangement the various forms of tribute. One of the less complete chapters is the third, which treats of public revenue from buildings,

without noticing those rent-taxes by which our poor's-rate is assessed, or those window-taxes and hearth-monies, which are so conspicuous in the catalogue of our burdens: both these are taxes on buildings. Edifices form a very productive and a very expedient source of revenue: their utility to the country is not at all diminished by any tax, however heavy on the rental: only their capital value, their selling price, is affected, which facilitates transfer. It would be expedient to window-tax places of worship and empty houses; this would prompt a demolition of deserted and superfluous buildings, and accelerate the reduction of rents, when the country is overstocked with shelter.

In a section of the second chapter of the third book of this meritorious analysis, (which ought to have been published apart as a separate work, for it has no connexion with the history of the revenue) sir John Sinclair lays down the axiom that 'taxes ought to be in proportion to the property which each individual possesses.' This appears to us paradoxical. Property usefully employed ought never to be driven from its destination by the persecutions of the tax-gatherer. Property mischievously employed ought to be driven from its destination by the inroads of the tax-gatherer. The purest title to property, as Mr. Burke observes, is the wise employment; and this is the title which the taxpayer ought to respect. He is not to burden equal property equally in the hands of idleness and of industry. The idler, who lives a useless life, on the rent of his acres, houses, bonds and funds, ought to pay more in proportion, than the farmer, manufacturer, or trader, who renders these lands, or buildings, or capitals, productive. The fatigued labourer must not be blooded so often as the pampered feaster; nor ought the political physician to amerce alike the earnings of industry and the squanderings of luxury.

A second appendix enumerates the various books extant on the subject of finance in our language: we wish it had been a critical catalogue; and that those works had been shortly characterized, which it is worth while to read or to reprint.

This copious history of the revenue abounds with curious details; it displays an enviable command of library and a meritorious range of research; but it has not all the compression of materials, the neatness of redaction, the systematic distribution and proportion, which an artist bookmaker has strived to

attain. The instruction bestowed is various and important, but desultory and diffuse : it wanders, like a bank-note, from the merchant to the land-owner, from England to Ireland, from the excise-office to the treasury.

Sir John Sinclair displays much industry and much talent ; he excels perhaps more in compilation of fact than in felicity

of inference, in antiquarian than in critical investigation, and is rather the statistic than the statesman. Yet he has this of greatness, that his object is utility not display ; that he is exempt from servility to party or to power ; and that he offers up his toil and his wisdom to the public service with the unreserve of patriotism and the calmness of disinterest.

ART. VI.—*The Roman History, from the Foundation of Rome to the Subversion of the Eastern Empire, and the Taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in the Year of our Saviour 1453 ; including the Antiquities, Manners, and Customs, as well as the Jurisprudence and Military Establishment of the Romans. In Seven Books. On a new and interesting Plan. By the Rev. JOHN ADAMS, A. M. ; Author of the History of Great Britain, and other much approved Publications. 8vo.*

THERE is a good book on Roman antiquities by Alexander Adam of Edinburgh : this John Adams is not a writer of equal learning, research, a condensation : but he has performed with convenient propriety and less ambitious task ; and has abridged for the use of schools and of young people, into an inconsiderable volume, the whole Roman history down to the taking of Constantinople.

The earlier portions of the narrative are more completely given than the later. We should have preferred a severer condensation of the first book. The current fables concerning the Roman origins must be learned, because they are often alluded to : but it was not necessary to dilate so much on the marvellous anecdotes of the primæval kings and champions.

The first historians of Rome were poets. Ennius wrote metrical annals of the kings ; and Nævius a metrical chronicle of the first Punic war ; but the former of these two bards could have no authentic sources of intelligence ; he did not, like Nævius, relate events of which he was a great part. Romulus and Remus, Numa and Egeria, class with the kings and nymphs of the Polyalpion.

The priesthood are stated annually to have written on a white board, which was exposed to the inspection of the few who could read, a short register of the magistrates and events of the year. These agreed notices of public occurrences were afterwards transcribed and preserved in the archives, and are quoted as the funda-

mental documents of Roman history. Now these archives down to the year 390 perished totally during the conflagration of Rome by the Gauls. Fasti, and other collections of precedents for laws and public rites, were afterwards compiled, and ascribed to the traditional fathers of the country ; but there is no trust-worthy history before Camillus.

Yet this portion of history fills ten chapters of the volume before us ; whereas the whole period from 476 to 1453, occupies but nine chapters.

The archæological matter concerning the arts, manners, games, coins, religion, and constitution of heathen Rome, is too extensive for a work professedly historical. On the contrary, there is a deficiency of geographical matter : without a map of the Roman world, containing the ancient names of places, it is not easy for young people to follow an annalist of their affairs.

The mention of those moderns, who flourished before the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, might have been forborne. A long catalogue of names occurs from page 249 to page 256, which have nothing to do with Roman history ; they must be leaves of some other work sown in by mistake.

We have no doubt this book will be found sufficiently useful to invite a second edition, when we trust a more proportionate distribution of materials will be attained.

ART. VII.—*Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a View of the Causes and probable Consequences of Emigration. By the EARL OF SELKIRK. 8vo. pp. 224.*

THE chief cause of prosperity among the numerous classes in Great Britain is that spirit of emigration, which happily

is a national affection. There is no country in which so large a proportion of the people have travelled : none, in which so

many are constantly employed in migratory occupations, as carriers, drivers, wherry-men, and sailors: none, in which the tombs of the natives are so distant from their cradles. To die rich, or to die abroad, is the avowed system of commercial enterprize. Discontent with every situation which can be bettered is the meritorious profession of all ranks. A lubber, a stay-at-home, is with us a term of abuse. This is rational. He who expatriates himself confers a benefit on his remaining fellow-citizens: he bequeaths while alive to another the form of subsistence in which he was engaged; he contributes to cheapen food and to raise the wages of labour, by withdrawing competition, and thus to facilitate at home early marriage and the consequent purity of domestic morals. His industry, wherever it is employed, will be exchanged for some of the productions of his mother-country, whose manufactures are sure to profit by his consumption during absence. If eminently prosperous, he will return at last, and bring back the glorious recompence of his industry; if but ordinarily successful, he will have still contributed to make the commerce, the language, and the power of Great Britain pervade the distant provinces.

A society for the encouragement of emigration should be founded. It should keep lists of poor families willing to be exported, and of the districts to which they would contentedly be carried. When a sufficient cargo is ready for Botany-bay, or Pulo Penang; for the Cape, or Bulama; for Trinidad, or Upper Canada; let the requisite arrangements be taken by the society to secure a proper reception, and to convey gratuitously the colonists. The expence of crossing the sea is the chief impediment to the speedy population of the British settlements. Many persons, especially from Wales and Ireland, in order to conquer this difficulty, sell themselves for a given term of years to the American captains at Liverpool, and are resold to the highest bidder on their arrival at Baltimore, or New York. This white-slave trade is carried on under the forms of the laws concerning apprentices: and there is reason to believe that, by successive advances of money or necessities to the bondsmen, such prolongations of his slavery, beyond the seven years of the original agreement, are brought to bear, as entirely assimilate the condition of the British emigrant, in the pretendedly free states of North-America, to that of a Ro-

man citizen sold into perpetual slavery by a harsh creditor. It would be an act of humanity, as well as of patriotism, to warn these rash rovers against contracts so oppressive and tyrannical; and to facilitate their landing in *freedom* on territories not less likely to offer an easy maintenance than the provinces of the United States. During peace, a proper employment for the ships of government would be to carry out passengers freight-free, in all directions, to the British settlements; during war, the superfluous population naturally finds another course.

Among the persons to whom a society for the encouragement of emigration would eagerly allot its honorary medals is the present earl of Selkirk. He visited Canada; he fixed on a spot in Prince Edward's Island as the field of colonization; he provided ships, stores, medical attendance, instruments of labour; he superintended the allotment of the lands, and in a single year established a considerable community, independent of external or foreign aid for subsistence and shelter. To Cecilius lord Baltimore, the founder of the prosperity of Maryland, the grandchildren of his patronage justly ascribe a high rank among the benefactors of society, and the worthies of the human race. The future islanders of Prince Edward's land, will preserve a similar gratitude for the memory of the earl of Selkirk. His narrative is simple, interesting, instructive.

"This island of Prince Edward is situated in lat. 46° and 47° in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, near the coast of Nova Scotia—it is about 120 miles long, and much intersected by arms of the sea, along which is a thinly scattered population, estimated at about 7 or 8000. The lands of this island were granted in the year 1767, in several large lots, of which a great proportion fell into the hands of persons who have entirely neglected their improvement, and in consequence of this many very extensive tracts are totally uninhabited. The settlement I had in view was to be fixed in one of these, where, for upwards of thirty miles along the coast, there was not a single habitation. The spot selected for the principal establishment was separated by an arm of the sea, and an interval of several miles, from any older settlement. Those that were in the vicinity were of inconsiderable amount, and little benefit was derived from any intercourse with them; so that the emigrants who arrived on this occasion were placed in circumstances scarcely more favourable than if the island had been completely desert.

"These people, amounting to about eight hundred persons of all ages, reached the island

in three ships, on the 7th, 9th, and 27th of August 1803. It had been my intention to come to the island some time before any of the settlers, in order that every requisite preparation might be made. In this, however, a number of untoward circumstances concurred to disappoint me; and on my arrival at the capital of the island, I learned that the ship of most importance had just arrived, and the passengers were landing at a place previously appointed for the purpose.

"I lost no time in proceeding to the spot, where I found that the people had already lodged themselves in temporary wigwams, constructed after the fashion of the Indians, by setting up a number of poles in a conical form, tied together at top, and covered with boughs of trees. Those of the spruce fir were preferred, and, when disposed in regular layers of sufficient thickness, formed a very substantial thatch, giving a shelter not inferior to that of a tent.

"The settlers had spread themselves along the shore for the distance of about half a mile, upon the site of an old French village, which had been destroyed and abandoned after the capture of the island by the British in 1758. The land, which had formerly been cleared of wood, was overgrown again with thickets of young trees, interspersed with grassy glades. These open spots, though of inconsiderable extent with a view to cultivation, afforded a convenient situation for the encampment: indeed the only convenient place that could have been found, for all the rest of the coast was covered with thick wood, to the very edge of the water.

"I arrived at the place late in the evening, and it had then a very striking appearance. Each family had kindled a large fire near their wigwam, and round these were assembled groups of figures, whose peculiar national dress added to the singularity of the surrounding scene. Confused heaps of baggage were every where piled together beside their wild habitations; and by the number of fires the whole woods were illuminated. At the end of this line of encampment I pitched my own tent, and was surrounded in the morning by a numerous assemblage of people, whose behaviour indicated that they looked to nothing less than a restoration of the happy days of Clanship.

"After our first meeting, I had to occupy myself in examining the lands, and laying them out in small lots for the settlers. In this business I soon began to feel the inconvenience of not having arrived at the time I had intended. The plans which had formerly been made of the land, were too inaccurate to be of much use: a new survey could not be completed sufficiently soon; but some measurements were indispensable; and even this little took up time that could ill be spared. From this cause, combined with some of those errors from which a first experiment is rarely exempt, it happened that three or four weeks elapsed before the settlers could have their in-

dividual allotments pointed out to them; and during all this time they were under the necessity of remaining in their first encampment.

"These hardy people thought little of the inconvenience they felt from the slightness of the shelter they had put up for themselves; but in other respects the delay was of very pernicious tendency. There are few parts of America where there are not people ready to practise on the ignorance of new-comers, and by representations, true or false, to entice them to fix on some place where the officious adviser has an interest to promote. Some attempts of this kind were made, and, though not ultimately successful, gave much trouble. The confidence of the settlers seemed to be shaken; and from their absolute ignorance of the country, argument had no effect in removing any unreasonable fancy. The terms upon which lands were offered to them were scarcely equivalent to one half of the current rate of the island; yet they acceded to them with much hesitation, and a long time elapsed before they became sensible of the uncommon degree of favour they had experienced.

"At one period, indeed, there seemed to be a probability of the settlement breaking up entirely. As long as the people remained together in their encampment, they partook in some degree of the versatility of a mob. It was not till they had dispersed to their separate lots, till by working upon them they had begun to form a local attachment, and to view their property with a sort of paternal fondness, that I could reckon the settlement as fairly begun.

"In this interval an alarming contagious fever broke out, and gave no small degree of anxiety, by its progress among the settlers. My apprehensions, however, were relieved by the presence and assistance of a medical gentleman, whom I was fortunate enough to have as my companion, and whose professional skill was equalled only by his amiable and humane attention to every class of patients. Through his assiduous and unremitting exertions, the disease was soon alleviated; and few fatal cases occurred. There were not many of the settlers, however, that escaped the contagion altogether: it was difficult to intercept it among people living in such close vicinity, and in a continual intercourse, which no means could be found for preventing. This fever had been occasioned by some accidental importation, and certainly not by the climate, which is remarkably healthy. The disease was nearly eradicated, when the people began to disperse to their separate lots, upon which they had all begun to work before the middle of September.

"I could not but regret the time which had been lost; but I had satisfaction in reflecting, that the settlers had begun the cultivation of their farms, with their little capitals unimpaired. The principal expence they had to incur was for provisions to support them

during the winter and ensuing season; besides which, all the more opulent purchased milch cows, and some other cattle.

"Provisions, adequate to the whole demand, were purchased by an agent; he procured some cattle for beef in distant parts of the island, and also a large quantity of potatoes, which were brought by water carriage into the centre of the settlement; and each family received their share within a short distance of their own residence. Some difficulties occurred, indeed, in procuring a full supply; for, though the crops of the island afforded a great super-abundance, most of the farmers who could spare any considerable quantity, had taken up the idea, that, from so large an additional number of consumers, they could get what prices they pleased, and raised their demands to such an extravagant degree, that it would have been better if the whole provisions for the settlement had been imported from a distant market. In fact, it was found necessary to send to Nova Scotia for a quantity of flour. Throughout this business some trouble was unavoidable; but of this the settlers in general had no share. From the moment they were fixed in their respective allotments of land, they were enabled to proceed without interruption in their work.

"A gentleman of medical knowledge, who had accompanied the emigrants, and assisted in the management of the undertaking, settled among them in a central situation, from whence his professional aid could soon be afforded to any part. Not very far from the same place, a forge was erected; a blacksmith was the only artificer who was judged to be indispensably requisite; for in consequence of the small progress of the division of labour among the Highlanders, every man is in the habit of doing for himself most of the other branches of work, for which the aid of a professed tradesman would be required by people more accustomed to the habits of commercial society.

"To obviate the terrors which the woods were calculated to inspire, the settlement was not dispersed, as those of the Americans usually are, over a large tract of country, but concentrated within a moderate space. The lots were laid out in such a manner, that there were generally four or five families, and sometimes more, who built their houses in a little knot together; the distance between the adjacent hamlets seldom exceeded a mile. Each of them was inhabited by persons nearly related, who sometimes carried on their work in common, or, at least, were always at hand to come to each other's assistance. This enabled them to proceed with the more vigour, as there are many occasions, in the work of clearing away the woods, where the joint efforts of a number of men are requisite, and where a single individual can scarcely make any progress. There is a great advantage in clearing a considerable field, rather than the same extent of land in detached spots, as it

does not suffer so much from the shadow of the surrounding woods. Besides this, the work of several men being collected in one place, made so much the greater show. The progress of each, insulated by itself, might have appeared poor and insignificant; but when united, when the forests were seen receding on every side, all were animated by the encouraging prospect of advancement. Experience, too, was rapidly communicated among people thus concentrated; emulation was kept alive; and, when any one was inclined to despondency, the example and society of his friends kept up his spirits. To their families, this social style of settlement was a comfort of the utmost importance for cheering their minds, and preventing them from sinking under the gloomy impressions of the wilderness.

"This plan was the more readily acquiesced in, from its similarity to the former situation of the small tenants in their native country; and, in many instances, a party of relations were willing even to take all their land in one large lot in partnership. This, as a sociable arrangement, I was disposed to encourage: it was found, however, to lead to much trouble in the subsequent stages of the business, as the partners soon began to wish for a subdivision, and this was seldom accomplished without a good deal of wrangling. The advantage of concentrating the settlements might have been attained without incurring this inconvenience, and is of such essential consequence to people who are unaccustomed to the woods, that it ought not to be given up for any motive of inconsiderable moment.

"Before the settlers had dispersed to their several lots, while they were still in the encampment which they had formed on landing, some of the inhabitants of the island were employed to build a house, so that all had access to learn the methods used: some land was afterwards cleared in a situation they had frequent opportunities of seeing. From these examples they appeared to receive no small instruction; for, though their first trials of the axe were awkward, they improved rapidly.

"Their houses were, indeed, extremely rude, and such as, perhaps, few other European settlers would have been satisfied with. The first buildings of the American *woodsmen*, from which our people took their model, are constructed without any other materials than what the forests afford. The walls are formed of straight logs, about eight inches in diameter, rough and undressed, laid horizontally, and crossing each other at the corners of the building, where they are coarsely grooved or notched about half through, to allow each log to touch that immediately below it: the chinks between them are stuffed with moss, clay, and small wedges of wood. The roof is formed of birch bark, or that of the spruce fir, peeled off the trees in large unbroken pieces, and secured by poles tied

down on them with wythes or pliable twigs. This covering, if well laid, is sufficient to keep out any rain, but must be protected from the sun by a covering of thatch; for which purpose aquatic grasses, or the small twigs of the spruce and other sorts of fir trees, may be used. Houses of this kind, of fifteen or eighteen feet, by ten or fourteen, were the dwellings of many of the settlers for the first season.

"The hardy habits of these Highlanders gave them, in this respect, a great advantage over people who are accustomed to better accommodation, and who would have employed a great proportion of their time in building comfortable houses. They, on the contrary, had soon secured themselves a shelter, poor indeed in appearance, and of narrow dimensions, but such as they could put up with for a temporary resource; and immediately applied themselves with vigour to the essential object of clearing their lands. Notwithstanding this work was of a nature so totally new to them, they applied to it with such assiduity, that before the winter set in, they had not only lodged themselves, but made some progress in cutting down the trees. This was continued during winter, whenever the weather was not too severe: and, upon the opening of the spring, the land was finally prepared for the seed.

"The zeal with which they proceeded in their work, was exemplified by a man of above sixty years of age, who with his three sons, inhabited one of the little hamlets that have been described. The young men had agreed among themselves, that as this new species of labour would be too severe for their father, he should do nothing till, from the progress of the clearing, he should employ himself in some sort of work he had formerly been accustomed to: the veteran would not, however, be dissuaded from taking up the axe, till his sons found they had no recourse but to secrete it from him. In another instance, this zeal appeared rather in a whimsical manner. In walking among the settlements, I came unexpectedly to a house newly erected by an elderly widow and her two sons. The young men had gone from home upon some business; the mother, having no immediate occupation within the house, had taken up one of the axes they had left behind, and with amazonian vigour had begun to attack a tree. She had made some progress, when my coming up interrupted the work—rather fortunately, I believe; for the good old lady had proceeded with more ardour than skill, and there appeared to be some danger that, in the progress of her work, the tree would have fallen on the roof of her new habitation.

"The settlers had every incitement to vigorous exertion from the nature of their tenures. They were allowed to purchase in fee simple, and to a certain extent, on credit: from fifty to one hundred acres were allotted to each family at a very moderate price, but none was given gratuitously. To

accommodate those who had no superfluity of capital, they were not required to pay the price in full till the third or fourth year of their possession; and, in this time, an industrious man may have it in his power to discharge his debt out of the produce of the land itself.

"The same principle was adhered to in the distribution of provisions; for though several of the poorer settlers could not go on without support, every assistance they received was as a loan, after due scrutiny into the necessity of the case, and under strict obligations of repayment with interest. Thus, while a remedy was provided for cases of such extreme necessity as might otherwise have put a stop to the progress of the settlers, they were not encouraged to reliance on any resource but their own industry; and their minds were not degraded by the humiliating idea of receiving any thing like charity. The proud spirit that characterized the antient Highlander, was carefully cherished among them: the near prospect of independence was kept constantly within their view, to stimulate their exertions, and support them in every difficulty.

"Having calculated the arrangements necessary for the progress of the settlement, and having left the charge of their execution in the hands of an agent, whose fidelity and zeal I was well assured of by long previous acquaintance, I left the island in September, 1803; and, after an extensive tour on the continent, returned in the end of the same month the following year. It was with the utmost satisfaction I then found that my plans had been followed up with attention and judgment. Though circumstances had intervened to disturb, in some degree, the harmony of the settlement; they had produced no essentially bad effect; and the progress that had been made was so satisfactory to all concerned, that little difficulty occurred in healing every sore.

"I found the settlers engaged in securing the harvest which their industry had produced. They had a small proportion of grain, of various kinds, but potatoes were the principal crop; these were of excellent quality, and would have been alone sufficient for the entire support of the settlement. The prospect of abundance had diffused universal satisfaction, and every doubt as to the eligibility of the situation seemed to be removed. In the whole settlement I met but two men who showed the least appearance of despondency. There were three or four families who had not gathered a crop adequate to their own supply: but many others had a considerable superabundance. The extent of land in cultivation at the different hamlets, I found to be in general in a proportion of two acres or thereabouts to each able working hand: in many cases from three to four. Several boats had also been built, by means of which, a considerable supply of fish had been obtained, and formed no trifling addition to the stock of

provisions. Thus, in little more than one year from the date of their landing on the island, had these people made themselves independent of any supply that did not arise from their own labour.

"To their industrious dispositions and persevering energy, the highest praise is justly due. Without these, indeed, every other advantage would have been of no avail; for, if the arrangements that have been detailed have any merit, it may all be comprised in this—that by their means the industry of the individual settlers was preserved unimpaired, was allowed full scope to exert itself, and was so directed, as to produce all the effect, or nearly all, that it could produce."

The introduction to this account contains much historical matter concerning the ancient condition and progressive alteration of the Highland tenantry. The striking features of their manners were traditional peculiarities resulting from experienced expediency. In a new country, under new tenures of property, with a soil inviting less to pastoral and more to agricultural pursuits, these peculiarities would no longer be wise, and will therefore not be permanent. It may be pleasant to the old to hope that they are bequeathing the language and customs of their patril mountains to another transatlantic country; but an entire confusion of their dialect into the English of the neighbourhood, and an approximation of their manners to those of the American woodmen, is a more probable and a more desirable result. Much merit is due to those reasonings of the earl of Selkirk (they occur chiefly in the sixth section), which attack the sophisms lately advanced against emigration: his mind is superior to the provincial prejudices of the Frasers and the Irvines, he perceives that he is

serving both his country and mankind by placing the labourer where toil is most productive. How few noblemen at the earl of Selkirk's age have acquired his claims on national gratitude! Not content with the inclosure of a heath, or the display of taste in cottage architecture, he clears a huge forest hitherto untouched by man, and converts the vast solitude into a fertile field; he leads the cow and the sheep to graze in marshes known only to the beaver and the morse; he rears the homes of a thousand men, where the bear and the serpent bred. We hope the earl will not always be separated from the clients of his beneficent patronage. The British provinces along the river St. Lawrence ought to be divided into more governorships; because each count has the effect of making a city, and of preserving by importation a perpetual sample of civilized and European men. To one of these governorships we should wish, for the country's sake, to see an activity transferred, which would soon accomplish for a whole province, what it has realized in so considerable a district.

Where the Roman conquers, he inhabits; says Seneca. Where the Briton inhabits, he conquers; and that is a purer praise. He seizes on the wilds of nature, and adds them to his empire, by planting there the industry that will fertilize the soil, and the laws that will civilize the people. His invasions are made with the pruning-hook, and the plough; his levies and contributions are an interchange that is to enrich; his encampments are fairs and warehouses: the corn springs along his path, the city climbs beside his resting-place.

ART. VIII.—*Political Papers, comprising the Correspondence of several distinguished Persons, in the Years 1792, 1793, &c. with the Editor, the Rev. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL, Chairman of the late Committee of Association in the County of York. Vol. 5. 8vo. pp. 448.*

OF Mr. Wyvill's Considerations on two-fold, or graduated, Election, a detailed critique was given in our third volume, p. 288. That tract reappears here, preceded by various public papers, emanating from societies confederated for the obtaining of parliamentary reform, and accompanied by much private correspondence with the acting members of those associations. The volume forms a desirable continuation of the history of a political sect, whose earlier proceedings are already recorded in four volumes, formerly published by the same editor. We

shall discuss with no less freedom the debated and voted projects of the voluntary convention of chieftains, than we applied to the examination of Mr. Wyvill's personal scheme.

The most important paper is No. xii., which contains a declaration of the principles and plan of parliamentary reform, recommended by the Society of the Friends of the People in 1795.

These friends of the people are known in the literary world by various resolutions and epistles, and especially by the publication of a petition presented to parlia-

ment, which every reader must acknowledge to be a masterly bill of attainder against the most valued branch of the constitution. To the petition succeeded this *declaration*, containing a plan of the representative assembly, which the society proposes to substitute instead of the heterogeneous body that has so long governed us so tolerably. As a work of literary art, the declaration is inferior to the petition. The contained scheme merely proposes dividing the country into 513 districts; and suffering the *householders paying parish-taxes* to elect one representative for each district. The subject is not yet of critical importance, as the people have never been called on to carry the plan into execution; it is not therefore too late to discuss it calmly. We may be allowed to interpose some humble animadversions.

At p. 19, it is asserted that 'for all the *practical* uses of representation, the poorest man in the kingdom will find himself as effectually represented by this plan, as if he voted in it himself.' The like might be predicted of the present house of commons with equal probability. This method of election by taxable householders will exclude a vast class of *journeymen*, and will admit their *employers* to vote. Now it is one among the grievances of the poor that the wages of labour are in many instances inadequate; and that the combination of journeymen to procure redress is forbidden by statute. This law may not be repealed by a parliament so chosen. It is among the grievances of the poor that the privileges of apprenticeship are only obtainable by too long a servitude. This restriction may not be removed by a parliament so chosen. It is among the grievances of the poor that leather, soap, candles, salt, sugar, beer, and other of their absolute necessities, are too heavily taxed. These burdens may not be commuted by a parliament so chosen. At least the constituent body would have little motive to desire such changes.

Again; with the progress of luxury and of taxation, and with the decline of the religious spirit, the eleemosynary virtues are growing scarcer. To the industrious visitation of individual hovels have succeeded indolent ostentatious contributions to establishments of beneficence. We now do good by machinery, not by personal labour. Paupers have consequently need of a right of suffrage frequently exercised, in order to recover the useful no-

tice of the classes immediately above them.

The *practical* uses of representation to the most numerous class of the people are likely to be wanting on the exclusive system. It has not an equal claim with the system of universal suffrage to the support of the benevolent. Experience amply proves that the interests of the *excluded* classes are little heeded in free governments. How oppressive to young men under twenty-five is the law of conscription in France! it originated under a system of suffrage confined to those above five-and-twenty. How oppressive to the peasantry of Poland was their vassalage! it was retained, even during the paroxysm of a revolution, by a legislature of land-owners. How oppressive is the policy of the church of England to all classes of sectaries! being excluded from public employments, they cannot get at redress.

The provision relative to a new division of the country is brought forwards at p. xxii, and very small shires are recommended. Why? In order to confine political power to the feudal aristocracy, in opposition to the monied interest? The smaller any of these divisions, the more secure is resident individual wealth of influencing the elections. The larger any of these divisions, the more secure is public opinion of bearing down before it the influence of individual wealth. The representation of Rutlandshire is as regular an appurtenance of the great land-owner, as the representation of Yorkshire is of public opinion. The influence of wealth is in proportion to the contiguity: operating on the chapmen whom it can patronize, or the inferiors it can countenance, it lessens rapidly with distance: whereas the influence of opinion is equally intense at every distance from the focus. Men of riches have an interest in procuring a division into small shires. Men of celebrity have an interest in procuring a division into large shires. The friends of the people have decided against the talent, but in favour of the property of the country; they are for excluding merit in behalf of wealth. For this purpose no innovation was necessary: the subsisting qualification secures it sufficiently.

If these 513 divisions are to consist, as nearly as possible, of an equal number of square miles, they may become convenient as military districts, or wapentakes: where the distance of the place of drill is the chief consideration. But in this case they will confer representation in the in-

verse ratio of the populousness: London may have to depute but one member, and an equal space on the wolds of Westmoreland may do the same.

If these 513 divisions are each to contain an equal number of houses, they must be perpetually shifting their frontier; and streets of voters must be hitched at each election from a familiar to a strange controversy. Some of the divisions, as in the metropolis, will be very small; others, as in Cornwall, will be very large. This sort of deformity has been preferred, and wisely preferred, by the friends of the people: yet there is inconvenience to be feared both from the mutability and the inequality of their districts.

A sufficient reason is assigned, p. xxii., why these divisions should not each choose two members; because thus persons of opposite principles are often sent to represent the same place: but the motive for preferring one to three is not so satisfactorily explicable. The larger these divisions are, the more easily will the people themselves be enabled to carry the plan into execution; because in every large district some persons of weight, of zeal, and of intelligence, are to be found, who are addicted to innovative politics, which is less certain in a small district. Now all sweeping schemes of reform ought to be constructed on the principle that they are one day to be realized independently of the government: as, without this facility, no sufficient motive can ever be offered to the existing legislature for perpetrating a political suicide, by bestowing its sanction. A map should be made of the projected distribution, and circulated among the reformers.

One argument may be offered for preferring a size of shire which shall depute three representatives, to a size adapted for deputing one, two, or four. If the majority in favour of a given party be in each shire but of a single vote among the people, this will, in the meeting of their three delegates, produce a majority of two to one in the legislature: consequently the tendency to acquiesce in, or the difficulty of resisting, the will of a mere majority of the people, will always by these means be very great. Whereas, if one, two, or four deputies be nominated by the rival factions, and each party has its half of the representation to marshal under, every popular faction must divide the constituted authorities in the same proportion as it divides the people; which could not but be dangerous to public tranquillity, under

a form of government where the national representation were the seat of authority.

A second provision of this plan is, that the election of the whole representation of the kingdom shall be made at the same hour and on the same day. One would have thought that British experience had evinced the absurdity, mischief, and nuisance, of such a regulation. Would the representatives of the people have been deserted in 1784 by the constituent body, if the public ferment occasioned by the coalition had had time to cool? The wisdom of national decisions is always endangered during moments of popular effervescence. In consequence of speeches delivered with glow, and circulated with zeal, or of some pamphlet written in a manner unusually impressive, it often happens that the mass of a people are at a given moment operated on by the arguments on one side only: and that, while the impression of these reasonings is recent, their occasional declarations would be contrary to their settled will, their momentary passion different from their deliberate opinion. They are in a like state with the audience of a debating school, during the plaudit which succeeds the harangue of a favourite sophist; at that instant they would vote differently from what they will do at the close of the discussion. Now if, during such ebullitions of prejudice, a complete dissolution of the legislature occurs, the mass of representatives will be sent in conformity to this transient impression, and the measures of government will partake the cast of popular vehemence. The people therefore ought not to intrust themselves at any one time with the choice of a majority, or even of a half of the legislature. But if one-third only, or any less number, be to go out at once; the chance must be, that the settled should prevail over the occasional will of the people, the slower but maturer decisions of their judgment over the hasty phrenzy of transient impatience.

Another important danger to which the freedom of nations has been exposed in all revolutionary periods, is the extra-legal perpetuation of authority in the hands of their leaders. The thirty tyrants of Athens, the decemvirs of Rome, the long parliament of England, the cruel parliament of 1716, the French convention, have all forcibly prolonged their power beyond its just period. For these usurpations no remedy has been found short of insurrection. It ought to have been considered, that if the whole of a representa-

tive body have at once to vacate their seats, that whole body may be interested to put off its dissolution, and to protract illegally its sittings; and that if one half be to go out at once, one half is liable to that wish, and may find it easy to gain over a vote or two, and thus effect its purpose. Whereas if one-third only, or any less number, be to rote out at once, the chance always must be that the legislature itself will compel the punctual observance of the law (two-thirds having, by the hypothesis, no interest in the breach of it), and thus secure to the people a regular periodical renewal of their choice.

For both these reasons partial rotation is essential to wise representation. The prerogative of entire dissolution, or simultaneous dismissal of the delegates, ought to be withdrawn from the crown. A further objection is, that the cotemporary meeting of all the constituents of a house of commons, legally calls into action a power necessarily greater than that of the government, whose stability, in democratic times, might thereby be attacked.

A defect of this declaration is, that concerning the *duration* of parliament nothing is stated, except that it may safely be triennial, biennial, or even annual, on the plan recommended. We deprecate very short parliaments. It is not the duty of representatives to decide in all cases as the people themselves would decide; but as it is best for the people that they should decide. Not the coincidence of their opinion with that of their constituents, but its coincidence with universal justice, is the rule of approbation. Now the shorter the time a delegation lasts, the greater the probability of obedience to the constituency. In order then to diminish the influence of hasty, vulgar, and unsound opinion, time enough ought to be given for sudden ferments of the public mind to subside. The representative should have a chance of assuaging his own better judgment on the multitude. A year in the present state of instruction is evidently too little. Triennial are therefore preferable to annual parliaments. But annual elections are compatible with triennial parliaments; of three county-members one might rote out yearly. Or, under sexennial parliaments, one rote out biennially. This would keep alive a sufficiently frequent appeal to the people; and, by influencing progressively the divisions in the house of commons, would abate the insolence of power, and intercept the despair of secessions. Short par-

liaments would cheapen too much the dignity of a representative; and the collective body would lose weight and power in the state from the comparative insignificance of the component individuals. Six years is not too much for a demagogue to unfold his general plan of conduct and legislation: time should be allowed for apprenticeship to the local circumspection requisite. The liberties of France are gone; because every body who coveted a seat in the house had been accommodated: there was no motive to be anxious any longer for a college of tribunes. All the fire-flies, that chose, had shone, and had burnt out their phosphorus. The parliament of Britain produced fewer great men during its trienniality, than since the prolongation.

A great reform has been accomplished in the British parliament by the introduction of the hundred new members from Ireland. The effect which lord Chatham anticipated from increasing the number of representatives is already very discernible: a consciousness of strength, a spirit of independence, is rising anew. The noblest addition would be to suffer the unrepresented towns to frame a charter for themselves. It is within the competence of the royal prerogative to grant such charters. Any homogeneous system of representation has its inconvenience. Some one sect or interest would preponderate, and would new-model every thing by its peculiar will. There is no tolerance when a majority has counted noses: the puritans of England, the libertines of France, overwhelmed their opponents as with the tide: but the waters ebbed, and one has now to lament the want of those holds and anchorages which, if the parliaments of France, or the municipal corporations, or the provincial states, had been specifically represented, might perhaps have been found. As the best administrations are those which consist of an aristocracy of strong minds culled from rival and opponent parties; so the best representations are those which leave unconfused the natural sources of social influence, and admit them all in due proportions. We should like to have twenty or five-and-twenty tribunes of the people, eligible by universal suffrage without any qualification of property, superadded to the extant legislature. Let us see if they could contrive to better the condition of the poor or of the rich, to strengthen the gravitation of allegiance, or brighten the radiance of public glory.

A homogeneous representation of the people would be disconnected with the nobility, would be disconnected with the crown. If equally numerous with the present house of commons, one chance is, that the same quantity of patronage would be equally operative. It might annex itself as an humble appendage to the hereditary branches of the constitution, accept distributions of emolument and honour from the minister for the time being, talk about the public and care for itself—in this case nothing would be gained by the alteration. Another chance is, that it would display a spirit of independence, increase its own authority at the expence of the hereditary institutions, and encroach both on the influence of the crown and the privileges of the nobility. This is the more probable event: it is the expectation, the hope, the desire of the people, and their motive for soliciting reform. Now can any politician, who has read the history of England through the last, and of France through the present century—who has considered the nature, spirit, and tendency of a popular assembly, strong in the fresh confidence of the people, and anxious by splendid enterprise not to disappoint the expectations formed from its long-protracted hard-earned approach—can any less tutored politician doubt, that such a body will be willing and able to encroach, not merely on the mischievous prerogatives of the crown, but on royalty itself; that it will once more vote the house of lords superfluous, concenter in its own hands a legislative omnipotence, and then employ it in breaking up all our corporations and establishments? This rational conviction is grown so general, that those, who are not republicans, consider these sweeping projects of innovation as volcanic ground, which the cautious tread of a constitutionalist has to avoid; and begin consentaneously to turn away from every plan of parliamentary reform, which goes to the length of representing the people.

The republicans, on the other hand, would perhaps be blameable, if they stopped short at a plan of reform for one house of parliament only. Mr. Fox has wisely said, that every unmixed government is bad—simple monarchy, simple aristocracy, simple democracy, have severally been found oppressive. Legislative omnipotence intrusted to any individual, or to any corporation, is a power too great to be wielded well by men. The exclusive sway of a despot or of a citizenry,

the monarchy of a king or the monarchy of a convention, is tyrannous alike. It should seem therefore that, if ever the lower house be strengthened by connecting it with the mass of the people, a new, a stronger, and more elective upper house, ought also at the same time to originate, in order to keep its authority in equipoise, and to divide and moderate its power. Can it be less legal to conspire the new-modelling of the one than of the other house of parliament? Why not substitute the pursuit of a constitutional reform to that of mere parliamentary reform? Our nobility grows too numerous for the expedient concession of an entire vote in the upper house to each of its members. Why not limit the peerage to direct descent? Why not confer an elective character on the whole upper house, vesting the choice exclusively in the nobility, and granting one vote to knights, two to baronets, four to barons, six to viscounts, eight to earls, ten to marquesses, and twelve to dukes, in the choice of their proxies, or delegates?

The remaining public papers are of little moment.

The subsequent correspondence, though somewhat dull, from the unvarying tone of reciprocal panegyric in which it is conducted, deserves a short commentary.

At page 75, Mr. Wyvill blames the friends of the people for not expelling Mr. Cartwright. And what was the crime of Mr. Cartwright? He was a friend to universal suffrage. It is mortifying to see these would-be reformers behaving like bishops at a council; intolerant to every aberration from their own confined creed; and, while they are complaining of the exclusive spirit of the state, themselves getting up an interior ostracism to defraud principle of its confessors, and the poor of their advocates.

At page 115, we find Mr. Wyvill coalescing with the government-party, and subscribing those declarations of allegiance which had been indirectly called for by the proclamation against seditious publications and assemblages. These meetings for the declaration of loyalty took place throughout the kingdom in November and December 1792. The old reformers, whose associations were of ten years standing, chose to distinguish themselves from the new reformers, who were more apparently aimed at in the proclamation. The old reformers signed the constitutional tests: at least Mr. Wyvill and his friends did so. They do not scruple to

in favour, let the old way remain : where change is wished, let change be speeded. Such reforms in detail could give no alarm, and might, with much assent to the reformers, correct, in the course of two parliaments, the chief inequities of the established arrangement. We exhort Mr. Wyvill and his friends to take into consideration the propriety of partitioning the legislature for a subdivision of Yorkshire into three counties, and for therein limiting anew the right of suffrage. If no effort be made to abolish or inlarge on the boroughs, which are guarded by all the jealousies of private property,

it is probable that parliament would listen to petitions for introducing thirty or forty additional members. Westminster might petition for the liberty of choosing three instead of two representatives. Wapping, a district of the metropolis, which the docks will render very important, might petition for an especial charter of representation and police ; nor ought it to choose fewer than three members. Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, might apply for a similar privilege, and receive the grant of one or two representatives according to their respective populousness.

ART. IX. *Reasons why the Society of Friends should not vote for Members of Parliament.* 8vo. pp. 19.

THE whole argument of this little pamphlet is contained in these two paragraphs.

"A representative is one who personates, supplies, the place of another, and is invested with his right and authority ; consequently the voter sends him with full power to act in the house agreeably to the established law of the land, which chiefly consists of these particulars :—to preserve the constitution as it now is, and to agree to such alterations, or to assist in the framing of, and passing such acts, as may be requisite more firmly to establish the present government : to vote the mutiny act annually ; for the maintenance of the army and navy, and the church establishment, when necessary. He must vote the taxes to defray the expences occasioned by the increase of military and naval expenditure, that war may be prosecuted to the utmost extent, according to the resources of the country ; and to vote the subsidies to foreign princes, to strengthen their alliance, and to enable them to raise, and bring into the field, their contingent quotas of men.

"The voter delegates the representative, and invests him with all his power : instead of going himself, he deposes another to represent him, and exactly approves a system, the basis of which is war, and the established religion by a forced maintenance. I shall suggest one query for consideration, whether such voters are not implicated, in so doing, with the disastrous consequences which war entails ; and shall insist that they are parties therein."

We differ diametrically from this casuist, and think that the proper form of protesting against war is to depute such men to parliament as will favour pacificatory councils ; but not, as is the usage of quakers, to shun the burden of public defence. In like manner, we think the proper form of protesting against tythes is to depute

such men to parliament as will propose their abolition ; but not, as is the usage of quakers, individually to withhold that levy. For, if instead of obeying laws emanating from the agreed agents of the community, citizens were, on each occasion, to assert a claim of private judgment concerning the expediency of such public commands, and were separately to disobey whatever laws they did not approve, a complete anarchy would ensue. No revenue could be collected to keep even a road in repair ; no criminal legislation enforced ; no territory defended against invasion ; no public purpose whatever carried into execution ; the advantages of society would all cease at once.

Hence the moral obligation to obey even the laws we disapprove is stronger than the duty of bearing testimony against any human absurdities, however diffusive, obstinate or vexatious. The object of such testimony being merely to better the temporal condition of mankind, it would be absurd to sacrifice the end to the means.

Only in the jeopardy of those paramount interests, which are supposed to affect the eternal condition of the soul, can it be defensible for individuals to behave toward a mild magistrate, as toward a tyrant and a plunderer. There must be warrant from scripture to warrant civil disobedience. This the quakers cannot find, either in the case of military conscription or of levying tythes. John the baptist exhorted the soldiery (Luke, iii. 14.) to be content with their wages. Peter baptized Cornelius, a centurion, and other devout soldiers (Acts, c. x. v. 7.) of his company. John the evangelist is probably John the Essene, whose eventual military consequence Josephus (De Bello Judaico, lib. iii. c. 2. § 1.) repeatedly notices. The

profession of a soldier is not merely a permitted but an honoured employment among the founders of christianity: it has the sanction of the master himself; see especially Luke, c. vii. v. 6—9. In the discharge of taxes Jesus was no less an exemplary citizen. He had been long a resident at Capernaum, and, on revisiting his place of abode, they that received tribute came to Peter and said: 'Doth not your master pay tribute?' He saith: 'Yes.' (Matthew, c. xvii. v. 24—25.) And again, when consulted by the Herodians about the expediency of submitting to Roman taxation, he expressly teaches submission (Matthew, c. xxii. v. 21.) to the sovereign for the time being; and advises

that, while the image and superscription of the coin were Cesar's, to him, though a heathen, tribute should be paid. The tythe is notoriously a tax of Jewish origin (Leviticus, c. xxvii. v. 30—32.), and more conformable to scriptural authority than these Roman capitations. The resistance of the quakers to soldiering and to tythe is therefore not merely anarchic, but anti-christian.

We counsel this author to reconsider his argument; and to set about predisposing the members of his sect to confess their protest, or testimony, against the laws, to a wholesome interference in elections.

ART. X.—*An Attempt to rectify the public Affairs of the United Kingdom and Empire, and promote their private Prosperity, illustrated by many national Projects hitherto not rendered effectual; with a Proposal for making an immediate, durable, and advantageous Peace: humbly addressed to the Legislature. By the Author of the Income or Property Tax. In three Volumes, 8vo.*

THERE are four motives for making books: 1. The desire of attaining an end; 2. The desire of gain; 3. The desire of fame; and, 4. The desire of composition. This book is so driftless, so useless, so temporaneous, that it cannot but have been drawn up to gratify the latter of these motives. It seems entitled therefore to that indulgent sort of reception, which hobby-horsical amusements, that are innocent, obtain from the politeness, if not from the complacency, of the bystander.

This is more than an innocent, it is a well-intended, but it is a long-winded exertion: panting praise would toil after it in vain. As in a maggot-race ring draws ring after ring with most visible progress and most insensible advance, the turgescence of effort travelling at every hitch from head to tail, and back again—so here section drags on section, and chapter, chapter; and at every fresh topic the author stops to recapitulate and retrace the little whole length of his political crawl. Still the wish to be useful is no less obvious than the wish to be busy. Gratitude balances every feeling of annoy. The love of country is estimable even in the prattle of its dotage. If patience in the reader is attended with long-suffering, it will be followed, like going to church, with moral consolations.

The introduction narrates the author's motives for attempting to rectify public affairs; and gives an outline of his design.

The second chapter recommends the

institution of parish-agencies; or the usurpation by government of a power now confided to elective overseers. This may at first appear to save trouble to the parishioners, and to favour the comforts of the poor. The pauper-monger appointed by ministry will feel less solicitude about the interests of the payers, than an overseer appointed by the parish, and will not care less for the good-will of the poor. But all such appointments by government degenerate in a few years into mere jobs; into hospitals for decayed valetry and dependents of ministerial land-owners. The hired pauper-mongers, like new brooms, will at first sweep clean; by degrees they will become useless pensioners on the poor's rate, which, for the sake of their percentage, they will be very alert to increase. Elective and rotatory institutions, on the contrary, always retain their elasticity. They are less brilliant than those new patent patronized methods executed by the zeal of vanity for the parade of publicity; but they are of less transient operation. There is the same proportion of good overseers now as there was in the forty-fourth year of Elizabeth.

Another plan for the increase of ministerial patronage, which this author discusses, is a corporation for national information, a sort of clergy to teach the arts of this life, 'such as (page 191) agriculture, medicine, mental improvement, and practical jurisprudence.' This plan might be licked into form. The churches might, for half the Sunday, be put at the disposal

of the surgeon; who might lecture on the importance of temperance to health; of hollow-draining, to springy lands; of dancing, to military proficiency; and of the principles of mechanics, to the vulgar arts. He might read chapters out of Blackstone, or out of Burn, dissert on British history, and promulgate the new laws with expositions. The tythes might then be divided between the guardian of the body and of the soul; between the teachers of our wisest course for here and for hereafter. It might be doing too much at once suddenly to make the alteration, more than prejudice to-day would bear: but it would certainly not be amiss, we are serious here, if at least one living in every hundred were immediately to be held by a medical instead of an ecclesiastical qualification. This would secure, or at least motive the requisite education in country surgeons, and could be made compatible with the respect due to college property. In a thinly peopled neighbourhood no surgeon can earn an indemnity for an expensive frequentation of the metropolitan schools of medicine; yet in every neighbourhood skilful medical help ought to be within call.

The third chapter treats of the finances. In the table of contents some very novel plans are promised for paying our debts and increasing our revenue; but alas! we find nothing but the old resources, economy and peace, sinking funds and taxes. We will give one hint to the author. On paper it is easy, to be magnificent: nor would petty wares avail in our vast chasm. Lay a land-tax on the whole peninsula of Hindostan. Send over the necessary people to survey and to assess the vast district. As an indemnity for taxing their soil, relieve their trade, and throw open, free of duty, their ports, and those of Britain to each other. Open at Calcutta a bank for receiving this revenue: and let that bank there sell stock in the English funds, and there pay dividends on stock so sold. The form of remitting money home will then consist in buying at the Calcutta bank a perpetual annuity in the British funds; and all the hoards of our nabobs will become loans to the state. The dividends being payable in that country, and secured on their own land revenue, a great deal of native property will gradually take confidence and place itself there; so that one or two hundred millions of our national debt would migrate of its own accord, and make room here for the creation of as much fresh stock. From reckoning

our debt by lacks of millions, we may bravely aspire to extend it to a crore.

Land-taxes, which are of all others the wisest, because they encroach on the revenue only of the idle, are peculiarly difficult under the British constitution, on account of the sympathy felt for the burdened class by the proprietors who are crowded in both houses of Parliament. This country has consequently been always the victim of its anti-commercial system of indirect taxation. If lord North had spared the tea, and rated the soil of North America, the colonies would not have murmured; their landed interest was a feeble fragment of their population. He might then have instituted in New York an office for paying dividends out of the land-tax, and have funded there vast supplies of capital toward the wars of this country, instead of their funding here the national debts of America. Every colony ought to be founded on the principle of paying an increasing quit-rent for its land. There would then be a secure local revenue to mortgage for the remunerative expence of protection.

The fourth chapter treats of agriculture, and recommends to the state to take into its own hands the whole farming system; to contract with Irish rebels for the digging of potatoes, and with the women of Billingsgate for the crying about of milk. This writer rivals sir James Steuart in his rage for regulating and meddling. We doubt not he would think it rational in government to open retail shops, under pretext of securing the excise duties, and to sell, on account of the lords of the treasury, calicoes, dish-clouts, mutton, and mustard.

The fifth chapter, which prosed about national industry, fills the whole second volume. The best thing that can be done for the internal improvement of the advantages of the country is to delegate the power of passing inclosure, road, and canal bills, to local courts of magistracy; so as to diminish the expence of acts of parliament, and to facilitate the examination of evidence on the spot. Such courts might have a jurisdiction coextensive with the circuits of the judges; might sit during the recess of parliament; and might comprehend deputies, nominated by the justices of the peace and by the corporations of the towns, or their head-officers. Parliament ought to be rid of the detail of local legislation.

The sixth chapter, which occupies the greater part of the third volume, advises

an immediate peace. Mr. Edwards would have us keep Malta, give Egypt to France (which may become very expedient, however impertinent) and conquer for ourselves all Assyria:

This writer is not so precautions as Mrs. Glasse, who instructs her pupil to catch the hare before she directs about the cooking.

Appendix after appendix thicken these volumes into portly ponderosity. The projects which pass in review are mostly notorious, and are rather expounded than discussed, or appreciated. One of the most peculiar, and of the favourite projects of the author, is the institution of parish agencies, which is more concisely and explicitly recommended in the concluding appendix than in the first volume, and which we shall republish in the form it there receives.

“Such persons as may have read the preceding work may be presumed to be in general convinced of the infinite importance of public agency, as it has been proposed for innumerable concerns useful to the nation at large, various in their kind, and yet still more remarkable for the difference of their extent, referring alike to the most minute particulars of internal police, and to proposals as boundless and opposite to each other, as the five preceding are. At the same time these concerns or proposals, to which it is essentially necessary, are considered to be indispensable for the maintenance of the future greatness and prosperity of the empire. However, it is requisite to insist farther upon the subject in respect of the importance of the combination of public agency with the present magistrates and different parish officers, which is proposed under the general substitute, as see chapter third.

“These at present are intrusted with vast powers, but are under no controul: for any appeal which the law affords is nugatory, and will not be had recourse to, unless they commit great offences. They differ, in this respect, from all other of the civil orders, even the clergy being subject to strict discipline. They are, in fact, exempted from the regulations of police, as if a sense of the presence of an active controul over their conduct would not produce a salutary attention to their respective duties. Let it be supposed, that they are highly valuable in their respective offices, and their services indispensable: yet the magistracy, like all other orders, will produce occasionally, or often, individuals, whose general conduct may be reprehensible: and parish officers are still more frequently delinquent. Some degree of controul here is therefore requisite: and a barrister associated with the former, though his jurisdiction is extended to two or more circles, and an agency

steward with the latter in every circle of the kingdom, will be as small a check as can be introduced; and must answer very important purposes. Thus the conduct of both may be duly regulated, and the functions of their offices happily discharged in all respects: and as they together constitute a body of police, they will be more respected; and will be an effective agency, with which refractory and pretended paupers, or those who perform statute work upon the roads, will not trifle. At the same time the check commissioners might be obliged by law to select a proper committee, or committees, to act on the occasion, both for a circle in general, and for the different parishes and townships. These would maintain the cause of the people, while they would thus co-operate with this general body of agency, in advancing the welfare of the country: and the different orders, emuloes of following their example, would not be content with the mere performance of their public duties, but would cordially enter into the spirit of them.

“Parish or township officers left as they are, to themselves, are often negligent to an extreme, or commit the grossest violations of their duties; or frequently are incapacitated to perform them; or, engaged in their own affairs, cannot spare the time necessary for the proper execution of those which relate to the public. These last they overlook in such a manner, as to render ineffectual many highly salutary regulations of the legislature: and in respect of the first plan to be proposed for the diminution of poverty in general, are very injurious, as they attend not the numerous families among the lower orders, inattentive to form their children to those habits of industry, that are the surest means of reducing the poor rates. It is impossible here to describe the amount of the detriment, or in what different respects they are injurious to the country. Yet they are capable of being chosen, and of being subjected to co-operation with the circle stewards, by such proper regulations of police, as would render very valuable services. Thus they may every where assist the agency steward throughout the extent of the circle, and yet experience less trouble than they do at the present time; while, seated in the centre of population, he may thence employ inferior agents as these may be wanted, or dispatch them as they are required in different parts. They would of course be employed to superintend different kinds of work, carried forward in their respective neighbourhoods, and to enter proper minutes for the purpose. Farther, they would readily furnish him with local information, as well as take upon them a great part of the trouble of the agency. Thus a single steward, with proper officers under him, trained to the various offices of public agency, and acting under the supreme board, would be able to accomplish all the local concerns of the circle; and such a person might have been found very serviceable in respect of the income tax.”

If a national bankruptcy were on the point of being effected, it might be meritorious to devise a vast increase of useless offices, in order to provide pensions for the more voracious and pitiable sufferers. But under an order of things, which already stifles by profusion of patronage, all tendency to independence among the people, there can be no occasion for more state-parasites. Already the tax-gatherer is frequently bid to call again. Even the richer inhabitants of parishes put off their payments, no doubt in order to keep in countenance their poorer neighbours, whom real want compels to such prostration. New managers must have new salaries; out of what rates can these be extorted without inhumanity? Rather let us calculate which public servants can

be cashiered without detriment, which can be equitably recompensed with inferior profusion. To simplify, not to complicate the mechanism of administration, is the purest pursuit of statistical contrivance.

In all these dissertations there is much repetition, much want of arrangement, much reference to and fro, much vain claim of invention and discovery, much confusion of idea, and much appearance of oscillating conviction, which begins by advising one way, and ends by advising another. Notwithstanding this, the author's self-complacence insensibly gains upon his readers: to be well-meaning is to be deserving; to have toiled for the public is an extensive claim to gratitude.

ART. XI.—*An Enquiry into the System of National Defence in Great Britain.* By JOHN MACDIARMID, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

NEARLY half this book consists of speculations about the price of land, the various taxes, the sinking fund, the productive industry, and the national debt of Great Britain; things which may be pressed into connection with the national defence, as might the revolutions of the seasons, and the theory of the weather, but which ought rather to have been separately considered. After ordering a book about the public force, in order to be equipped with conversation for the mess, it is provoking to find it full of the solitudes of the counting-house politician.

Defence—the very word is unmilitary. What occasion has this country for other defence than its navy? Should a legion of invaders chance to land, fury will furnish weapons, and courage, victory, to the people. It is in order to assume our rank among the European nations, that we must train to military skill a larger proportion of our population. Of stay-at-home soldiers, and stationary cavalry, we have enow and to spare.

The influence of a system of defence on morals Mr. Macdiarmid undertakes to discuss in the third section of the second chapter. In the course of this important investigation what are we told—that illness is a vice—that the Athenians thought so—that the Spartans thought so—that the Romans exemplified the fact—under the emperors and under the Popes—and that the reformation favoured industry.

At length come a few observations in point: that military manners relax industry—that they interrupt chastity—that

they favour ignorance—that they encroach on liberty.

Finally, we are informed that heavy taxes operate as temptations to perjury.

The introductory and concluding reflexions may be passed over as irrelevant, but the intermediate matter deserves some extent of commentary: let us first transcribe it.

“If our military system have a powerful tendency to relax the industry of the people, it must have an equal tendency to relax their morals. It is the business of recruiting parties to introduce habits of drunkenness and debauchery of all sorts wherever they go. It is by a taste for these that they expect to unsettle the habits of industry among the young men, and to allure them into the service. It will not be denied that the morals of both sexes suffer equally by these proceedings.

“It is not to be supposed that the morals of those who have been allured into the service by such means should immediately recover the taint, or that the consequences of their vices should be confined to themselves. Our officers call loudly for the institution of barracks, where they may have the soldiers immediately under their own eye. It is with justice they complain that their men, when quartered in our great towns, become uniformly licentious, dissipated, and diseased. Will any one affirm that when a regiment leaves a town it carries the effects of its vices along with it? More women are generally supposed to be debauched by the members of the army than by any other class of men. This is not to be considered as any reproach to them. The members of the army differ nothing from their fellow citizens, unless in the situation in which they are placed. They would not trifle their time in ensuring simple

and ill-educated women, if they had any thing better to do.

"Those unhappy persons, who are called the dregs of society, acquire this appellation not less from their uselessness than from their vices. The wives of the soldiers, who come on the parish, are supposed to rank in the scale of morals only a few degrees above the women whom they send on the town. Their destitute children usually discover that tendency to dissolute habits which distinguishes foundlings and parish children. This is to be ascribed to the military system, and not to the parents who are altogether unable to give their children a proper education.

"The army is supposed to be a profession which requires no previous education. Hence it is not unusual for country gentlemen, and the better sort of people in general, to neglect the education even of their younger sons, under the idea that, although they be good for nothing else, they may still find a provision in the army. The expectants of commissions, being thus accounted privileged idlers, spend the time which they know not how to employ, in hunting, fowling, and other amusements of this sort; and perhaps still more frequently in debauches, or in dangleing after the equally idle women of the neighbourhood. Whether the habits thus formed are corrected in the army will appear hereafter. But it will, at least, be owned, that the half-pay officers, when thrown back on society, are occupied with nearly the same pursuits as the expectants. They are gentlemen by profession, and are therefore bound to hold in sovereign contempt those means by which other persons better their condition. It is only, however, in idleness that they can, in general, uphold the vocation of gentlemen. The scantiness of their pittance compels most of them to a rigid economy, which does not allow them to partake in the expensive immoralities of the age. In this case they have all the virtue of a compulsory abstinence. Let it not be supposed, that I mean to insult those who are already doomed to wretchedness. It is to the system, and not to its victims, that the demerit is to be attributed. Are unhappy men to be blamed because their education has been neglected by their parents; because they have been abandoned from their youth to idleness and the lures of immorality; because they have been doomed as their only resource to a profession which has barely afforded them the means of subsistence, and inspired them with an insuperable prejudice against every other method of bettering their condition; because they are afterwards thrown on the world with a moiety of this pittance; and because necessity and insurmountable prejudice compel them to wear out the remainder of their existence as an useless incumbrance to society; to breathe the free air in pining and hopeless poverty, or to rot in a jail? Are even the parents of these men to be blamed? Or is not the whole to be charged on a system which abuses both parents and children by fallacious lures?

"I have remarked some incroachments on freedom which seem at least to be apprehended from a perseverance in our present military system. Experience proves that any diminution of the freedom of a people necessarily vitiates their morals. Montesquieu, a most acute observer of men, distinctly perceived this. He informs us that virtue is indispensable in a free government, and altogether unnecessary and extremely dangerous in a despotism. He affirms that even in a monarchy, where the sovereign rules by law, but by such laws as those of France, it is extremely difficult for the people to be virtuous. But Montesquieu was the subject of an arbitrary monarchy; and was therefore obliged to redeem his head by a quibbling distinction between private and public virtue; although he owns that public virtue is the result of the greatest private virtue."

No doubt the diffusion of military manners has altered, and will affect yet more our national character. We shall be gallicized by the change; for the French character in the main is the result of inveterate and extensive military habits. There are certain concatenations of moral qualities which must be taken or rejected in the chain, not link by link; certain inconveniences, which are inseparable from particular excellences; certain vicious excesses, which always accompany the profuse cultivation of the connected virtues. Lord Bacon observes, justly, that "all warlike people are a little idle, and fear danger less than labour; nor must this temper of theirs be much checked if we would preserve their vigour." Let the progress of recruiting officers be observed, it will be found most successful among those who are averse to industry. A given proportion of the males, especially those begotten by the young, are born with the military propensities, spirit, impatience, sensibility to applause, a fickle and migratory taste in places and persons. These lads, when they attempt commercial pursuits, fail in them. Their wages are gone before they are earned. They try experiments in life, and hope by gambling speculations to atone for the neglect of parsimony and perseverance. A long peace overstocks trade with these characters, who do best in the colonies, as explorers of new markets. An East Indian war provides for them to their taste, by building them a palace, or a tomb. Return rich or die, said a wise director to his son who was going out in the company's service. But, although a given proportion of the males, perhaps a tenth, may be said to have the military

predisposition, may expediently be trained to warfare, and employed in extending the empire of their country; it is dangerous to break in upon the natural division of labour, to generalize the manners of military men, to make their pursuits the objects of popular imitation, to inoculate for the scarlet fever, and teach every artisan to carry a musket. Industry is mostly a habit, the result of long coercion and overawing superintendence, which is so agreeably interrupted by pompous parades and crowded festivities, that it is easily bribed to try the experiment of venturous idleness. The veteran of industry makes a bad soldier. Arts exercised not abroad but within doors, and delicate manufactures, that require the finger rather than the arm, have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. The sedentary classes lean to sottishness; they are not drunkards, but they habitually use stimulant drinks and drugs: they require this substitute for airy exercise; a sluggish and torpid character of constitution supervenes, ill adapted for fits of effort, subject to the most fatal disarrangement under the enduring privations of actual service, and incapable of being animated into heroism by the gin of the hour of battle. It is easy, as we see by our militia, to debauch away the pupils of thrift, but the state is no gainer by such apostasy; by making soldiers of such men it has only prepared new battles of Zama, or new campaigns of St. Domingo. Those Spartan lawgivers, who are for having us become a military nation, and for educating us all to excel in the military exercises, endanger much more than our commercial arts. Military morals are closely connected with military manners and habits. Spirit must be excited and enhanced in the armed classes by juvenile conviviality. This is mostly followed by a riotous insolence of the men in uniform, by a more irritable sense of honour, and by a multiplication of duels. The military exercises are acquired to most perfection by the young: yet the consequence of convening shop-boys and journeymen at sixteen to the parade is, that habits of dressiness and early libertinism are adopted, which their earnings will as yet not afford to purchase; and that, to supply these factitious wants, the property of their masters is too often rashly violated. General Murat is recorded to have boasted, that in a French army every man was a thief, which was also the case in Sparta: but even in England, where pecuniary probity is held pecuniary

sacred, there is a proverbial suspicion of a tendency in the military taste to respect propriety more than property. There is no honour among honest men, (says the vulgar adage) and no honesty among men of honour. The remedy for this mischief, the worst that is likely to result at all extensively from our new regulations, is to allow pocket-money profusely to the young men for learning the military exercises. With the eager libertinism, the personal elegance and desirableness, the shifting residence, the general celibacy, and the frequent poverty and extravagance of continental officers, has been found connected a tendency to adulterous intercourse. It is well known that in France the marriage-bed was invaded with as little scruple as the tent of the baggage-women; and that garrison-towns were especially notorious for gallantry. Indeed lewdness throughout animal nature is allied to courage: the gelding is a spiritless beast. Religion is not favourable to courage, half its essence consists in inspiring fears of the mind; and the habit of dwelling on prospective solitudes of the imagination is the basis of apprehension, dismay, and panic. *Impius miles* was the familiar characteristic of the Roman soldier: *spernere deos* was of old observed to be a natural concomitant of daring. From those who quibble about a Sunday drill, who expects efficacious resistance to the foe? The priest and the soldier are natural antagonists. Bravery seldom flourishes in a community but at the expence of some tenderness and humanity. Women and priests, who are usually forward in offices of kindness, are supposed to be comparatively inferior in point of courage. Anger is a tearing mangling passion; and, during its paroxysms, cruel: but anger is the regular stimulus of bravery; every general reviles the foe. Those who are naturally most apt to flinch, are naturally most apt to sympathize. There is indeed a reflex sympathy, as there is a reflex courage, brought on by reasoning about our duties, which may co-exist with antagonist qualities: but these are accidents of accomplished natures, not the average lot of ordinary men. Old generals are the mildest but not the boldest. The Russians are the bravest, the hardest, the best of soldiers, but they are not the most humane. Archenholtz says, that in the seven-years war some Russians, who had just lost their limbs, were seen on the ground still to gnaw at the Prussian foe who had fallen beside them. The French

excel in the military virtues, but not in justice and humanity. The Irish are splendidly courageous; they have much humanization to acquire. The Calabrians are the most daring, but the most cruel of the Italians. The Spaniards abound not in courage, but practise benevolence, and so do the Hollanders. Nor are the private lives of distinguished generals, or the public acts of countries, while under the ascendancy of standing armies, at variance with analogous inferences. It may be feared, therefore, that if we were to convene a parliament of drill-serjeants, or implicitly to obey the drill-serjeants of parliament, and to nationalize among our youth indiscriminately the military qualities and excellencies, other qualities and other excellencies of rival or superior value would proportionally disappear: and we should find less religion, less regard to conjugal fidelity, less humanity, and less pecuniary probity in the community than before; qualities which, if insignificant to the power, are not so to the prosperity, or to the happiness of a nation. Semi-soldiers may, and often do, retain the *bourgeois* virtues; but of what avail are such soldiers in an emergency, and of what use before? So long as the defence of the country's independence, which is a paramount consideration, can be accomplished without involuntary enrolment, or as our author calls it, a system of defence, it is more desirable to respect the ancient division of labour, which secured in each department the appropriate skill, to have a military sect than a military establishment; a partial and elective than a universal and compulsory conscription; a decimation than a levy en-masse; it is more desirable to remain a civilized than to become a military nation.

In a chapter on foreign assistance, a command of common-places, and much art of expansion is displayed by the writer, but the advice given is desultory and vague. The great error of our diplomatic politics during the Pitt administration has been to have preferred the alliance of Austria to that of Prussia, because Austria was the more powerful state; whereas the alliance of Prussia, although weaker, ought to have been preferred, because Prussia alone can check the northern aggrandizement of France, in which consists our risk. The friendship of both the German courts at once may seemingly but not heartily be had; because their German interests compel them, or at least habituate them, to rivalry. By assisting Aus-

tria we have always had to fight against the southern aggrandizement of France, which is the form of extension it behoved us to facilitate; had we succeeded in allying ourselves with Prussia, Holland might have been defended against France. An opportunity was lost in 1767 of exchanging with the stadtholder Hanover for the Cape: Prussia might then have taken the electorate, and we the Cape and some spice islands for our indemnity.

The third chapter, which treats of rendering a people warlike, fills nearly a volume. We are here told, "that experience has shown it to be impossible to render even the population set apart for defence permanently warlike, if the rest of the population be effeminate." And again: "there is no instance of a bold, hardy, and vigorous soldiery existing among an effeminate people." What does this writer mean by the word *effeminate*, that he imputes the quality to whole nations, rich and poor? The powers of government are often possessed, perhaps commonly, by the effeminate, the luxurious, the refined, the opulent classes of a community; and such governments are often conducted with a gentle, an obliging deference for the public opinion of the gentlemen and ladies, who visit in the higher circles, which is perfectly polite; but who can form an idea of an effeminate people? When or where did such a phenomenon exist? Wherever there have been men there has always been great inequality. Inequality implies the misery of some. Wherever there is misery, children must be reared in privation, in hardship, in drudgery; and they must grow up with qualities the reverse of effeminate. Misery has hitherto been the lot of the majority of every community at all times; effeminacy can never have infected the mass of families. Effeminate rulers must be common in all countries, where the sway is exclusively intrusted to the aristocracy; France had such rulers, before the revolution, during the greater part of two reigns; but from the moment the authority was transferred to the ruder classes, all the excesses of masculinene-s broke loose and over-spread the country. Universal suffrage would abolish every symptom of effeminacy even in modern Rome. Military usurpation is another remedy, but a remedy which restores the old grievance (if it may be called so,) in a generation or two. The son or grandson of the usurping general is educated to become an effeminate king. If effeminacy

could become the attribute of a whole nation, it would be proper to institute societies for *worsening* the condition of the poor, in order that a harsher, hardier education might revive the energy of the numerous classes. Nature, wiser than man, proportions the multiplication of the people to their comforts, and thus provides an everlasting supply of scramblers for subsistence, and of temperate hardihood. The pretorian guards were fattened into effeminacy; but, during the deepest declension of Italy, Belisarius could raise there armies which defeated the Goths. By attending to the physical education of the poor, by teaching the games and dances of antiquity, something more of plasticity may be attainable, and a larger proportion of them adapted for fighting men. But, in general, peace rears loose hands (as

they are called) and war educates skilful officers; and if peace and war alternate often enough, neither to check the breed of troops, nor to obliterate the experience of commanders, every country can at all times be provided with a good soldiery proportioned to its populousness. A meritorious chapter on this topic is the fifth section of the second volume, on the circumstances which render a people hardy.

On the whole this book deserves perusal and deserves praise. It is dilute, full of notorious, of superfluous, and of irrelevant matter: it might be epitomized with advantage. But it displays good reading and good sense, it contains counsels of pressing importance, and it breathes a spirit of moderation, of equity, and of liberality.

ART. XII.—*Reply to M. R. Gardiner's Answer to a Narrative exposing a Variety of irregular Transactions in one of the Departments of foreign Corps.* By M. JAMES POOLE. 8vo. pp. 133.

TWO pamphlets relative to this controversy were noticed by us Vol. III. P. 306: this will attract the same class of

readers. We trust and we hear that it is not likely to escape the notice of parliamentary committees of enquiry.

ART. XIII.—*Letters intercepted on board the Admiral Aplin, captured by the French, and inserted by the French Government in the Moniteur: published in French and English.* 8vo. pp. 165.

TO recite the title of this work is nearly a sufficient account of it. The correspondence here reprinted was published in the *Moniteur* in French only. These English letters are not copies of the originals, but versions of a translation; portraits from a bust, not from life. The marquis of Titchfield, who begins with a quotation from St. Luke: 'There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed,' will hardly recognize his testament again in the Frenchified rhetoric: 'Augustus said, let us place the universe under contribution.'

Beside the variations occasioned by double interpretation, these letters are purposely garbled. In the first a critique occurs of the duke of York's conduct, which the *Moniteur* gave at length, and which the London publisher suppresses.

It may be inferred from the character of the specimens selected for publication, that the French government, at the time of its editing these letters, had determined

to give up the invasion of England, and to undertake that of Ireland. Great care is taken to prepare the Parisians for this determination, by printing at full length every woman's scrawl which described in strong terms the activity of British preparation against the invader; and by bringing out every obscure or scattered paragraph which hinted at Irish discontent. Two letters, those at pages 57 and 58, appear from internal evidence to be forgeries of the French official translator: he must have visited London while we were quarrelling about the representation: for he uses the words *rotten-borough faction*, as if they were still the nick-name of an unpopular party. These letters throw peculiar light on the drift of the publication, and put into English lips what the French public are wished to believe.

The most interesting fragments of this correspondence having already appeared in the morning papers, extracts would be superfluous and stale.

ART. XIV.—*The Works, political, metaphysical, and chronological, of the late Sir James Steuart, of Coltness, Bart. Now first collected by General Sir JAMES STEUART, Bart. his Son, from his Father's corrected Copies. To which are subjoined, Anecdotes of the Author. In Six Volumes. 8vo.*

SIR JAMES STEUART, of Coltness, was the only son of a baronet of the same name (who had been, under queen Anne, solicitor general of Scotland) by Anna, the eldest daughter of sir How Dalrymple: a descent in reality noble, but the diffusive popularity of the clan-names of Scotland gives a twang of vulgarity to their sound, which rarer names necessarily escape.

He was born at Edinburgh October 21, 1712; educated until thirteen years of age at North-Berwick school, and entered in 1725 at the university of Edinburgh. In 1727 his father died; but he continued perseveringly his studies, matriculated in 1729, and was called to the bar in 1735.

Sir James Steuart next undertook a continental tour. He accompanied a fellow-student to Leyden, crossed France, and went to pass fifteen months in Spain, where he received in 1736 the tidings of his mother's death. He visited France a second time on his way to Italy, became acquainted at Avignon with the duke of Ormond, and was by him recommended to the leading friends of the pretender at Rome, in whose society he imbibed a dangerous attachment to the ex-royal family.

In 1740 sir James Steuart returned to Scotland, renewed with lord Elcho a friendship begun on the continent, and in 1743 married lady Francis Wemyss, his lordship's sister, who bore him a son and heir the following year. During the contest for the parliamentary representation of Edinburgh in 1743, sir James Steuart tendered his vote, which, on account of some informality in the record, was disputed: he pleaded his own cause in court with a propriety and an eloquence that piled a trophy over his very defeat.

In 1745, a year of crisis, sir James Steuart was among those who welcomed Charles Edward into Edinburgh; but the battle of Culloden having blasted the hopes of the party, he withdrew hastily about October into France, and settled with his family at Angoulesme. Lady Fanny cheerfully partook, and efficaciously consoled his exile. He visited Paris in 1754, and retired to Brussels in 1755; but finding the place ill adapted for the education of his son, he migrated in 1757 to Tubingen, a cheap German university,

celebrated at that time for skilful professors.

Sir James Steuart had been excepted from the general pardon granted to the friends of the pretender in the statute 20 Geo. II; a distinction honourable to the importance and integrity of his zeal. Thus deprived of a country, he sought in cosmopolite affections a substitute for the patriotic; he mingled in the factions of the republic of letters, defended Newton's chronology against Freret and his coadjutors; vindicated against the author of the *Système de la Nature* the intelligence of the plastic cause; wrote on German coins, and at length proceeded to the composition of his great work on political economy.

The climate of Germany was too inclement for the occasional health of sir James Steuart: in the autumn of 1758 he went through the Tyrol to Venice, and resided with his family for some time near Padua. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu came to delight in their society: she corresponded during four years with sir James, mentions him and lady Fanny with the eulogies due to their accomplishments and virtues, and made some kind efforts to reconcile their sovereign.

With the accession of George III. new principles of favouritism were to begin. In March 1761 lord Barrington obtained for the son of sir James Steuart a cornetcy in the dragoons. Sir James made approaches toward his country, and came to dwell at Antwerp. The French suspected him of a disposition to transfer the intelligence he possessed in their nation to the service of his own; they broke open his house at Antwerp, and seized his papers.

After the peace of 1763, sir James Steuart received assurances, that if he chose to live quietly in Great Britain, he would not be molested for the past. He immediately returned to Edinburgh, and ere long settled at Coltness, his family seat. He published in 1767, his *Principles of Political Economy*, a work of extensive information, which fills two quarto volumes.

In 1771 a pardon to sir James Steuart passed the great seal. Some further tracts on the corn-trade, on the money-circulation of Bengal, on the desirable uniformity of weights and measures, and on Dr.

Beattie's idea of truth, amused, if they did not illustrate, the remainder of his life. An estate was bequeathed to him in 1773 by sir Archibald Denham, which was enjoyed only seven years: his death took place on the 26th November 1780. He was buried in a family vault of the cemetery at Cambusnethan, and a cenotaph built to his honour in Westminster-Abbey.

By publishing this complete edition of his father's works, his son has erected a yet more durable monument to his memory. The first four volumes exactly comprise the principles of political economy. This work is valuable for compilation of fact, for copiousness of argumentation, and for conversancy with the political writers of the continent. It has founded that sect or school of politicians, who wish the state to interfere with all our concerns; who would have government buy and warehouse our corn, government undertake to manage our poor, government prescribe our religion, government select our physicians, and government monopolize our banks. It teaches the antagonist system to that defended in the wealth of nations. According to Adam Smith, *let us alone* is the perpetual prayer of a wise people to its rulers: according to sir James Stuart it is *lend us help*. The one would repeal every law that can be spared; the other would enact every law that can be executed: the one would leave industry free as air; the other shape its vent through jobs and monopolies. If Adam Smith's system tends somewhat to anarchy, sir James Stuart's tends surely to hyperanarchy.

Among clerks of office sir James Stuart is a favourite politician; because his principles go to enhance their consequence, and to multiply the demand for their services: even ministers, being mostly governed by clerks of office, give a practical preference to his system: but his doctrines deservedly want the sanction of our leading statesmen, and of our critical philosophers: they sacrifice the productive to the devouring classes; they paralyze liberty, and patronize inequality.

As writers, both Stuart and Smith are diffuse: they recur much to exposition, and paraphrase, and illustration: with few syllogisms they fill many pages, and place the art of persuading in detaining the attention. But Smith has always a distinct end in view, and travels toward it without digression; whereas the scope of Stuart is often vague, indefinite, and

undistinguishable: Smith draws his inference before, and Stuart after composition. Smith is more neat, Stuart more copious; Smith has more scholastic, Stuart more cotemporary learning; Smith owes all his reputation to his intellect, which will retain its exalted rank; Stuart owes some to his personal consequence, which will vanish with the recollection of his friends.

The new matter of this publication begins with the fifth volume: not but that much even of the two last volumes has already been printed, but in so fugacious, or so local a form of dispersion, that to the literary world it may be considered as new. *The principles of money applied to the present state of the coin of Bragal* can only merit attention on the other side of the Cape. Where a transient, where a topical grievance is to be remedied, the resident authorities should be asked for the prescription. The letter of Mr. Francis displays more understanding of the inconvenience, and a clearer insight of the practicable means of correction, than all the professor-like verbiage of sir James Stuart: to Mr. Francis, lord Barrington ought clearly to have intrusted the requisite active interference.

The Dissertation on the Doctrine and Principles of Money applied to the German Coin is again a pamphlet out of date. A good treatise on this topic is Beccaria's *Trattato delle Monete*.

The Observations on a Bill for altering and amending the Qualifications of Freeholders well deserved to check an intended encroachment on the elective franchise.

The Considerations on the Interest of the County of Lanark, detail in a very amusing manner the effects of the commercial prosperity of Glasgow on the landed interest of the contiguous province. The natural progress of opulence begins in the towns, and thence diffuses itself through the neighbouring country: commercial precedes agricultural prosperity: trade is the substantive, husbandry the dependent, occupation.

The Dissertation on the Policy of Grain constitutes the best, we had almost said the only, literary defence of the extant British policy respecting grain; a policy which we examined at length, and in a manner, we trust, to have produced some impression, in noticing Cursory Observations on the late Corn bill; a policy which raises the price of subsistence a full fourth, and distributes this needless tax, not among the public creditors of the state,

but among the farmers and land-owners, neither of whom have any claim or right to the slightest public recompense, for exercising an interested industry, or for living in unproductive idleness. Beside the interference by means of bounties and prohibitions, with production, importation, and exportation, sir James Steuart recommends the establishment of public granaries; and as his disciples are powerful unfortunately, as well as numerous, in the state, this new mischief may probably be superadded to those already inflicted. We shall transcribe the outline of his plan.

"Let an enquiry be made into prices of grain for twenty years past; let the mean price of it be ascertained. Bounty-money being at present paid until wheat comes to forty-eight shillings per quarter, let it be inquired, whether manufactures do not then suffer too much from high prices. Upon these informations let the legislature determine to what height it is expedient, upon the account of the manufacturing classes, to allow the price to rise.

"Upon the other hand, let an inquiry be made into the interest of the farmers, in order to find when that class generally begins to suffer by too low prices. Let these points be settled by calculation, and from the best information; they may afterwards be corrected from experience during the execution of the plan. For the sake of distinctness alone, I shall suppose forty-eight shillings per quarter to be the beginning of distress upon the manufacturer, and forty-eight shillings per quarter the beginning of distress upon the farmer; the prices between these extremes should, I think, be considered as reasonable, and not to be checked, or influenced, in any respect, by the policy of the country.

"These preliminaries settled, I propose,

"That all corporations, communities, or bodies politic, all hospitals, all manufacturers having the direction of large undertakings, all masters of collieries, iron-works, or mines within the nation; or, taking the thing on a larger scale, all cities, towns, and considerable villages, in which the inhabitants (not employed in agriculture) reside, be severally obliged (as far as the legislature shall judge proper to extend this plan) to make up general lists of their inhabitants, with such exactness as may be judged necessary for the proper execution of it.

"That in proportion to the number of persons of all ages, in each of these different classes, jurisdictions, and districts, a granary be formed, capable of containing eight bushels of wheat for every such person, which quantity I take to be sufficient nourishment for twelve months.

"That the preparing and inspecting these granaries be committed to the commissioners of the land-tax; that these be authorised to

appoint granary-keepers, with reasonable salaries for the management of them, who shall give sufficient security for their administration.

"That the granary-keepers be obliged to receive, from the farmers of the district, such parcels of wheat, of the best quality, as (according to the regulations made from time to time by the commissioners above mentioned) shall be presented to them, at the price of forty shillings per quarter, until the several granaries be provided.

"That there be an absolute prohibition to receive any grain either below or above this standard.

"That, in a year of great plenty, when there may be a competition among the farmers for a preference to furnish the granaries, the commissioners may determine every question between them for the encouragement of tillage, and the inspiring of emulation.

"That no old grain be received, nor any from second hand, when in competition with a farmer of the district.

"That as soon as the requisite quantity is procured, the granaries be shut up and excluded from all competition with the corn-dealers; and while prices fluctuate below that of forty-eight shillings, the grain contained in them be no more allowed to influence the market than it could have done had it been exported.

"That, as soon as the price of wheat shall rise in the respective markets to forty-eight shillings, the several granaries be opened; but with this restriction, never to be allowed to sell in competition with any corn-dealer, farmer, or other, who shall bring grain to market below this price.

"That the granary-keepers shall be authorised to issue, in payment for the grain received, corn-bills, printed for the purpose, signed by them, by the inspector to be named by the commissioners, and by the receiver of the land-tax for the county, which notes are to have a currency in the kingdom like bank-bills, and be payable at the bank. They are to bear no interest while they circulate; but from the time of their being paid, the bank to receive an interest of ——— per cent. more or less, as the legislature and the bank shall agree.

"That one penny in the pound be added to the land-tax, as a fund for paying the interest of the corn-bills paid by the bank, until reimbursement to the bank by the granaries, upon the sale of the grain: which penny in the pound may, I suppose, produce about 40,000*l.* sterling per annum; and this, at 4 per cent. interest, will correspond to the capital of one million sterling, supposed to be laid out in the purchase of wheat, at forty shillings per quarter, which is therefore the price of 500,000 quarters of wheat, destined for the provision of the granaries over the whole kingdom.

"That no person, at least in the beginning

of the scheme, be put upon the granary list, but such as are of the lower classes of the people, manufacturers, labourers, and poor house-keepers, with their children; such, in a word, who may be supposed to be the most essentially hurt by the high prices of grain.

"That proper lists be made at each granary of those who are to be supplied from it, and these in proportion to the grain which shall have been delivered, reckoning one quarter of grain for every person admitted upon the list.

"That, upon opening the granaries, it shall not be allowed to distribute grain to any but to those upon the lists, nor to these above one month's provision at a time, according to the proportion above mentioned, of eight bushels for that of twelve months. This regulation to continue as long as the granaries remain open.

"That, for the ease of the poor, who cannot purchase much at a time, there be markets opened by authority, for the retailing of small quantities, in the same proportion.

"That the money arising from the sale of the grain be put into the hands of the receiver general of the land-tax, in order to be paid into the bank.

"That he, upon making up his accounts with the exchequer, be obliged to produce corn-bills discharged by the bank for the amount of his receipt.

"That the said receivers-general be obliged, at least annually, to report to the commissioners the state of the grain in the several granaries, and the extent of the corn-bills in the hands of the bank.

"That, for the greater exactness, the granaries of each county shall be distinguished by particular numbers; which shall be respectively entered into the granary-book, and be indorsed upon the corn-bills issued by the granary: and when such bills come to be paid at the bank, they shall be entered into books kept for the purpose, according to their number.

"Having thus laid down the out-lines of a plan with as much brevity and clearness as I have been able, I must observe, that the small access I have to be well informed as to many facts, has induced me to keep as close to general principles as possible, and to avoid particular detail, which is, however, of the greatest use for rightly forming schemes, as well as for illustrating all political dissertations."

In the first place, the price of grain cannot fall below the standard necessary for the desirable encouragement of agriculture. When corn ceases to repay, with an average profit, the expence of rent, tillage, and delivery, the farmer can convert his arable lands into pasturage, and thus increase the growth of hay, milk, butter, cheese, wool, and similar produc-

tions. Suppose these articles to fall below the price necessary to replace with an average profit the cost of growth, the farmer will decline to hire his land at the old rent. What will then have happened? That the consumers, who are the numerous class, will be benefited by the diminished price of produce, and that the proprietors, who are the few class, will be injured by the diminished price of rent. The farmer's profit will always in the long run be the average rate of profit; but the industrious classes, who are the mass of consumers, will subsist more cheaply; and the idle classes, who are the mass of proprietors, will subsist less conveniently. Industry will have been rewarded, and idleness punished. This is as it should be. More proprietors will in consequence become tillers, and recruit the productive classes; and all objects created by industry will become cheaper, more abundant at home, and more exportable abroad, than before, in consequence of the reduced cost of labour. The diminution of rent is a positive good, to be pursued directly by taxation, if it were not a necessary and natural result of the entire liberty of the corn-trade. The earnings and surplus wages of a society are greatest, when rent is cheap; because more persons work, and the workers subsist on easier terms. It matters not to a community where its food be bought, whether in Yorkshire, or at Alexandria in Egypt, or at Alexandria in North America, so it be bought at the cheapest: the task of importation is itself a source of useful industry: domestic agriculture is most desirably employed in the production of irremovable commodities.

The end to be answered by granting bounty-monies and restrictions on importation and exportation being bad, the forms of offering and distributing premiums for growing corn do not deserve discussion. Yet the plan of founding public granaries is itself one of the worst of those forms. If the state is to interfere, and buy up corn whenever corn cheapens, and to house that corn in public warehouses until it be wanted, this branch of speculation will be snatched from the hands of private merchants, and will by them be abandoned. The purchases of the state will always be proportioned to the cheapness, and not to the probable want of the commodity, they would else be inefficient; and thus a bounty on production will be given, when a bounty on production ought to be withdrawn. The sales of the state will be profuse, in proportion to the

dearth, and not to the probable deficiency of the commodity; else they would be inefficient for their end, which is to level prices; and thus a bounty on production will be withdrawn, when a bounty on production ought to be given. But in the hands of private merchants depreciation takes place in proportion to the stock reserved for immediate consumption; and appreciation takes place in proportion to the deficiency of that stock; and thus growth and importation are invited at the right moment, versatile culture and exportation are stimulated at the right moment. To say nothing of the corrupt contracts, and careless stowage, and profligate waste, which attend public stores.

Leave the corn-trade to itself, and rising markets will invite, and falling markets will repel, private capitals from this line of enterprise. Employ government-buyers, and the capitals invested will be always the same. But it is obviously proper that, during the rise of produce, the capitals employed to put agricultural industry in motion should be increased, in order to cause a more extensive growth; and it is obviously proper that during the fall of produce the capitals employed to put agricultural industry in motion should be decreased, in order to check a superfluous growth. Private interest therefore operates aright, when public providence would operate wrong. Holland enjoyed during the last century an unrestricted exportation and importation of corn; she had no state-granaries, yet the price of corn was there less fluctuating than in England, and though she grew little or no corn, she was the cornucopiæ of Europe. Experience has confirmed the theory of Adam Smith in contradiction to the theory of sir James Steuart. See also our third volume, p. 306.

The *Plan for introducing an Uniformity of Weights and Measures* deserves some attention. We are of opinion that governments cannot legislate very decisively on the subject. The weights and measures of the most commercial nation are always tending to generalize themselves. The motive for legislating is to spare the labour of translating into new figures the weights and measures already noted. The trouble of change is itself a grievance. It might be worth while to incur this trouble once for all, if each nation would concur in the same new standard. But for a single nation to make the change is to increase the grievance for no purpose. The best standard is not yet agreed. The

decimal divisions of the French lessen the arithmetician's labour, and may therefore be welcome in the counting-house; but they increase the difficulty of subdivision; quarters become fractions instead of integers, and thus the retail dealer and the vulgar reckoner is put to greater inconvenience. The French have returned to the twelve-hour day; they will probably return to the sixteen-ounce pound. Coins are most easily changed, a decimal division of coins has been found convenient at Naples; yet the metre-mongers of France chose to leave the coin unchanged. Nor have the poets deserted their Alexandrines for decasyllabics. The Greek jargon of science is ill adapted for a vulgar nomenclature; yet denominations common to all languages are as important a condition of the best weights and measures, as the universal intelligibility of arithmetic cyphers. There is this advantage in diversity: that it intercepts a precise estimate of profit, which ought to vary with the demand of a given place, but which could not vary without odium, if buyers were easily aware of the cost elsewhere. The profit of a druggist ought to be higher than the profit of a grocer; his trade requires more skill, and returns his capital less expeditiously; yet they both sell in many instances the same articles. Force on them the same weights, and the druggist will be reviled by the populace for his extortion. It is wise to ask why things are, before we vote for making them otherwise.

The *Observations on Dr. Beattie's Essay* certainly deserve the perusal of those who think Dr. Beattie's Essay worthy of perusal.

The *Critical Remarks on the Systeme de la Nature* have the higher value of attacking a superior book.

The Defence of Newton is curious for having been composed in a foreign language; not so, for erudition; not so, for sagacity.

A translation of this Defence terminates the collection of sir James Steuart's writings, which deserve to become a library-book, and to be consulted for information often, for inference seldom. The style is rather European than idiomatic, but has more purity than was to be expected from so habitual an absentee.

In Mr. D. William's *Lectures on Political Principles*, the character of this writer is given in an oracular but imprecise manner. 'Sir James Steuart (he says p. 247), the most profound and original of all

Writers on political subjects, has collected information and formed conceptions with great anxiety and labour: but he produced his thoughts as they occurred; and he had nearly forgotten his native language. He is the miner who plunges into the bowels of the earth; while Montesquieu and Hume are amused with appearances of hypotheses on the surface: but he leaves the ore mingled with dross. Dr. Smith has formed some of it into metal: inferior authors have stolen pieces unobserved; and financiers, or the secret prompters of financiers, occasionally avail themselves of his skill. The general mass remains to be explored by some congenial spirit; who, it is to be hoped, will do justice to his memory while he profits by his labours."

We do not accede to the assertions that sir James Steuart is very profound or very original: he only looked around him for the books whence his materials are drawn,

not into the deep wells of antiquity, or into the chosen sources of intellect. He has collected information and formed conceptions with great anxiety and labour. He may be compared with a miner, whose exploits respect but ordinary ore, and who disinters copper of lead, while Montesquieu and Hume are delving for sparkling crystals or pure silver. Adam Smith is greatly indebted to Hume; but not so to sir James Steuart. Adam Smith had a clear head: what he writes is necessarily intelligible. But sir James Steuart has often permitted himself the use of jargon; and has written many pages (as concerning the distribution of taxes into proportional, cumulative, and personal) which neither he nor any of his readers can ever have understood. The obscurity arising from muddiness by concealing the bottom may pass for profundity: but to such obscurity the great writers never recur.

ART. XV.—*The Policy and Interest of Great Britain with respect to Malta summarily considered.* 8vo. pp. 160.

FIRST occurs a disquisition on the value of Gibraltar, next on that of Minorca, and thirdly on that of Malta. All these possessions supply the British minister with pretences for patronage; and facilitate the lodgment of troops within reach of Spain, Italy, Greece, Syria, and Egypt, into which countries the inroads of French armies have occasionally extended. They offer therefore a readier mean of thwarting French enterprizes, than we should possess without these hills of stone.

Our politics are often antigallican to absurdity. British ministers think it their duty to oppose the undertakings of the French, even when those undertakings interfere with no British interests. If France must aggrandize herself, it is better she should do it southward, than northward; toward the Mediterranean, than toward the Baltic. During the antijacobin war, if the overflow of French force had been quietly tolerated in overspreading Italy, Greece, Syria, and Egypt, two of these countries, Italy and Egypt, would at first have been undividedly annexed to the French empire. If our efforts had been wisely reserved, and wholly bent on the defence of Flanders and Holland, neither of these provinces would have easily become subject to France. How much more advantageous to this country it would have been, if the peace

of Amiens had so allotted them! The French general intrusted with the government of Egypt, would by this time have rejected the sovereignty of a Parisian upstart; and would have been now courting our alliance to render Egypt independent: and Italy, consolidated by a conquest, would not despair of recovering a substantive independence, in concert with Switzerland, and with the aid of Austria and Britain. Half the enterprizes of our antijacobin ministers were made in our own wrong; and could only serve to restrict the French within retainable limits. The very difficulty which Malta opposes to the acquisition of Egypt by the French, is likely to be the cause of annihilating the Austrian power, by compelling the pursuit of extension along the middle zone of Europe.

This treatise displays historical and topographical knowledge of Malta, and probably originates with some of those placemen, who are distributing the benefits of British administration among the late subjects of the knights; it does not display, but it may purposely conceal, nautical knowledge; or the inutility of the island as a naval station would have been frankly avowed. As a piece of argument this work is ludicrously feeble.—Observe the following passage:

"I hold it no temerity to affirm, that a cautious, enlightened, and adequate con-

sideration of this great question will produce an answer, comprehending the following propositions; viz.

"1. That it is indispensably necessary that Great Britain should employ the most efficacious means that she can devise, to guard against the possibility of France ever again acquiring possession of Malta.

"2. That, consistently with that object, and in necessary course to its attainment, it is indispensable that Great Britain should establish the permanent presence of her power at some secure, and *insular*, position, within the Mediterranean.

"3. That the most simple and convenient, and, at the same time, the only certain and effectual mode of attaining both these ends, is, that Great Britain should remain in possession of Malta."

Here, in order to guard against France's acquiring Malta, Great Britain is advised to occupy a Mediterranean island, and that island Malta. This is arguing in a circle, and treating identical propositions as inferences from one another.

The most valuable part of this treatise is that which defends a passage in his Majesty's declaration or manifesto against France, by endeavouring to shew that the order of St. John cannot now be considered as the body to which the island of Malta was to be restored. Where a something so very like bad faith has sullied, as the French assert, the public conduct of Great Britain, one is eager to catch at the most plausible defence of the proceedings arraigned. We solicit the historian to weigh the grounds of defence here adduced: many of them are entitled to his acceptance and repetition.

A passage which indicates ambitious views in our governors is the following:

"Whether the secret wish of his (Buonaparte's) mind be, to attempt a rapid operation for reaching our Indian empire; or whether he is prepared to prosecute that

object by a more tardy and lingering process, or whether those views are, for the present, absorbed in the immediate purpose of reviving the natural fertility of Egypt, and converting its immense dormant resources to the aggrandizement of France; by creating a colonial system, surpassing, in productiveness and security, all that our American islands can aspire to; which ever of these be the governing purpose of his mind, (though it is most reasonable to suppose that they are all combined in it), we are infinitely concerned in being early prepared to disappoint and frustrate it. And nature has provided no means by which we can possibly accomplish this, but by occupying Malta; which island, with its dependencies, she seems to have formed and prepared to become, in these latter days of general change, violence, and exertion, the representatives of the *Britannia Insula* within the Mediterranean.

"But, in enumerating the *political* powers which we derive from the occupation of Malta, we are not to overlook a most efficacious *moral* power; of which we likewise became possessed, the moment that the genius of Britain, the evil genius of Buonaparte, first took post upon that island. Already has his empire of darkness suffered molestation from the proximity and splendour of truth; the rays of which, diffused from the centre of Malta, have cast their light upon the opposite coasts. Already the illumination of a free press, discreetly used, and judiciously directed, has begun to dissipate the mists of error and deception which enveloped that wide horizon.* Already the system of falsehood and deceit, by which the tyrant governs the minds of his subject nations, has experienced some counteraction from that efficacious engine; and he himself, and his tyranny, stand now fully exposed to the public view of Italy, of Greece, and the Levant."

It is a puny ambition to possess a few rocks, which can at best serve as an orange-garden: the Cape and the river Zaire are worthier objects of culture. What Carthage coveted, we may disdain.

ART. XVI.—*Thoughts on the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland; with an Appendix.* 8vo. pp. 108.

SO long as the church of Rome and the church of Constantinople agreed in religious doctrine, their common creed had a right to the denomination of *catholic*, or universal; because it was, in fact, the only recognised and established form of christian confession. But as soon as the

Greek and Latin churches began to marshal under their respective patriarchs and popes, and became distinct sects, the term *catholic* ought to have been dropped.

The notorious corruption of the Nicene creed, by the insertion of the words *filioque*, began at the council of Toledo, in

* "For several months past, an Italian paper has been published weekly in Malta, the object of which may be inferred from what is here said. This paper, actively distributed in the Mediterranean by the opportunities which our naval superiority must ever command, is perused with avidity, not only in the islands of Greece, but on the coast of Asia Minor, and at the regencies upon the coast of Africa."

Spain, under king Riccardo, in the year 559. This additional clause can be traced, as already accepted by the Gallican church, in 791. At the synod of Frankfort, in 794, this innovation was superinduced on Germany, and from the time of the coronation of Charlemagne, it may be considered as having become the orthodox doctrine of all that portion of christendom, which recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Pope of Rome.

The Roman catholic faith, which differs from that of the ancient church, by maintaining the *two-fold* procession of the Holy Ghost, is, therefore, but a modern heresy, first established in the year 794; and has prevailed in Europe only during about half the interval that elapsed between the foundation of christianity and the reformation. The bishop of Orleans, Theodulfus, seems to have been the person through whose zeal the power of Charlemagne was moved to convene those councils, which established this recent and double genealogy of the Spirit; he is, therefore, the founder of the Roman catholic sect; the proselytes to which might fitly be termed, in ecclesiastical history, Theodulfians.

About seven hundred years later than Theodulf, flourished Bucer, who was consulted by Archbishop Cranmer concerning the alteration of the English church, and who appears to have defined those articles of faith, which are now held sacred from the Tweed to the Channel. Ireland was first converted by the Theodulfians, and next undertaken by the Bucerists. Four-fifths of the inhabitants repeat the shibboleth of the one sect, and half the remaining fifth of the other: about a tenth are Calvinists. The Bucerists have attempted to draw the Calvinists into their alliance, and, under the common name of *protestant*, to advance a claim of *ascendancy* in Ireland. Assisted by the civil power of the British government, this arrogance has been so successful, that the tythe is collected over all the lands of Ireland, for the exclusive benefit of the priests of the Bucerists. A decimal fraction of the community has contrived to confiscate, for the benefit of its own peculiar priesthood, one-tenth of the annual produce, which is equivalent to the *fee-simple* of one-sixth of the whole territory of Ireland. This has been accomplished and maintained by the forcible introduction and execution of penal laws against the celebration of mass, and other innocent actions of the priests of the Theodulfians (which laws have lately been

withdrawn), and by the exclusion of their laity from offices of magistracy, honour, and profit (which exclusion still subsists). Under Elizabeth, and at the instigation of the Bucerists, one hundred and thirty priests of the Theodulfians were executed at Tyburn, and elsewhere, for no other crime than the inculcation of their tenets: so extensive a destruction of priests never accompanied any other persecution, except that by the late atheistical revolutionists in France. Under Charles the First, North America was stocked with the exiles of a less murderous, but not less extensive persecution. Under Charles the Second, two thousand Calvinist priests, who had been inveigled by the Bucerists into temporary alliance, for the sake of accomplishing the restoration, were, with the most ungrateful perfidy, ejected from their benefices, and had their private property, in the revenues of the church, totally confiscated, without indemnity, by an act of uniformity. What was thus done against the Calvinist clergy was extended, under William the Third, to their laity. Corporation and test acts were introduced, in order to deprive their adherents of all political influence. They yet labour under the same grievous privations as the Theodulfians. During the reigns of George the First and Second, a philosophic party gave the tone to our statesmen; the spirit of the hierarchy slumbered; Ireland was tranquil, and Britain happy: but the opportunity was lost of removing the legal infringements on the political equality of religious sects; and the evils of intolerance were all to be renewed during the ensuing reign. Every one recollects how much the rebellion of North America was embittered by the apprehension of being visited with episcopacy; and how much the rebellion of Ireland was occasioned by the refusal of catholic emancipation. Two civil wars is a high price to have paid for our docility to this clergy.

Our author, after dwelling at considerable length on these grievances, makes the following specific proposal:

“What I should, therefore, advise is, that government should, without delay, remove all the remaining disqualifications and restraints on account of religious opinions; should substitute a political instead of a religious test, and endeavour to make the people forget that a contrary one had ever been imposed. There should be no distinctions retained, and it is the interest of the state to promote the most entire oblivion of those which formerly

existed. The effects of these measures will be, to give consequence and consideration, where there is already property and character. It will be a cheap purchase, for the government will buy the support of a numerous party of the rich and respectable, at the expense of what it has no claim now to retain. It will be selling what is of no utility, for what is above all price. The Catholic landholder, merchant, and peasant, will derive an additional motive to maintain, at the hazard of their existence, the security of a government, the latest actions of which entitle it to their gratitude and love. 'These,' says Mr. Burke, 'are chains that, though light as air, are strong as links of iron.' This repeal, while it joins the two persuasions in power, will unite them in affection. All the talent (and in what country is there so much?) will then be employed on the side of the state, at a period when all that can be brought forward ought to be called into action.

"The next consideration will be, to provide for the support of that religion which it is thus proposed to admit into our establishment; and in so doing, the object should be, that the burden imposed upon the people for the purpose of obtaining the necessary funds, should be no more than just sufficient to enable every man, with decency and comfort, to live by his ministry. The Irish government allows, at present, salaries to the ministers of the Presbyterian worship. There seems to be no reason why the same indulgence should not be granted to the Catholics. Policy, as well as justice, demand it. A small, but independent hierarchy, ought to be established. Supposing the parishes to

amount to 1200, allowing a salary of 100*l.* per annum to each resident priest, and 400*l.* to each bishop, the amount of the whole establishment would be less than 160,000*l.* per annum: an ecclesiastical establishment not of a very splendid nature, but perhaps sufficient for the moderate wants of the Catholics, and conformable to the principles, not of encouragement but of toleration, on which it is proposed to acquiesce in their demands.* This establishment, when compared to the Protestant, which exceeds half a million, furnishes a proof, at how cheap a rate an institution of so much importance can be purchased. The Catholic religion now existing in Ireland, under all the disadvantages of penury and contempt, is still equal to the maintenance of public morals, and to the support of Christianity. The numbers too of the two sects, are of some consequence. The Protestants of the regular church do not exceed 600,000 souls, and their establishment costs the whole nation half a million. The Catholics amount to three millions of people, and they would be amply contented with the payment of 160,000*l.*"

Two objections to this plan deserve notice.—Why introduce a political test at all? Cannot a republican be a good magistrate under a monarchy, and a royalist under a republic? Harmony of speculative tenets is no more necessary in political than in religious theory. Coalitions of hostile factions have often governed well; experience justifies the joint employment of disagreeing dogmatists.

ART. XVII.—*Serious Examination of the Roman Catholic Claims, as set forth in the Petition now pending before Parliament. By the Rev. THOMAS LEMESURIER, Rector of Neunton Langville, late Fellow of New College, Oxford.* 8vo. pp. 60.

THE descendant of a French refugee may be allowed to feel some hereditary prejudice against the church, which procured a revocation of the edict of Nantes: but if this prejudice has so far abated against its doctrines, as to allow of conformity to an establishment, which Calvin accused of papism; and has so far abated against its practice, as to allow of a defence of that very intolerance, which protestants once ascribed to the clergy, as Romanists, and not as tithing-men; this prejudice can have little claim to indulgence, or to excuse: it borders on an ignoble apostasy to the creeds and the cruelties which his ancestors withstood.

The Rev. Mr. Lemesurier first analyzes the catholic petition, which in his opinion (p. 10), 'does not state the case of the petitioners with that clearness and precision which is or ought to be required.' This is a new ground for resisting the prayer of a petition, that it was not drawn up by a neat writer: happily this ground of objection is still more applicable to the reverend gentleman's own counter-prayer.

He next compares the qualifications required of an Irish Roman Catholic, which are affirmative or juratory declarations of opinion, with the qualifications required of a member of parliament, which are pe-

* "I have selected this sum in preference to a larger, because in the reformation of English curacies, laudably commenced by the English bishops, 100*l.* per annum was esteemed a competent provision for an English clergyman. The Scottish ministers are supposed to enjoy, upon an average, nearly the same sum, independent, however, of a house and glebe of ten acres."

uniary or territorial possessions: and asks, (p. 13) whether there be more injustice in imposing the one than the other. This is an Oxfordism: the doubt could hardly have occurred elsewhere. It may there be customary to weigh subscriptions and adjurations to articles of faith, against pecuniary income and territorial tithes; and to consider the imposition of the one as no grievance, when accompanied by the concession of the other. But ecclesiastical morality is not always that of the world. Among laymen want of veracity is a disgrace, and poverty is not. The man of honour in practical life feels a reluctance at making formal and public assertions of opinions, which have never been examined, or never understood, or never proved to the satisfaction of the asserter. He feels no reluctance to acknowledge or declare the want of a landed estate. Both inquisitions are cases of impertinence and injustice; but the one violates the conscience, and the other only the pocket.

Thirdly, the oath of supremacy is defended. It denies jurisdiction in matters spiritual to all aliens. If the presbyterians of the continent were to hold a synod at Geneva, for the purpose of determining anew the canon of scripture, and were to transmit exhortations to the kirk of Scotland to admit the Wisdom and the Ecclesiasticus into the christian canon; any attention to the authority of such council would be a violation of the duty enjoined by the oath of supremacy. It is therefore an oath not quite fit to be imposed even on protestants, far less on catholics.

Fourthly, this author has recourse to what he mistakes for alarming language, and calls out in his panic as follows: (p. 45) 'What shall we say further to a popish chancellor, and a popish prime-minister, disposing of all the dignities in the church, and of the cure of souls in such a large proportion of our parishes?' Shall we not say, po! pish! If Bolingbroke and Burke, who were catholics born, had been prime-ministers during the principal part of their political career,

would this country have been worse off than under the men who overbore, or superseded them? Would literary merit have been less secure of advancement in the church? Lord Chatham, the best of our prime-ministers since the revolution, was a notorious despiser of the church of England, and he reviled its ordinances in parliament. The purest churchmen, such as Lord North and Mr. Addington, have been sorry ministers of state.

Fifthly, the intolerance of the Roman Catholics is adduced as a reason for withholding toleration from them. If a great number of whites were slaves in Tom-buctoo, oppressed by their masters and grievously abused, would it be less a duty in the negro monarch to introduce milder laws and progressive emancipation, because, in some western islands, precedents had occurred of white tyranny? Be tolerant to the catholics, that they may feel the superiority of your religion in the very generosity of its sway. To find a precedent for the sin of intolerance, is not an apology: the retaliation of injustice aggravates it; the pernicious consequence being, in the second instance, foreseen. Besides, what claim would the Bucerists themselves have to toleration, if ancestral persecutions were to be visited on posterity? Recollect that Queen Elizabeth put to death one hundred and thirty catholic priests (see the list in our third volume, p. 282), for promulgating their religion in England. These things must not be repeated against the intolerant party: not only his church, but M. Lemesurier himself, might be in danger; and we wish him many happy years.

This pamphlet concludes with the assertion, that the granting of the Roman Catholic Petition at this juncture leads to no less than the total destruction of the country. How the repeal of a law can destroy a country, we know not: perhaps the author believes that miracles have not ceased, and that saint Calvin and saint Bucer will sink under sea Scotland and England, whenever their people become ashamed of bigotry and persecution.

ART. XVIII.—*A Letter to Dr. Troy, titular Archbishop of Dublin, on the Coronation of Bonaparte by Pope Pius the Seventh.* By MELANTHON. 8vo. pp. 97.

OF the spirit of this pamphlet the following sounding denunciation will give a just idea:

"From among the thousands and ten thousands of christians, impressed with these sentiments, and terrified and appalled by his por-

tentous conduct, I stand forward as the public accuser of his holiness—I stand forward to arraign him in the face of heaven and of earth—In the presence of men and of angels, I charge him with a flight of impiety and blasphemy, beyond all that the most audacious abusers of the Most High have ever attempt-

ed; with an extreme of insult to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, that has, as it were, been reserved for the last outrage on his patience and forbearance, in this age of unparalleled apostasy from all religion, and for a characteristic winding-up of that horrible revolution, which laid its foundations in the temporary extinction of the religion of his blessed Son, and now braves heaven by the mockery of restoring that religion, only to outrage and profane it.

"In all the horrors of this revolution, I charge him with having made himself a party. In all the horrors of this revolution, I charge him with having made our God, and our Redeemer, and our Sanctifier, parties, as far as his assumption of the divine commission, with which he invests himself, can accomplish so impious a purpose.

"It is the authority of the Most High which he pleads; it is the sanction of his commission of which he makes his boast; it is his highest prerogative in governing the affairs of men, that he pretends to exercise, while he confers the imperial crown, the price of all the enormities to which the French revolution gave birth, on its most distinguished parricide, and anoints with the holy oil of kings the merciless hands that sluiced the most innocent blood during its exterminating progress.

"It is in the name of the immaculate Jesus, and with the invocation of the Holy Spirit, that he consecrates a sceptre, wrested from its legitimate possessors by a series of such atrocities, flowing from this revolution, as never before stained the annals of human crimes, or drew down the curses of heaven on the human race.

"It is the blessed Son of God whom he associates in the filiation * to which he admits a recorded apostate, who in the face of the christian and infidel world, and by a public proclamation sent into the world with his signature, while commanding the revolutionary armies in Egypt, asserted that God had no Son, no associate in his kingdom.

"It is to the grace of God, poured largely into the heart of this ferocious homicide, who by a more insatiate thirst of blood, and a pre-eminence in every revolutionary crime, eclipsed the fame of all his revolutionary competitors, that he ascribes the desire to receive the imperial crown, the golden fruit of all these crimes, from the hands of God's vicegerent and representative; and it is to the immediate inspiration of heaven, in answer to his own fervent prayers, that he attributes his determination to gratify this desire of his most 'dutiful son,' who now professes to be a catholic, as, when it answered a revolutionary purpose, he professed to be a Mahometan, and who now venerates the *health-bearing cross*, as he then venerated the *health-administering Koman*.

"With respect to the high station he fills

as head of the Roman catholic church, seated in the see of the prince of the apostles, and, as his successor, venerated, I might say adored, by such a portion of the christian world, I charge him with having betrayed its dignity.

"He canonizes as the pious and zealous protector of that see, the man who made a merit with the people of Egypt, that he was the servant of their prophet;† a Mussulman, who had marched to Rome to overthrow the Pope, because he invited the christians to make war against the mahometan religion.

"He recognizes with the warmest effusions of gratitude, the most rapturous expressions of joy, the man who waged a war of extermination against his immediate predecessor in the pontifical chair; who plundered him of all that the zeal of christian emperors and princes had lavished on his see; who cast him into prison, loaded him with contumely, and at length, by his cruel treatment, and the ruin he brought upon the patrimony of St. Peter, as well as on the whole catholic church, broke that truly pious, upright, and venerable pontiff's heart, and brought his grey hair with sorrow to the grave.

"To the royal family of France I charge him with the foulest ingratitude. He takes the crown of St. Lewis from the altar on which, by an eternal decree of Boniface the Eighth, his name was for ever to be invoked, and places it on the head of the murderer of his descendants.

"In the throne that had been filled by this race of kings, who for so many ages had been sanctified as the eldest sons of the Roman catholic church, the founders of all its temporal power, the liberal benefactors to whom the see he fills owes all its princely possessions, he seats the upstart usurper of their birthright, the plunderer of their inheritance, the tyrant who founds his power on their extinction.

"These are the charges I bring against this father of the faithful, this visible head of the church of Christ, this vicegerent of God. It is not a tale of old times; it is not a transaction of ages of ignorance and superstition, to which we scruple to give credence, as so dissimilar to all that the principles and feelings to which we are habituated can suppose possible: it is the act of the hour in which I write:—enlightened Europe is witness to it—the astonished and indignant world bears testimony to it. Stand forward, you who exercise the office of advocate for this delegate of heaven; stand forward, and in the face of your country defend him against these charges. Stand forward, and exculpate him to the numberless professors of your own religion, who hang down their heads in shame and silence, and to the whole body of your protestant fellow-subjects, whose indignation I but faintly express."

In our opinion, the pope has acted con-

* His dearly beloved son in Christ. See the *Allocution to the secret Consistory*.

† See his *Proclamations*.

sistently with the practice of his church, with the law of nations, and with the principles of morals, in crowning Bonaparte.

The catholic church does not interfere with any other title to sovereignty than faith. She always prefers the orthodox upstart to the heathen heir, and crowns without hesitation a Constantine or a Pepin, or fulminates without hesitation a Julian or an Elizabeth, whatever be the character of their civil claims to sovereignty. It is a proof of the forbearance and long-suffering of the catholic church to have tolerated the Bourbons so long. Both Louis XV. and Louis XVI., instead of repressing and persecuting the encyclopedic heresiarchs, connived at their impieties, extended legal toleration, and appointed deists and protestants to leading offices of the state. It was conformable to precedent, that under sovereigns so dangerously liberal (compare the conduct of the priest Savonarola under Lorenzo dei Medici), a Sieyès or a Gregoire should let slip the arguments of sedition, as a wholesome corrective, in order to teach the throne its dependence on the altar. The church well knows what Barruel teaches aloud, that a triumph of sedition is the school for kings; and that the magistrate only patronizes her jargon and her pantomime for the sake of the obedience which she knows how to inculcate. The directory of France was antichristian: it was correct therefore in the catholic ecclesiastics of France to transfer their allegiance to Bonaparte, who was a professing christian at least, and is probably a sincere one. The Egyptian proclamation drawn up by his staff of *sacans*, and no doubt signed unread, proves nothing as to his personal religiosity: if it proved secret infidelity, there would be more glory due to the church for bending the stubborn neck of that courage which has doubted, than for keeping in curb the cowardice of habitual superstition.

The extravagant doctrines of the English Tories concerning the indefeasibility of hereditary claims, and the imprescriptibility of royal titles, form no part of the law of nations. Right is power recognized by others. Might becomes right, as soon as a formal acknowledgment to that effect intervenes. After the peace of Ryswick, the rights of James the second to the throne of Great Britain were, as far as respected the rest of Europe, at an end. During the ensuing peace, it was a breach of etiquette in French writers to call him king:

and, during the ensuing war, it was in the French nation a recision of their own agreements, and an arbitrary unconsented revocation of implied compact, to assist James in 1715, as entitled to the British crown. Not only Vattel, Martens, and Günther, support this doctrine; but the French themselves, in their declaration of war against the emperor, in 1733, complain thus:

'L'Empereur a entrepris de prononcer sans autorité sur ce qui s'était passé dans l'intérieur de la republique de Pologne.' They admit that a foreign power is never competent to pronounce concerning internal rights; and consequently that domestic recognition ought always to involve foreign. The pope therefore acts conformably to the law of nations in recognizing as sovereign of France the object of French recognition.

And now to the principles of morals. When could anarchy terminate if the claims of the expelled were perpetual? Who does not see the absurdity of treating as valid those claims of the Irish peasantry over lands whence their ancestors were ejected? If such claims were unexpirable (and the claims of ejected princes are of the same kind), each generation must fight anew for the whole mass of fixed property. For fields of harvest we should have fields of battle; for furrows, graves. In matters of domestic legislation, the law can efficaciously limit the exact date of prescription; because society can call in the mass of possessors to support its definitions of title. But in questions of the law of nations, there being no executive police to employ, it is expedient, and therefore just, that prescription should be coeval with recognition. If the European powers made no bargain at the peace with the French government about the forfeited property of the emigrants, that property must remain a valid forfeiture. If no reservation was made of the rights of the house of Bourbon (and Bonaparte would not have treated as the occasional sovereign), those rights have been virtually resigned; and it would be ungentlemanly, and a breach of honour, in any member or minister of the British house of commons to propose now to re-enact them; no single nation, no confederacy of nations, can have a right to declare them valid. As it is no object to the community whether an estate be held by John Doe or Richard Roe, provided there be no uncertainty about the proprietor; so it is no object to the commonwealth of

nations, whether a reigning dynasty be called Capet or Bonaparte, provided there be no doubt about the real sovereign. The friend of order therefore is to promote the ascertainment, not the litigation; he is, like the pope, to corroborate the decisions of international lawyers with the over-awing sanction of the mother church.

The pope is the representative of the catholic interest; he promotes that interest by crowning Bonaparte; he thereby reconquers to the Romish church the most powerful of the European kingdoms. Compared with this conversion of millions, and of their sons' sons, to the holy see, what are the puny interests of a family heretofore royal? The pope would

have been a traitor to his office to have acted otherwise.

We advise this trumpet-tongued declaimer to lay aside his passion, and to re-examine the argument at issue; he wants that power of voluntary transmigration, without which the merit of party-chiefs can never be equitably appreciated. It became the duke d'Eughien *to die* for the traditional rights of his family: but, in recommending a *qu'il mourut* to the pope, impropriety is advised: he had to perform the humbler duty of *living* for the catholic church, and of crowning its restorer. A pope is not bound to die *for* Monsieur, but only for the church of Christ.

ART. XIX.—*Cockburn's Dissertation on the best Means of civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India.*

THE Rev. Claudius Buchanan, vice-provost of the college of Fort William in Bengal, gave in 1804 two hundred guineas to the University of Cambridge as a prize for the superior English prose dissertation, 'On the best means of civilizing the subjects of the British Empire in India; and of diffusing the light of the christian religion throughout the eastern world.' The question is studiously so put as to admit but one answer—'endow churches.' Civilization may be best extended by the missions of commerce; and christianity best taught by the distribution of printed instruction, which can be accommodated to the languages of different provinces; but if the same engine is to be used for manufacturing such disconnected products as civilization and christianity, that engine must be an ecclesiastical corporation. Where the inference is prescribed, the philosopher will disdain to discuss; but there are men in modern times, whose ductile eloquence can always labour to popularize the very inferences of their patron; whose obedient souls aspire, as after a merit, at driving in the rut of prescriptive orthodoxy, and whose accommodating reason can always evolve the very creed of the cotemporary magistrate.

After noticing many peculiarities of the Hindoos with reprobation, the author proceeds to his main proposition.

It appears absolutely necessary that a church-establishment be immediately commenced; and at page forty-one it is further recommended that a bishopric be endowed in Bengal.

When this bishop and these clergy, of the value of whose importation only the wicked and the ignorant can doubt, are

arrived in Hindostan, what are they to do? They are to disperse a partial version of the scriptures.

And thus, that mass of fanatical and ignorant absurdity, compiled by bishop Newton from popish and mystical theologians, which corrupts every source of history and confounds every faculty of judgement, and with a perverseness at which Mr. Halded would blush, holds up, as prophetic and allusive, a multiplicity of passages in the scriptures, which have not the slightest pretensions, which lay not the feeblest claim to a prophetic character, is to be dispersed among the Hindoos, as a part of christian religion. Is this to diffuse light, and to scatter civilization?

The various forms of christianity, while they subsist as sects, feel out their appropriate public, and serve to define the moral and intellectual attainments of their respective adherents: but, in an unopposed established shape, they have never yet been decidedly beneficial. From the establishment of christianity under Constantine, to the beginnings of its disestablishment under Pope Leo X., is the darkest and most uncivilized period of European society. Shall Britain prepare such a millennium for Hindostan?

This author is not unwilling to learn of the enemy. Among the causes of the propagation of christianity, he reckons (p. 31.) in the words of Mr. Gibbon, 'the exclusive or intolerant zeal of the christians.' With such views of fact, the determination to succeed cannot but be accompanied with the use of exceptionable means. Among those already suggested, is a proposal to call in the aid of the civil power (p. 27.) to abolish the

custom of sitting in Dherna ; and another proposal (p. 28.) to abolish the custom of erecting a Koor. These practices perhaps thwart, in some cases, the administration of justice : if so, let the courts of law, in their judicial capacity, interfere : but if the suppression be made at the instigation of the priest, the customs will be endeared and enrooted by all the influence of competitory fanaticism. The sway of the East India company has this of praise-worthy ; that it has equally respected the hereditary notions of Moslems, Seiks, Idolaters, and Christians, and has tolerated reciprocal conversion, without conferring recompences on apostacy, or privileges on foreign faith.

The would-be christianizers of Hindostan ought to draw up for that people and that climate a peculiar plan of religion, if they wish to be successful. In Ireland one form of christianity is prevalent ; in Scotland another ; in Great Britain a third ; why not provide for every main division of the empire a distinct and adapted worship ? Sir William Jones advises a new selection from our sacred books : why not also a new liturgy and a new ritual ? Surely the progress which has been made in scripture-criticism since the time of Luther, would enable our more learned cotemporaries to compile a system less dangerous to the reputation of European taste, reason, and civilization. The orientals admire the European man ;

they are acquainted with our merchants, our soldiers, and our lawyers ; if they should become acquainted with our religionists, how soon the useful spell must be dissolved ! Happily the spirit of the gentleman often corrects the spirit of the priest, and the opinions of the age forestall the opinions of the church. If an eastern hierarchy should be established, one may indulge the hope that some men will obtain preferment in it, who have more the temper of philosophers than of missionaries ; who are not less solicitous about the interests of literature than about the interests of protestantism, who prefer sincerity to conformity, and consider toleration as an essential part of equity. A bishop of Bengal may one day be found to merit the rare and pure praise lately inscribed on the monument of the bishop of Down.

One would have wished to see a dissertation, which wins a prize in a British university, remarkable for a display of the appropriate learning. Mr. Maurice is quoted and epitomized occasionally, and Sir William Jones has been consulted ; but the mass of information which Sonnerat, which Anquetil, which Fra Paolino especially, have imported into Europe concerning the religions of the east, and the braminal system, appears to slumber unnoticed in the shelves of the college library.

ART. XX.—*Asiatic Annual Register, or a View of the History of Hindostan, and of the Politics, Commerce, and Literature of Asia, for the Years 1802 and 1803.* 8vo.

THE Asiatic Annual Register began with the present century, and has already been noticed in our first volume, p. 332. It continues to be conducted on the same plan, with increased resources and speedier assiduity.

An account of the Mahratta war, a chronicle of minute occurrences, a list of promotions, births, marriages, and deaths ; state-papers, debates in parliament and at the India-house, characters, poetry, reviews of books, and miscellaneous tracts, form the varied bill of fare.

The literary world will take an interest in the statutes of the new college of Fort William in Bengal.

It would have been well so to organize the college, that natives of the country could be received there both as pupils and professors. The christian test imposed on professors ought not to have been introduced. Can the Sanscrit, the Chinese, and similar languages, be taught by Eu-

ropeans as well as by the natives of the provinces where these languages still subsist ? This test tends to prevent the obtaining of the best possible instruction.

The life of Tofuzzel Hussein Khan will be read with high gratification throughout Europe. The example of a native of Cashmir studying so successfully our languages and our sciences ; translating into Arabic our books of mathematics, and committing to an oriental press the far-fetched select importations of his high and comprehensive acquirements ; is a harbinger of the entire civilization of the world.

What a misfortune to the progress of culture, that so many difficulties should be thrown in the way of migration to Hindostan, by the East India company ! Had an open trade subsisted during the last generation, instead of the monopoly, our arts, our habits, our literature, our sciences, would have struck root long ago

in the peninsula; our merchants would have domesticated there an European civilization; and provinces, which are now the quarry of plunder, would have been paying to commerce a voluntary and larger tribute.

ART. XXI.—*A concise Account of the Commerce and Navigation of the Black Sea: from recent and authentic Information.* 8vo. pp. 53.

ABOUT three years ago Mr. Eton was sent by government to the southern provinces of Russia, as well to purchase on trial certain naval stores, corn and salted provisions, which, it was thought, might habitually be wanted for Malta, as to make a general report concerning the facilities for British commerce offered by the several ports of the Black Sea. This pamphlet contains a summary of the information collected by him, and will form the basis of a more extensive statistical work concerning the countries visited. It contains, in a cheap, unaffected, and condensed form, matter of immediate importance to the statesman, and of lasting importance to the merchant. Literary industry may manufacture from these materials a thick book of travels, and republish what is already known of the Black Sea shore: here we obtain apart the recent additions to our circulating knowledge.

The Black Sea has deservedly been named 'the guestless,' the inhospitable, for such is the meaning of the word Euxine. In antient as in modern times, a mischievous resistance was opposed by the borderers to the navigation of this inland sea. There are natural impediments: during the summer, north-east winds are almost perpetual, and ships lie sometimes wind-bound for three months. Sharp vessels that can work well to windward are fittest for this trade. There are artificial impediments: all the ports are shut to vessels liable to quarantine, except Kaffa and Odessa, where alone lazarettoes have been established. No accurate charts exist to guide navigators in the Black Sea. A vast mass of produce descends the Dnieper, which might conveniently be shipped at Oczakow: it is compelled to take the more expensive road through Odessa, by the absurd preference of prince Potemkin, who chose there to construct moles, kays, magazines, bazars, and other apparent appurtenances of commerce, in the hope of attracting a trade which nature has allotted elsewhere. Odessa has neither wood nor water: the port is bad in blowing weather: the sands washed down the Dnieper are constantly filling up the haven. The expence of carrying corn from Cherson to the Liman, is from

ten to fifteen kopeks the chetwert (about half-a-crown per bushel), but to Odessa the freight is from eighty to one hundred kopecks; on which account corn may be had cheaper in the Liman. The proper step for restoring to commerce its natural course, would be to establish another quarantine at Oczakow, for vessels destined to load in the Liman: this should be dictated from the Russian government.

An English house of great respectability at Odessa, is that of Mr. Henry Seaton, a native of Exeter, who resided in Naples before its commerce was interrupted by the French. Kaffa is most likely to engross the corn-trade of the Black Sea: the best of its wheats is called *arnaut*; it is the kind, of which the Neapolitans make their macaroni and vermicelli. There is a sort of rye near Elisabetgrad, of which the grains measure almost half an inch in length. At Cherson the empress Catharine founded an admiralty: the disadvantage of this site is, that there is only five or six feet water, and that ships of war built there must be put into *canals*, as in Holland, to cross the bar. A general of infantry fixed his spot, as a general of cavalry fixed on Odessa.

There was a considerable French navigation to the Liman before the revolution. Toulon was thence supplied with naval stores; and the merchants of Marseille carried out the silks of Lyons and the cloths of Louviers. The return of French commerce is looked for with anxiety by all people, and particularly by the great proprietors. Its effects have founded among the nobility, or landed interest, of southern Russia, a Gallican party. It is important, as a mean of securing the alliance of Russia, that a British commerce, equivalent to that of France, should be founded in the Euxine. This may best be done by purchasing annually for the admiralty, at a regular loss, through private merchants, a certain quantity of naval stores. The merchants will soon acquire the routine of demand and supply, and a trade will thus establish itself able to stand alone. The importance of concentrating the population and metropolitan influence of Russia, rather in the south, where the soil and climate are fine,

then in the north, where a perpetual war must be waged with nature, is felt by the enlightened mind of Alexander. It is for Britain to prove that her versatile industry can as easily collect the productions of Russia through the Mediterranean as through the Baltic.

Oczakow is the natural deposit of what ascends the Bog and the Dnieper. Kaffa is the natural deposit of what descends the Don. For these places lazarettoes must be obtained, and consuls appointed.

A curious fact occurs at p. 33. "The Chinese yarn-spinners make better cordage than the English. They are very clever and expeditious, and their method is preferable, as they feed the yarn from the end, at the middle of the fibres of hemp. This merits attention, the difference is very great."

A much wiser establishment than those at Odessa and Cherson is that of Kaffa, or, as we write, Caffa.

"Vessels arriving at Caffa, any month in the year, may begin to load immediately, without quarantine, and the magazines being close to the water-side, at little expence. The magazines that bring corn from Arabat unload into boats."

"The Quarantine-Lazaretto, and the whole of that establishment, as well as the custom-house, are upon the shore; and the natural fertility of the ground and port afford every convenience that can be desired for the expedition and economy of trade."

"Ships of war even have a secure anchorage in the bay, though it is somewhat open, the ground being excellent. A pier is to be run out into 40 feet water, and a second and third pier for the quarantine-harbour, so that ships will not be subject to be mixed. There will be ports for ships actually having the plague on board, those under precautionary quarantine, and those that have performed it, or are not subject to it."

"The city, which had been entirely ruined, is rebuilding, and trade already begins to flourish."

"All these works are conducting by general Fanshaw (a general in chief, and heretofore governor general of the city and province of Kiev), than whom the emperor has not a more intelligent, active, honourable, and zealous officer in his service. The sums that will be saved by his ability and economy, are incredible. He was formerly an officer in our guards."

"This is the place found most advantageous for salting of meat for exportation. The Crimea oxen are a small race, but those of the Cuban, not 100 miles from Caffa, are a fine large breed, and become very fat early enough to kill in the cool weather of the spring as well as autumn, except in some very late seasons. On the Don and Volga, are also vast herds of

cattle, which are driven to distant markets. Beginning at Bachmut, Poltava, Elizabeth, and into Poland and Germany, they feed as they go on the rich plains. From the Don to Caffa they can be brought easily. The whole road is fine pasture, and the neck of land between Arabat and Yanitsi produces rich grass. In the Caban they have salt marshes. In some parts they kill the cattle for the hides, and to boil out the fat. The only lake in the Crimea which produces salt of the best quality for preserving meat, is near to Perecop; but lately the salt of the Kertch has been found of an equal, or even superior quality; that is, it is more free of magnesia, with which other kinds of salt abound in too large a proportion. These different kinds of salt have been analyzed by Pallas and by admiral Moller at Cherson. Cattle may be bought lean, and the price of feeding them in the plains is one rouble a head. It is calculated that beef may be salted (a proper establishment being made) for five farthings to three halfpence a pound. Lean hogs are to be driven to Caffa, and there fattened on barley; which is very cheap.

"Fat hogs are very reasonable at Kremenchug; but if they are killed and salted in the beginning of winter, they cannot be exported before May or June from Cherson: and salt meat does not bear land-carriage in these parts. The agent who was sent from this country, salted pork for the value of 1,000*l.* at Olgopol in Poland, in the spring of 1803; but a greater quantity of rain falling than was ever remembered, which rendered the carriage long, and great heats coming on, the whole was spoiled. I mention this that others may profit by the example. Much of the evil was also owing to the bad quality of the Polish salt."

"Casks must be bespoke of the proper size and strength, and made during the winter months at Kremenchug, to have them cheap. With wooden hoops they cost about 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* each. Iron hoops are best had from the manufactory belonging to Mr. Raikes, of St. Petersburg: the carriage in winter from the forges to the Crim, is very low. An iron rolled hoop, nine feet long, costs him about 7*d.* sterling. Hence it is evident that, to enjoy every advantage, it is necessary to give orders for salted beef nearly a year beforehand. The casks and hoops must be procured in winter, the oxen purchased in spring, fed and killed in autumn. Or they may be purchased fat, generally in spring, always in October; but this is not so advantageous as buying them lean and fattening them."

"The articles of the produce of the Don, Volga, and the circumjacent countries, need not be enumerated, they are known to every one. Iron comes to Czaratzin, on the Volga, in one season from Siberia, and is carried by land to the Don much cheaper than it goes to St. Petersburg; and it will be still more reasonable when the canal is completed, which will join these two rivers. It will then not cost above half the price it costs at St. Pe-

tersburgh. The oak on the Don, &c. is not so good as that on the Dneiper; but the deal or fir, for planks, is even better. Cannon, and every thing appertaining to a ship, may be brought to Caffa. Mr. Gascoign has established an iron foundry at Logan, on the Don. The Russian sheet-copper for vessels is now brought to great perfection. Hitherto the ships of war in the Black Sea were not coppered, and were much injured by worms."

Some of those gentlemen who obtain travelling fellowships at Cambridge should undertake a circuit of the Black Sea. Marble ruins, on which the chisel of Greece has left its everlasting stamp, would frequently cross their footsteps. The classical recollections, in which they delight, would crowd on the soul at every promontory. We do not condemn them to remain in Sinope, but we wish them to go thither. The popularity of their country would efficaciously be served among the Russians, by the celebration of contiguous sites, which are again becoming the haunts of civilized men. Many a patriotic suggestion will occur to the classical observer; and will travel, in association with his topics, to the polished and leading minds both of Russian and of British society. An interesting sweep of Turkish coast is thus noticed by Mr. Eton.

"The ports are, on sailing from Constantinople eastward, first Achilio, at the distance of about thirty miles; it is a place for small craft only. Thirty miles farther is Kefkani, a port for four or five ships of four or five hundred tons burthen, and two or three frigates. The next is Bender Heraclei (or Heraclea), sixty miles distant, where the largest fleet of ships of the line may anchor in per-

fect safety in all winds, though it is properly only a deep bay. From this, sixty miles, lies Anastro, where there are many noble ruins and Greek and Roman inscriptions, and beautiful oak timber growing down to the water-side. It was an island, now joined to the main land by a causeway, composed, in great part, of shafts of marble columns. The small port is dangerous, and receives only very small craft. The other port will hold frigates, but the entrance, round the point of an ancient sunken mole of marble, is rather dangerous. Around the port there are the remains of an ancient marble quay, with square projections into the sea. Farther is Kitros, and round the cape is Sinope, as well known that I need not describe it. The Turks build most of their ships of oak, and the timber of all this coast is almost of eternal duration. It grows on dry rocky soil."

"From Sinope the coast is not exactly known, farther than that it is esteemed very safe to Trabizond and to the Phasis. From thence to the Cuban it is very little known."

Here one regrets to find only the stargazing, superstitious, and superstitious gazer; he might however with propriety have invoked the tutelary gods of the ancient traveller, Mercury, Castor and Pollux; to the service of commerce, and to the service of navigation his attention has been steadily directed.

This pamphlet should be transmitted to our ambassador at Petersburg, with orders to get it translated into Russian. The mercantile interest of Russia ought to be made aware of the unchangeable natural reasons and causes for preferring Oczakow to Odessa; in order that their petitions and representations may, if requisite, be called in, to obtain from the emperor Alexander a quarantine-establishment at Oczakow.

ART. XXII.—*The History of the Manners, Landed Property, Government, Laws, Poetry, Literature, Religion, and Language, of the Anglo-Saxons.* By SH. TURNER, F. A. S. 8vo.

HAVING detailed the civil and military history of the Anglo-Saxons in the volumes which have been already noticed, Mr. Turner in this completes his undertaking, and presents us with as correct a picture of their private life as the imperfect documents which remain could enable him to compose.

Of the Saxons in their pagan state he has gathered all that could be relied upon with certainty; and though the history is imperfect, he is amply entitled to our thanks. Their government, their laws, and their religious system, are equally obscure; nor does it seem quite certain that they had either the knowledge or the use of alphabetic characters. From the uniformity, however, of the principles of le-

gislation in continental Saxony, and in England at a subsequent period, Mr. Turner infers that pecuniary compensation was even at that time the general mode both of redressing personal injuries and punishing criminal offences: a feature, he observes, which certainly announces that the spirit of legislation even at that early period began to be understood; though their severity in one instance, against adultery, was both personal and sanguinary.

"If a woman became unchaste she was compelled to hang herself, her body was burnt, and over her ashes the adulterer was executed. Or else a company of females whipped her from district to district, and, dividing her garments near the middle, they pierced her

ady with their knives. They drove her, bleeding, from their habitations; and moreover she went, new collections of women renewed the cruel punishment till she died. This dreadful custom shews that the savage character of the nation was not confined to the males. Female chastity is held a virtue as indispensable as it is attractive; but its proper guardians are the general example and tuition, the constitutional delicacy of the female mind, its native sense of honour, and the uncorrupted voice of feeling of society. If it can be only maintained by the horrors of a Saxon punishment, the nation is too barbarous or too contaminated, to be benefited by the penalty."

For the domestic history of the Saxons in a later period, Mr. Turner's materials are in course more copious; and he has traced their reigning manners, the general history and spirit of their legislation, their literature, their religion, and their language, not only with correctness but with the hand of a master.

"The first great change," he observes, "the Anglo-Saxons appeared in the discontinuance of their piracies. They ceased to be the ferocious spoilers of the ocean and its islands; they became land-owners, agriculturists, and industrious citizens; they seized and divided the acquisitions of British affluence, and made the commonalty of the island their slaves. Their war-leaders became territorial chiefs, and the conflicts of capricious sanguinary robbery were exchanged for possession and inheritance of property in various sorts; for trades and manufactures; for useful luxuries, peaceful industry, and domestic comfort."

In what relates to the institution of their earliest years there is one fact, the remembrance of which appears only to have been preserved by the Anglo-Saxon laws, and which we could not but contemplate with astonishment.

"The northmen were in the habit of exposing their children. The Anglo-Saxons seem not to have been unacquainted with this inhumanity; as one of the laws of Ina provides, that for the fostering of a foundling in shillings should be allowed the first year, twelve the next, thirty the third, and afterwards according to his witte, or his personal appearance and beauty."

The course of education, however, by which the Anglo-Saxons conducted their children to maturity, cannot be detailed with all the minuteness an inquisitive reader might perhaps desire. Society, it should seem, was then divided but into two orders: and laymen and ecclesiastics were the other terms for ignorance and learning. So early as the seventh century, in-

deed, there were a few found who rose above the level of the age, and endeavoured to recommend the use of schools. But the principal improvements in Saxon education were the work of Alfred, in whose view none could be either great or powerful who undervalued knowledge: and something must be also attributed to the emigration of the Irish ecclesiastics.

From the chapters on their food, their drinks, and cookery, we learn that their tables were better furnished than we usually suppose them to have been. They had oxen, sheep, and swine; and they used fowls, deer, goats, and hares. Among their fish, eels are by far the most profusely noticed; and to the more common of the sea-fish now in use, they added the *dolphin* and the *porpoise*. Orchards too were cultivated; and we find figs, grapes, nuts, almonds, pears, and apples, mentioned. Their principal drinks were wine, mead, ale, piment, morat, and cyder. And cookery, it appears, was not merely a matter of taste, but of indispensable decorum.

In regard to dress, the terms which have reached us are at this distant period but difficultly comprehended; but it is more than probable that the reader will, from the following extract, form a good notion of an Anglo-Saxon lady:

"The wife described by Aldhelm has necklaces and bracelets, and also rings, with gems on her fingers. Her hair was dressed artificially; he mentions the twisted hairs delicately curled with the iron of those adorning her.

"In this part of her dress she was a contrast to the religious virgin, whose hair was entirely neglected. Their hair was highly valuable and reputable among the Saxon ladies. Judith is perpetually mentioned with epithets allusive to her hair. Her twisted locks are more than once noticed:

"The maid of the Creator
With twisted locks,
Took then a sharp sword.

"She with the twisted locks.
Then struck her hateful enemy,
Meditating ill,
With the ruddy sword.

"The most illustrious virgin
Conducted and led them,
Resplendent with her twisted locks,
To the bright city of Bethulia.

"The laws mention a free woman, laboring, wearing her locks as a distinguishing circumstance. Judith is also described with her ornaments:

"The prudent one adorned with gold
Ordered her maidens —"

Then commanded he
The blessed virgin
With speed to fetch
To his bed rest,
With bracelets laden,
With rings adorned.

"Aldhelm also describes the wife as loving to paint her cheeks with the red colour of stibium. The art of painting the face is not the creature of refinement; the most barbarous nations seem to be the most liberal in their use of this fancied ornament.

"The will of Wynflæd makes us acquainted with several articles of the dress and ornaments of an Anglo-Saxon lady. She gives to Æthelflæda, one of her daughters, her engraved beah, or bracelet, and her covering mantel (mentel). To Eadgyfa, another of her daughters, she leaves her best dun tunic, and her better mantel, and her covering garment. She also mentions her pale tunics, her tofn cyrtel, and other linen, web, or garment. She likewise notices her white cyrtel, and the cuffs and ribband (cuffian and bindan).

"Among the ornaments mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon documents we read of a golden fly, beautifully adorned with gems; of golden vermiculated necklaces; of a bulla that had belonged to the grandmother of the lady spoken of; of golden head-bands, and of a neck cross.

"The ladies had also gowns; for a bishop of Winchester sends as a present 'a short gown (gunna) sown in our manner.' Thus we find the mantle, the kirtle, and the gown, mentioned by these names among the Saxons, and even the ornament of cuffs.

"In the drawings on the manuscripts of these times, the women appear with a long loose robe, reaching down to the ground, and large loose sleeves. Upon their head is a hood or veil, which falling down before, was wrapped round the neck and breast. All the ladies in the drawing have their necks, from the chin, closely wrapped in this manner, and in none of them is a fine waist attempted to be displayed, nor have their heads any other covering than their hood."

Of their houses, furniture, luxuries, conviviality, and amusements, it would be impossible to convey an adequate idea here; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing that, from the scattered notices which could be obtained from a laborious perusal of the Saxon writings, Mr. Turner has formed a little memoir, which merits more than ordinary care in the perusal.

The chapter on their trade is replete with valuable and instructive information: although little of extraordinary interest occurs in the history of their commercial navigation: and this we rather wonder at, since it was as early as the eighth century that the commerce of Britain, which from

the time of the Romans had been almost totally extinguished, appears to have revived.

In the calculation of their money Mr. Turner reconciles some apparent contradictions; and brings an authority from the laws of Alfred, which seems to indicate that there were two sorts of pennies in use, the greater and the less. The gold coins in use among them he considers have been foreign; since the prototype of none which have been hitherto discovered have been acknowledged by our antiquaries. But there is one passage, in which the numismatic readers will probably be divided in opinion.

"That the Anglo-Saxons did not use coin before the Roman ecclesiastics introduced the custom, is an idea somewhat ranked by the expression they applied to it. This was mynet, a coin, and from this, mynetian, to coin, and mynetere, a person who coins. These words are obviously the Latin moneta and monetarius; and it usually happens when one nation borrows such a term from another, they are indebted to the same source for the knowledge of the thing which it signifies."

On the chivalry of the Anglo-Saxons we have a curious chapter. Not the chivalry, indeed, which was accompanied that refined and enthusiastic spirit of lantry which marked a brighter period, but chivalry in its first form, as a military investiture.

Of the chapters on their landed property we shall say but little. One of the curious is perhaps that on the burdens which their lands were liable. On military service the principal of the exactions are new: but it is from the quætor's survey that the most precise information has been collected.

"The other two great services to which land was generally liable were, the construction or reparation of bridges, and fortification of walls. These are enjoined to be done at most every grant. In Domesday-book we read of Chester, that the prepositus caused one man for every hide to come build the wall and bridge of the city, or if a man should fail to come, his lord was to pay him forty shillings.

"Besides these three great services, later writers have called the trinoda necessitas, there were many other burdens to which the landed interest was more or less subjected in the hands of the sub-proprietors.

"A careful provision is made in the laws against royal tributes and impositions, and those of the great and powerful. It is mentioned that the king should not require his pasture, nor the entertainment of those men called fasting-men, nor of

to carry hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs. another it is agreed that the wood should be cut for the buildings of either king or prince. It is elsewhere expressed that the land should be free from the pasture and retention of those men called in Saxon *walhild*, and their feasting, and of all Englishmen or foreigners, noble and ignoble. This idea, of being compelled to entertain guests, is mentioned in several grants. In the pasture of the king's horses and swine, and of his swine, which was called *maleswe*, is noticed."

Among the particulars, however, of the 'Saxon times,' we perceive one or two of modern names in which Mr. Turner is certainly mistaken. *Ticheham*, in the *Wonsday Survey*, is not *Twickenham*, but *Ickenham*: had it been the former it would have been specified not in *Elthorne*, but in *Hounslow hundred*. *Hergotestane*, is not *Heston* but *Haggerstone*, a deserted hamlet in the neighbourhood of *Windsor*.

The fourth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the third book, on their conveyances, and law-suits about land, and denominations of land, are almost needless: at least their omission would have been no loss to the work. But the election and coronation of the Anglo-Saxon kings carries a noble share of interest. In those times the crown was not hereditary, but elective. It remained so till the Norman conquest terminated the power of the Saxon Witenagemot, and made a change highly auspicious to our national prosperity.

"The Coronation Oath.

"In the name of Christ, I promise three things to the christian people, my subjects:

"First, That the church of God and all the christian people shall always preserve true peace under our auspices.

"Second, That I will interdict rapacity and all iniquities to every condition.

"Third, That I will command equity and justice in all judgments, that to me and to you gracious and merciful God may extend his mercy."

All shall say amen. These prayers shall follow, which the bishops are separately to recite.

"We invoke thee, O Lord, Holy Father, mighty and Eternal God, that this thy servant (whom by the wisdom of thy divine dispensations from the beginning of his formation this present day, thou hast permitted to increase, rejoicing in the flower of youth) endued with the gift of thy piety, and full of the grace of truth, thou mayest cause to be always advancing, day by day, to better things before God and men. That, rejoicing in the purity of supernal grace, he may receive the

throne of supreme power, and defended on all sides from his enemies by the wall of thy mercy, he may deserve to govern happily the people committed to him with the peace of propitiation and the strength of victory."

"Second Prayer.

"O God, who directest thy people in strength, and governest them with love, give this thy servant such a spirit of wisdom with the rule of discipline, that, devoted to thee with his whole heart, he may remain in his government always fit, and that by thy favour the security of this church may be preserved in his time, and christian devotion may remain in tranquillity; so that, persevering in good works, he may attain, under thy guidance, to thine everlasting kingdom."

'After a third prayer, the consecration of the king by the bishop takes place, who holds the crown over him, saying,

"Almighty Creator, Everlasting Lord, Governor of heaven and earth, the maker and disposer of angels and men, King of kings and Lord of lords, who made thy faithful servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, and gavest manifold victories to Moses and Joshua, the prelates of thy people, and didst raise David, thy lowly child, to the summit of the kingdom, and didst free him from the mouth of the lion and the paws of the beast, and from Goliath, and from the malignant sword of Saul and his enemies; who didst endow Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace: look down propitiously on our humble prayers, and multiply the gifts of thy blessing on this thy servant, whom, with humble devotion, we have chosen to be king of the Angles and the Saxons. Surround him every where with the right hand of thy power, that, strengthened with the faithfulness of Abraham, the meekness of Moses, the courage of Joshua, the humility of David, and the wisdom of Solomon, he may be well-pleasing to thee in all things, and may always advance in the way of justice with inoffensive progress.

"May he so nourish, teach, defend, and instruct the church of all the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, with the people annexed to it, and so potently and royally rule it against all visible and invisible enemies, that the royal throne of the Angles and Saxons may not desert his sceptre, but that he may keep their minds in the harmony of the pristine faith and peace! May he, supported by the due subjection of the people, and glorified by worthy love, through a long life, descend to govern and establish it with the united mercy of thy glory! Defended with the helmet and invincible shield of thy protection, and surrounded with celestial arms, may he obtain the triumph of victory over all his enemies, and bring the terror of his power on all the unfaithful, and shed peace on those joyfully fighting for thee! Adorn him with the virtues with which thou hast decorated thy faithful servants; place him high in his dominion, and anoint him with the oil of the grace of thy Holy Spirit!"

"Here he shall be anointed with oil; and this anthem shall be sung:

"And Zadoc the priest, and Nathan the prophet, anointed Solomon king in Zion, and, approaching him, they said, May the king live for ever."

"After two appropriate prayers, the sword was given to him, with this invocation:

"God! who governest all things, both in heaven and in earth, by thy providence, be propitious to our most christian king, that all the strength of his enemies may be broken by the virtue of the spiritual sword, and that thou combating for him, they may be utterly destroyed!"

"The king shall here be crowned, and shall be thus addressed:

"May God crown thee with the crown of glory, and with the honour of justice, and the labour of fortitude; that by the virtue of our benediction, and by a right faith, and the various fruit of good works, thou mayest attain to the crown of the everlasting kingdom, through his bounty whose kingdom endures for ever."

"After the crown shall be put upon his head, this prayer shall be said:

"God of eternity! commander of the virtues, the conqueror of all enemies, bless this thy servant, now humbly bending his head before thee, and preserve him long in health, prosperity, and happiness. Whenever he shall invoke thine aid, be speedily present to him, and protect and defend him. Bestow on him the riches of thy grace; fulfil his desires with every good thing, and crown him with thy mercy."

"The sceptre shall be here given to him, with this address:

"Take the illustrious sceptre of the royal power, the rod of thy dominion; the rod of justice, by which mayest thou govern thyself well, and the holy church and christian people, committed by the Lord to thee! Mayest thou, with royal virtue, defend from the wicked; correct the bad, and pacify the upright; and that they may hold the right way, direct them with thine aid, so that from the temporal kingdom thou mayest attain to that which is eternal, by his aid whose endless dominion will remain through every age."

"After the sceptre has been given, this prayer follows:

"Lord of all! fountain of good! God of all! Governor of governors! bestow on thy servant the dignity to govern well, and strengthen him that he become the honour granted him by thee. Make him illustrious above every other king in Britain! Enrich him with thine affluent benediction, and establish him firmly in the throne of his kingdom! Visit him in his offspring, and grant him length of life! In his day, may justice be pre-eminent, so that, with all joy and felicity, he may be glorified in thine everlasting kingdom."

"The rod shall be here given to him with this address:

"Take the rod of justice and equity, by

which thou mayest understand how to soothe the pious and terrify the bad; teach the way to the erring; stretch out thine hand to the faltering; abase the proud; exalt the humble; that Christ our Lord may open to thee the door, who says of himself, 'I am the door; if any enter through me he shall be saved.' And he who is the key of David, and the sceptre of the house of Israel, who opens and no one can shut; who shuts and no one can open may he be thy helper! He who bringeth the bounden from the prison-house, and the one sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, that in all things thou mayest deserve to follow him of whom David sang: 'Thy seat, O God, endureth for ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre.' Imitate him who says, 'Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even the God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.'

The benedictions follow.

"May the Almighty Lord extend the right hand of his blessing, and pour upon thee the gift of his protection, and surround thee with a wall of happiness, and with the guardianship of his care; the merits of the holy Mary of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles; and of St. Gregory, the apostle of the English, and of all the saints interceded for thee!

"May the Lord forgive thee all the evil thou hast done, and bestow on thee the grace and mercy which thou humbly askest of him, that he may free thee from all adversity, and from all the assaults of visible or invisible enemies.

"May he place his good angels to watch over thee, that they always and every when may precede, accompany, and follow thee; and by his power may he preserve thee from sin, from the sword, and every accident and danger.

"May he convert these enemies to the benignity of peace and love, and make thee gracious and amiable in every good thing; and may he cover those that persecute and hate thee with salutary confusion; and may everlasting sanctification flourish upon thee.

"May he always make thee victorious and triumphant over thine enemies, visible or invisible, and pour upon thy heart both the fear and the continual love of his holy name, and make thee persevere in the right faith and in good works; granting thee peace in thy days, and with the palm of victory may he bring thee to an endless reign.

"And may he make them happy in this world, and the partakers of his everlasting felicity, who will to make thee king over his people.

"Bless, Lord, this elected prince, thou who rulest for ever the kingdoms of all kings.

"And so glorify him with thy blessing, that he may hold the sceptre of Solomon with the sublimity of a David, &c.

"Grant him, by thy inspiration, so to govern thy people, as thou didst permit Solomon to obtain a peaceful kingdom."

"Designation of the State of the Kingdom."

"Stand and retain now the state which you have hitherto held by paternal succession, with hereditary right, delegated to thee by the authority of Almighty God, and our present delivery, that is, of all the bishops and their servants of God; and in so much as you have beheld the clergy nearer the sacred laws, so much more remember to pay them the honour due, in suitable places. So may the Mediator of God and men confirm thee mediator of the clergy and the common people, on the throne of this kingdom, and make thee reign with him in his eternal kingdom."

"This Prayer follows:"

"May the Almighty Lord give thee, from the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine, and oil! May the people serve thee, and the tribes adore thee! Be the lord of thy brothers, and let the sons of thy mother bow before thee: he who blesses thee shall be filled with blessings, and God will be thy helper: may the Almighty bless thee with the blessings of the heaven above, and in the mountains and the vallies; with the blessing of the deep below; with the blessing of the suckling and the womb; with the blessings of grapes and apples; and may the blessing of the ancient fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, be heaped upon thee!

"Bless, Lord, the courage of this prince, and prosper the works of his hands; and by thy blessing may his land be filled with apples, with the fruits, and the dew of heaven, and of the deep below; with the fruit of the sun and moon; from the top of the ancient mountains, from the apples of the eternal hills, and from the fruits of the earth and its fulness!

"May the blessing of Him who appeared in the bush come upon his head, and may the full blessing of the Lord be upon his sons, and may he steep his feet in oil.

"With his horn, as the horn of the rhinoceros, may he blow the nations to the extremities of the earth; and may He who has ascended to the skies be his auxiliary for ever."

"Here the coronation ends."

The commentary on the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, though not full, is satisfactory: the progress of their legislation is traced in some of its more prominent features, and in the principal offences: and their legislative system well digested.

But it is time we should now enter on the pleasing, though perhaps less diversified, portion of Anglo-Saxon history, which we formerly recommended to Mr. Turner's notice: the rise and progress of their literature. On this head we cannot but express surprise, that it has been hitherto so much neglected: particularly as we have now a foundation in the university of Oxford for the preservation and encouragement of the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

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Mr. Turner's first observations are directed to the *Latin* poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, as it was cultivated by Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface, Alcuin, and others, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. And the specimens he has cited, though they may have few charms for modern scholars, at any rate acquaint us with the attainments and powers of composition of those men who gave the first effectual encouragement to learning in the island.

On the *vernacular* poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, Mr. Turner's efforts at investigation have been more laborious. And though the mechanism and scheme of versification of the earliest specimens may be inexplicable, yet will it be found that, toward the close of the Anglo-Saxon æra, poetry began to lay aside its homely dress and coarser features, and assumed the style, the measures, and the subjects which in a future age were so happily displayed as to deserve the notice of the latest posterity. Among its leading features, Mr. Turner reckons the omission of the minuter particles of speech, the contraction and inversion of phrases, and the periphrasis. The most ancient specimen is a fragment of sacred poetry, by the first Cædmon, preserved in king Alfred's version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

Aldhelm also was a votary of the muses in his *native* tongue; and king Alfred is said to have inserted it as a remark in his manual, that no one had ever appeared before Aldhelm so competent in English poetry. None had ever composed so much, and none could either sing or recite it so appositely. But, which is very singular, not one specimen of his vernacular poetry has survived.

King Alfred's translations of the poetry in Boethius deserve a notice particularly favourable; and Mr. Turner has displayed them to advantage. And there are some fragments of poetry of peculiar interest, which may be found interspersed among the naked facts related in the Saxon chronicle.

But the poet who deserves most notice, perhaps, was the second, or pseudo, Cædmon, whose paraphrase of Genesis was edited by the celebrated Junius.

"In its first topic, 'the fall of the angels,' it exhibits much of a Miltonic spirit; and if it were clear that our illustrious bard had been familiar with Saxon, we should be induced to think that he owed something to the paraphrase of Cædmon. No one at least can read Cædmon without feeling the idea intruding upon his mind."

Cædmon thus describes the creation :

" There was not yet then here,
Except gloom like a cavern,
Any thing made.
But the wide ground
Stood deep and dim
For a new lordship,
Shapeless and unsuitable.
On this with his eyes he glanced,
The king stern in mind,
And the joyless place beheld.
He saw the dark clouds
Perpetually press
Black under the sky,
Void and waste ;
Till that this world's creation,
Thro' the word was done,
Of the King of Glory.

" Here first made
The eternal Lord,
The patron of all creatures,
Heaven and earth.
He reared the sky,
And this roomy land established
With strong powers,
Almighty Ruler !

" The earth was then yet
With grass not green,
With the ocean covered,
Perpetually black ;
Far and wide,
The desert ways.

" Then was the glory-bright
Spirit of the Warder of heaven,
Borne over the watery abyss
With great abundance.
The Creator of angels commanded,
The Lord of life,
Light to come forth,
Over the roomy ground.

" Quickly was fulfilled
The high King's command ;
The sacred light came
Over the waste
As the Artist ordered.
Then separated
The Governor of victory
Over the water-flood,
Light from darkness,
Shade from shine ;
He made them both be named,
Lord of life !
Light was first
Thro' the Lord's word,
Called day,
Creation of bright splendor.

" Pleased well the Lord
At the beginning,
The birth of time,
The first day.
He saw the dark shade
Black spread itself
Over the wide ground,
When time declined

Over the oblation-smoke of the earth.
The Creator after separated
From the pure shine,
Our Maker,
The first evening.
To him ran at last
A throng of dark clouds.
To these the King himself
Gave the name of night :
Our Saviour
These separated.
Afterwards as an inheritance
The will of the Lord
Made and did it
Eternal over the earth.

" Then came another day,
Light after darkness,
The Warder of life then commanded
The greater waters
In the middle to be
A high-like heaven timber.
He divided the watery abyss,
Our Governor,
And made them
A fastness of a firmament.
This the great one raised
Up from the earth,
Through his own word,
Almighty Lord !

" The world was divided
Under the high firmament,
With holy might ;
Waters from waters :
From those that yet remain
Under the fastness,
The roof of nations.
Then came over the earth,
Hasty to advance,
The great third morning.

" There were not then yet made
The wide land,
Nor the useful ways ;
But the earth stood fast,
Covered with flood.
The Lord of angels commanded
Thro' his word,
The waters to be together
That now under the firmament
Their course hold,
An appointed place.
Then stood willingly
The water under heaven,
As the Holy One commanded.

" Far from each other,
There was separated
The water from the land.
The Warder of life then beheld
Dry regions ;
The Keeper of the virtues
Wide displayed them :
Then the King of Glory
Named them earth."

Other striking specimens of Anglo-Saxon poetry are quoted from the fragment of the history of Judith, published

a the 'Heptateuch:' but we have not room to give them here. The principal information that we gain from them is, that its leading features were the metaphor and the periphrasis.

The most interesting remains, however, of Anglo-Saxon poetry which time has suffered to reach us, are contained in a manuscript in the Museum, from which Mr. Turner's extracts have been both copious and judicious. Mr. Turner thinks that this curious manuscript preserves the best poem of an epic form in the vernacular language of Europe which now exists. It undoubtedly deserves to be submitted to the public.

The general literature of the Anglo-Saxons must be dated from their conversion to christianity: they derived it chiefly from their religious intercourse with Rome: and their literary progress first began by the introduction into England of Latin and Greek languages, and by the collection of their books. The sixth and seventh centuries were the happy times of wisdom and knowledge which England had known before his time, alluded to by Alfred. Yet though literature in the seventh and eighth centuries was striking its root into every part of England, it was in the monasteries almost exclusively that it met with any fit soil, or displayed any vegetation. The ignorance of the secular part

of society was not only gross, but general. Mr. Turner's observations on the state of learning at this period are truly valuable, and he closes them with literary memoirs of those from whom it received its best encouragement.

Of the arts and sciences of the Anglo-Saxons, Mr. Turner's information has been gathered from the best sources; but there are one or two points in which we cannot fairly agree with him. That the first Saxon churches of our island were all built of wood may be very fairly doubted. That of Greenstead in Essex (p. 452), was originally built but as a temporary chapel for the reception of St. Edmund's body in its way to town. And Ilstey (p. 460), should be *Istley* church, which not only was not a Saxon building, but is known to have been erected by a bishop of Lincoln in the twelfth century.

On the more abstruse sciences of the Anglo-Saxons, the propagation of christianity among them, and the progress of their language, we have not room for extracts. In the latter enquiry much has been built on Mr. Tooke's foundation. To say more would be superfluous. It is true we have pointed out a few faults, but we have rarely seen a book replete with knowledge more curious or more instructive.

ART. XXIII.—*Defence of the Principle of Monopoly of Corn-factors or Middle Men, and Arguments to prove that War does not produce a Scarcity of the Necessaries of Life.* 8vo, pp. 30.

THIS author uses the word *monopoly*, not in its proper sense for exclusive dealing, but in an arbitrary sense for large dealing. By thus changing the meaning of the word, in defiance both of etymology and of usage, he may easily make it appear that what he calls monopoly, that is, the employment of large capitals in any given branch of business, is useful to the public; a truism which has never been called in question.

Large farms are here most absurdly classed as monopolies; whereas they increase the competition of sellers: for small farmers cannot afford to attend the corn-markets, but dispose of their produce to the miller and the inn-keeper without throwing it into the national stock at all; while large farmers bring their grain to the merchant, and accept whatever price results from the average demand.

The East India Company, on the other hand, is justly classed as a monopoly;

but it is not equally just to class it as a useful institution. The conquests in Hindostan have chiefly resulted from the interference of the state through its military patronage and its board of controul. The commerce of Hindostan would more than double instantly, in case of a dissolution of the Company: it would probably have ascended to ten times its present amount, if the Company had been abolished in 1783. Compare the rapid growth of West Indian commerce under a free trade, with the slow and lingering growth of East Indian commerce under a monopoly: although in the East Indies there existed already a vast and civilized population to deal with, and the privilege of intercourse pervaded continents and islands immeasurable and innumerable; while in the West Indies the population was to create, and the agriculture too, before any profitable intercourse could be founded.

An attempt is made to show (p. 25), that war cheapens corn; but the few instances adduced do not suffice to establish an improbable general principle.

ART. XXIV.—*Mémoire sur les Relations Commerciales des Etats-Unis avec l'Angleterre* Par le Citoyen TALLEYRAND. Lu à l'Institut National, le 15 Germinal, An. 5. *Suite d'un Essai sur les Avantages à retirer de Colonies Nouvelles dans les Circonstances présentes.* Par le même Auteurs. Lu à l'Institut, le 15 Messidor, An 5. 8vo. pp. 47.

THE two dissertations here reprinted in French are extracted from the Memoirs of the Parisian Institute, where they were originally read, and received with a courtly, but with a rational approbation. They originate from the French minister for foreign affairs, and have therefore a title to be considered, not merely as the speculations of an enlightened individual, but as the projects of an active and ambitious government.

The first respects the commerce of the United States with Great Britain. It reveals to France that little hope can now be entertained of superseding the British merchants in the American trade. If the monopoly enjoyed by France during the rebellion, if the regulations obtained during the fresh emotions of gratitude for their emancipation, did not suffice to divert the current of commerce from its ancient channel, no new motives can be offered strong enough to affect the result. The habit of analogous wants, and of reciprocal accommodation, the use of a common language, the kinship of the people, the similarity of their laws, which decides in an expected manner every question of property, the Englishness of Washington's disposition, which favoured an early and entire reconciliation, the sympathy of religious sentiment between the trading towns and classes of Great Britain and those of North America, would account for a preference of intercourse, were circumstances of interest in equipoise: but the British nation has, besides, the advantage of manufactures more cheap and more adapted, and of capitals more profuse and more rotatory than the French nation.

The American character is, in Talleyrand's opinion, and he had observed it closely on the spot, not fixed. He sketches with eloquence the woodman and the fisherman, as the most common specimens of native manners: the inhabitants of towns are the British. He omits to observe that there is a growing difference of opinion, and of spirit, between the northern and the southern states. The state of New York, and all the more northerly, tend to receive from Boston the colouring of their

manners and opinions: they resemble the calvinistic protestants of Europe in their probity, in their love of order and discipline, in their frugality, their puritanism, their piety. The state of Pennsylvania and all the more southerly, tend to receive from Baltimore the colouring of their manners and opinions: they resemble the deistical classes of Europe in their ambition, in their love of liberty and independence, in their profusion, their liberalism, their profaneness. The former has a Scottish, the latter an Irish basis of character: the former delight in maritime, the latter aspire to military enterprise. The profuse employment of negroes in the southern states will gradually found a mulatto peasantry and a clipt jargon. It is not unlikely that geographical partition may arise, and that the northern and southern states may separate from each other under the chieftaincy of distinct presidents. In that case the southern states will less discline to French alliance.

The results drawn from the facts adduced are, 1st, "That the first years of a peace decide the commercial system of a state, and that, if these are not turned to account, the neglect becomes irreparably ruinous.

2d, "That commercial habits are broken with more difficulty than is supposed, and that interest may approximate at once and for ever those who were armed for years against each other.

3d, "That, in the calculation of durable connection between men, identity of language is to be reckoned as one of the strongest bonds.

4th, "That the liberty, and especially the equality of religious sects, is one of the most powerful instruments of social tranquillity; for where consciences are respected, other rights will be so too.

5th, "That the spirit of commerce, which renders men tolerant from indifference, also renders them selfish from avidity; and that a people, whose morality has been shaken by long agitations, ought by wise institutions to be attracted toward agriculture; for commerce keeps the passions in effervescence, but agriculture calms them.

"And finally, that after a revolution which has changed every thing, a man must know how to renounce his hatreds he would secure his happiness."

There is good sense and good writing in this dissertation; but less originality of force of thought, and less precision and splendour of expression, than might have been expected from one, who ranks high among French intellects, and who has attained a celebrity so European.

The second essay has a superior merit. It begins by predicting the separation of the West India islands from their respective mother-countries. This is not easy. About a vast protecting naval force, such as North America cannot yet furnish, the British colonies could not rebel without risking to incur a total devastation; and being under the necessity of arming the slaves, for whom the independence could be acquired.

It next recommends the establishment of new colonies, as a commercial substitute for the old, and as a mean of busying and providing for those agitators, who, having been disappointed in one revolution, are for trying others.

"In examining the motives (says Talleyrand) which instigated the establishment of ancient colonies, it may be remarked, that, even when they were indispensable, they were still voluntary: they are suggested by governments as an interesting speculation, not as a penal banishment. This idea is especially conspicuous, in states ought always to hold in reserve the means of placing usefully, out of their own precincts, that superfluity of citizens, which, from time to time, grows formidable to tranquillity."

The author next adverts to the colonization of Louisiana, undertaken in 1719, and of Cayenne, undertaken in 1763, by the French government. He attributes the failure to the not sending out orderly industrious frugal families, instead of profligate spendthrift disgraced adventurers.

Finally, he proposes the islands along the African coast, near the mouths of the Senegal and the Gambia, as the proper seats of a new colonization. This project, we believe, originated with Montlinot, and was further evolved by Golberry, in a publication consecrated to that purpose. It is said that the recommendation of Talleyrand had weight with Mr. Pitt, who was about to send out, under Capt. Beaver, a well-appointed preliminary cargo of settlers for Bulam, in order thence to spread this very diabolical.

The French are less adapted to be the founders, than the conquerors of colonies. Their Cayenne has in forty years not attained so great a prosperity, as Britain added to Demerary in five, by taking it under her protection. It is the same in Canada: the habits of our emigrants are so much more favourable to thrift, that the English population doubles its numbers as fast again as the French; and their very language is in danger of becoming obsolete. The French resemble the Greeks of antiquity: they have the military and intellectual virtues, not the civil and commercial: they have courage and talent, not probity and industry. It is wiser for them to invade than to found; to seize than to earn. The soundest advice given them in this essay, is the indirect intimation (at p. 45), that it would be well to prepare by negotiations the cession to France of Egypt: they would there occupy the sovereign and ornamental situations of society, with little need of toil, and none of morals: they would direct to more productive forms of agriculture the labours of a swarming population, and would carry the arts and literature to revisit the nest whence they sprang. The French would be quieter neighbours to Europe and to ourselves, if they had an outlet for their wild population: Egypt is for us, for them, for all men, precisely the safest stowage.

The peroration is thus conceived:—"From what has been advanced it follows, that every thing presses us to be busied about new colonies: the example of the wisest nations who have made them means of tranquillity; the necessity for providing against the separation of our actual colonies, in order not to be left behindhand by events; the expediency of cultivating tropical productions in the neighbourhood of their natural cultivators; the propriety of forming with our colonies a more natural sort of union, which will be easier in new than in old establishments; the advantage of not being forestalled by a rival nation, for which each of our delays in this way is a conquest; the opinion of enlightened men who have directed their attention and their enquiries to this object; and, finally, the pleasure of being able to attach to such enterprizes those speculative men who want projects, and those disappointed men who want hopes.

"*Diversa exilia et desertas quærere terras
Auguriis agimur Divum.*"

ART. XXV.—*A Treatise on the Coins of the Realm; in a Letter to the King. By CHARLES EARL OF LIVERPOOL.* 4to. pp. 268.

LORD LIVERPOOL has been repeatedly heard of in the republic of letters. He published, in 1757, a discourse on the establishment of a national and constitutional force in England: it prepared the subsisting militia-system, to the multitudinous defects of which our objections were stated at page 233 of the third volume of the Annual Review. About the same period he composed a discourse on the conduct of Great Britain toward neutral nations; it introduced the insolent and novel principle, which has sometimes been called 'the rule of the war 1756,' and which occasioned those successive combinations of the maritime powers against Great Britain, that to this hour continue to perplex our statesmen, to harass our security, and to abrade our continental popularity. In 1785, he issued a collection of treaties of peace, unaccompanied with such a dissertation on the science of negotiations as the abbé Mably had prefixed to a similar collection. He now undertakes a treatise on the coins of the realm. With much parade of authority and information, with views far from illiberal, he is apt to elude specific advice and definite inference; and, after appearing to consider a subject in various bearings and comprehensive points of view, he leaves the reader willing enough to accept his result, but often unprovided with it. He is tediously diffuse, and prosingly instructive; he has too much of the micrology of an antiquary, too little of the precision of a statesman.

This work begins with an account of the state of the coins at the accession of his present majesty. It proceeds to the definition of money, or coin, and to the description of the metals of which it is made. The imperfections to which coin is subject as a standard measure, or equivalent, are next considered; and the necessity is indicated of preferring some one metal as the measure of the rest.

The authority by which coins are made current, the English standard of gold and silver, and the moneyer's pound, are properly explained. The several ways in which coin may be debased next pass in review; and some historical statements occur respecting our early coins.

The relative values of gold and silver, the inconvenience and expence arising from their fluctuation, the profits made

by interchanging them for each other, the reformations in the monetary system begun by Edward VI. and completed under Elizabeth, together with the apparent motives for these changes, constitute another series of topics.

At length come the principles of coinage, which are, page 113, according to our author: 1. That the coins, which are to be the principal measure of property, ought to be made of one metal only: 2. The author proposes to shew of what metal the coins of this kingdom, which are to be the principal measure of property, ought to be made: and, 3. Of what principles the coins of the other metals ought to be made. In illustration of the second of these propositions, the earl of Liverpool argues thus:

"In very poor countries coins have been and still are, principally made of copper; and sometimes even of less valuable materials.

"In countries advanced to a certain degree of commerce and opulence, silver is the metal of which coins are principally made.

"In very rich countries, and especially in those where great and extensive commerce is carried on, gold is the most proper metal, of which this principal measure of property, and this instrument of commerce, should be made: in such countries gold will in practice become the principal measure of property, and the instrument of commerce, with the general consent of the people, not only without the support of law, but in spite of almost any law that may be enacted to the contrary; for the principal purchases and exchanges cannot there be made, with any convenience, in coins of a less valuable metal. In this your majesty's kingdom, so great is its wealth, and so various and extensive is its commerce, that it is become inconvenient to carry on many of the principal branches of trade, or to make great payments, even in coins of gold, the most precious of metals: on this account a very extensive paper currency has been called to its aid: but this paper can never be considered as coin, for it has no value in itself; it only obtains its value with reference to the coins which it represents.

"There is still further reason for preferring at present the gold coins to those made of silver, as the principal measure of property and instrument of commerce in these your majesty's dominions. This measure ought certainly to be made of that metal, which varies least in its price or value at the market. It is difficult to conceive, that in a commercial light the price or value of any commodity can be estimated, but with reference to some other commodity, either gold or silver, or

nothing else; and the price or value of the precious metals is generally estimated with reference to each other; that is, according to the plenty or scarcity, and the demand there may be for each of them. It is certain too, that the price or value of gold bullion, in the British market, has for many years varied more than the price or value of silver bullion. From an account I have seen of the price of gold for forty-one years previous to the year 1797, it appears, that the price of dollars, during that period, has varied $16\frac{2}{11}\frac{8}{17}$ per cent. It is true that, before the general recoinage of the gold coin, the prices, both of gold and silver bullion, advanced, in consequence of the then defective state of our gold coins, as has been observed already: the true value therefore in the price of silver will be more accurately taken, by giving an account of this variation, subsequent to the general recoinage of our gold coin. It appears by the account last stated, that the price of silver in dollars has varied in twenty years, that is, from the end of the year 1774, to the 31st of December 1797, $11\frac{4}{11}\frac{4}{17}$ per cent. and even in the course of one year, that is, the year 1797, no less than $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The variation in the price of silver bullion appears to have been still greater, by another account, with which I have been favoured by the late Mr. Garbett, an eminent merchant and manufacturer at Birmingham: it here appears, that the silver purchased by him, as a refiner, with bank notes, varied, according to his calculation, in the course of twenty years, to 1793, more than 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in one year only, more than 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

From information, on which I can rely, it appears, that the bank directors have in general paid for gold bullion, during twenty years previous to the year 1797, not more than 3l. 17s. 6d. per ounce. But occasionally, when they have been in want of gold, particularly during the six months previous to March 1798, they have raised the price 4d. per oz. to encourage the importation of it; so that they then paid for it 17s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per oz. being the full mint price. But, as stated in another place, the average price, which these directors have paid for gold, during the before-mentioned twenty years, was 3l. 17s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per oz. or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per oz. less than the mint price; so that the variation in the price of gold has not amounted, during the whole of this period, to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It appears, by the account before-mentioned, received from Mr. Garbett, that during the forty years in which he has bought and sold gold bullion, as a refiner, the price of gold purchased with bank notes has varied in London nearly 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It is true, that by the same account the price of gold has varied in a greater degree at Paris, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, but by no means in the same degree as silver.

Repetitions follow of what had been said before, together with a list of precautions necessary for regulating the principles of coinage, a statement of objections, and a detail of the condition of British coin from 1760 to 1774.

The art of assaying is described. An account of the several ways of calling in deficient coin is given. This might have been a more curious chapter: for the principles of the plan of compensation adopted toward the holders of clipped coin in 1774, we are referred to the books of his majesty's treasury. What was in print before is so carefully re-printed, that where something could have been added to the current stock of information, it ought not to have been idly withheld. The Spanish dollars, the copper coins, the state of the mint, the expediency of reviving the office of exchange, the effect of paper-currency on the value of bullion, are progressively discussed. To the conclusion succeeds an appendix.

With respect to the plan proposed, we agree with the noble author that it would be more convenient to coin and circulate pounds and half-pounds, than guineas and half-guineas, which are the present fractional measures. It would also be convenient if ten pence made one shilling. We disagree with the noble author in his doctrine concerning seigniorage. He objects to levy a seigniorage, and would have the guinea circulate for its value as bullion. The consequence of not levying a seigniorage is, not only that the coinage becomes a needless expence to the public, but that at any slight rise of bullion it becomes worth while to melt down the coin; whereas, if it circulates for three or four or five per cent. above its intrinsic value, the little fluctuations of gold and silver do not afford a sufficient temptation to melt down coin. The prodigious destruction of British coin during the present reign, which has rendered such vast coinages necessary, has resulted from the non-levy of a seigniorage. Gold is worth something more for having been weighed and assayed, and separated into pieces of convenient size. A heavy seigniorage affects prices.

With respect to the treatise itself, it displays an extensive acquaintance with domestic writings on this topic; but the foreign authorities quoted are too few to arrogate the praise of comprehensive reading. Boizard's *Considerations sur les Finances*; Bercaria's *Trattato delle Monete*, with Vasco's subsequent remarks; the

short essay of *Hermes Verbesserung des Minneweens*, are among the first that occur to us as unquoted. Perhaps, however (except in questions which respect the law of nations), the statesman does well to appear to be governed by domestic ad-

vice, even when he avails himself of foreign illuminations. Nations execute with more pleasure, and vaunt with more pride those laws and regulations, for which they suppose themselves indebted to native intellect.

ART. XXVI.—*Considerations on the best Means of insuring the internal Defence of Great Britain.* By CAPTAIN BARBER, commanding the Duke of Cumberland's Corps of Sharpshooters. 8vo. pp. 63.

THIS accomplished officer advises a compulsory training to the use of arms of our whole male population between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. He is not for beginning young enough. The Athenians set about teaching the military exercises at sixteen. The supple limbs of adolescence more easily acquire the arts of warfare; and the captatious fancy of lads is more easily attracted to the business. The growth of the body ought not to be completed, when any given employment is first undertaken; because the muscles chiefly called into action will else not accommodate and proportion themselves to the requisite exertion, and not assert in their organization a preference of vigour and mobility.

Compulsion is a grievous, and ought therefore to be a late resource. By a tax on apprentices, shopkeepers, footmen, students, clerks, waiters, journeymen, and other occupations of the young—to be levied by taking out a licence, and withdrawing it in favour of those who attend a given number of musters—all the desirable and expedient indirect compulsion may be brought to bear. The rich would decline the trouble, unless for the sake of the rank of officers. This is well. The habits of the luxurious unfit them necessarily for the camp, and for the hardships of efficacious military effort. They would die of disease in the seasoning. Rheumatism and dysentery make bad fusileers.

Let the opulent be induced to keep aloof from a service which they would injure. Play, or pay. Our army is the worse for being officered by so elevated a

class. The French army has been improved precisely by being vulgarly commanded. Generals have often more work to do; soldiers always: the repugnance of educated natures would be success. The greatest warrior among modern sovereigns was Frederic of Prussia, and the greatest blackguard. The troops of Pompey were gentlemen, and were beaten: Cæsar had the mob, and the victory. Under the later emperors the Roman discipline declined fastest when it was most most genteel to hold a commission. The barbarians supplanted the refined Italians and Greeks. The military virtues are unnatural to the well-born. Rank should be fought for, not sold. Excellence in war deserves the highest recompences of the state; but it is a kind of worth, which sagacity will seek on the lower, not the upper steps of the social pyramid.

Captain Barber seems aware of this; he says, p. 53, "I believe this statement to be correct, that the volunteer corps, which are considered the most genteel, have much worse musters than such as are composed of the ordinary classes."

He strenuously recommends black belts, browned muskets, ordinary hats, and cropped hair, to all volunteers: and he especially insists on the multiplication of the sharpshooters. Their peculiar efficacy against invaders is justly noticed. Perhaps the privilege of killing game, without the expence of a licence, or the necessity of a qualification, ought to be conceded, as a patriotic encouragement, to every member of a rifle-corps.

ART. XXVII.—*Observations on the Duty on Property.* By the Rev. L. HESLOR, Archdeacon of Bucks. 8vo. pp. 37.

SEVERAL persons in this country are friends of taxation in the abstract, and affect to think every seizure of individual property for public purposes is a meritorious act in the state, and a victory of general over personal interest. If this prin-

ciple were carried to the utmost, nothing would be left in the possession of the subject, but the means of paying for his yearly subsistence; and the whole superfluity of his earnings, and the whole accumulation of his economy, would be

confiscated under the forms of law, and squandered in those speculative armaments and distant expeditions, by which ministers contrive to annihilate the many millions they levy.

To this dangerous sect of tax-admirers belongs the reverend author of the pamphlet before us. He assures us that the property-tax is just, *because* the duty to be paid is in proportion to the property to be protected. It follows that all proportioned taxes, however needless, are just. He also assures us that this tax is politic, *because* the object of our insatiable enemy is not only conquest and dominion, but to plunder and seize the whole property of the kingdom to enrich himself. It follows that all taxes whatever are politic, provided our enemy is as insatiable as our own exchequer. Such is the marvellously admirable and convincing reasoning of this learned archdeacon.

He tells us further, that the exemptions

and abatements under the property-act extend too far; and proposes a number of new rules for eroding and diminishing these deductions. He thinks, and truly, that the occupiers of land are privileged against their share of this tax in an unfair and unwise degree; which facility given to the landed interest is, like the successful opposition to the horse-tax, a natural consequence of the large proportion of land-owners who sit in both houses of parliament. He finally treats of the duty on tythes, which is considerably the most intelligible portion of the book.

If the tythe were every where converted into a modus; and such modus allowed to be redeemed by individual proprietors at their pleasure, after the manner in which the old land-tax was extinguished, the difficulty of ascertaining and assessing duly this vast source of income would be sensibly alleviated.

ART. XXVIII.—*Treatise upon Tythes; containing an Estimate of every tytheable Article in common Cultivation: with the various Modes of compounding for the same.* By the REV. JAMES BEAREBLOCK, A. M. 8vo. pp. 73.

MODERATION, as it is called, has hitherto been characteristic of the English clergy: with vast rights over the produce of the soil, they have been content to compound for a moderate portion of their dues, and to accept, instead of kind, which varies in value, a certain yearly allowance less than equivalent. There is much of virtue, something of ignorance, and something of indolence, in this conduct. A grey-coat parson, such is the nick-name given to a lay-proprietor of tythe, usually exacts more than his contentious ordained brother.

This treatise will operate diffusively to abolish clerical moderation. It will dispel the ignorance, and relieve the indolence, of those who are moderate from helplessness. It teaches, in a simple intelligible form, the art of rendering tythe productive. It provides arithmetical tables for casting up, by the bushel, the value of wheat, rye, and barley, of oats, beans, and pease; for casting up hay by the load, and potatoes by the ton. The art of composition, not for homilies, but for salary, is

instructively inculcated, under its several subdivisions of composition by valuation of crop, by annual agreement, and by permanent modus. Nor is timber forgotten; or the strange exaction on the earnings of industry, to which millers are exposed. This personal tythe, notwithstanding the intimation to the contrary in Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, we apprehend to be no part of the law of England: it is a second assessment of the same corn.

Levitical law, which the clergy call divine right, refuses the tythe on subsidiary crops, and ordains the levy to be triennial.

One good effect may flow from this book: by familiarizing the real value of the tythe, it will facilitate a just commutation. The redemption of the tythe, after the manner in which the old land-tax was redeemed, might easily succeed to a commutation; the property of the church would then be embarked, where it ought to be, on the same security with that of the stock-holder. This would stabilize the funds, and augment the national power of borrowing.

ART. XXIX.—*Thoughts on public Trusts.* 8vo. pp. 203.

THE Memoirs of Planetes are deservedly recollected for an Attic plainness of style, for close specific simple reasoning, for a classical range of idea, and a level-

ling philanthropy of sentiment. These thoughts on public trusts have originated with a pupil of the same school. They are likewise inferences from too exclusive

a consultation of the scanty records of ancient experience: they have a similar neatness of garb, and an analogous more than republican tendency. As in Ogilvie's *Essay on the Right to Property in Land*, so to this author agrarian propositions appear worthy of legitimation. As in Condorcet's *Constitution for France*, so to this author the decision of the multitude in their local assemblages appears more conducive to the national interest than the concentrated wisdom of elected deputies. The analysis of the government of ancient Rome is the text to which he attaches his political homily: in Rome, he manages to find models for the institutions he recommends: there was realized the social paradise he aspires to create anew. France is his bottomless pit, whence every deterring instance is withdrawn.

The first chapter gives, or professes to give, a cursory view of the Roman constitution, from the building of the city to the 385th year of the republic. What do we know of these early times? Nothing trustworthy. Herodotus, the earliest historian of the ancients, did not flourish before the fourth century of Rome, and he unfortunately had not travelled into Italy. At the close of that century Rome was taken by the Gauls, and burnt to ashes. The records, the public monuments, all perished. An anarchy of five years suspended every habit of authority and obedience. Camillus was the true founder of Rome; with him begins its credible history, and all the causes of its greatness.

Festus gives us to understand that the antiquity of the city was computed from the number of nails found in a given wall; and that the driving in of one annually had supplied the place of annals, before the use of letters. Livy expressly testifies that the art of writing was very rare; and that the commentaries of the priests, as well as other public and private documents, had been burnt in the conflagration of the city by the Gauls. No possible source of intelligence could exist concerning the previous period. It was not until a decree of the senate, passed in the year 450, under the consulate of Publius Sulpitius Averrio and Publius Sempronius Sophus, that the Romans began to compile trustworthy public records: this decree withdrew from the priesthood, and placed under the civil magistrate, the care of the archives. *Fasti* were at that time forged by one Cneius Flavius, in the

name of Numa, and were then first promulgated and engraved on brass. Plutarch, in his life of Numa, quotes the testimony of the chronologer Clodius, to prove the falsification of these pretended documents; and the judgment of Polybius assents to the same fact. Archives taken from the priesthood, in the year 450, must have been taken from them, because they were imperfectly kept; it is likely that the very lists of consuls, back to the year 388, when the dictatorship of Camillus terminated, were found incomplete. The previous lists of military tribunes, if authentic, ought to pass for a census of the army of Camillus, which resettled Rome; that is, for cotemporary names, rather than for a pedigree of the republican magistracy.

The pretended historical notices of the times before Camillus being thoroughly insupportable, no inferences from experience may be founded on the study of that period.

In the year of Rome 620, Tiberius Gracchus proposed to revive the execution of a law of Licinius, enacted in 385, which was said to have limited the agrarian property of citizens to five hundred acres. This was an attempt to supersede the prescriptive rights of property on a ground of statute law; and may be compared with certain English attempts to confiscate without indemnity those burgage-tenures, which are avowedly venal, in defiance of institution; or to annual sales of adwosons, which ecclesiastical prejudice considers as simoniacal. It was more strictly an attempt to convert a land-tax into a rent-tax, on the ground that the original land-tax had been proportioned to the rental. Confiscations have seldom been scrupled by non-proprietors. Until the commercial forms of property had become numerous; until it was perceived that these forms of property, which are very moveable, immediately fly from the land where they are not superstitiously respected; the doctrine of the inviolability even of property, founded on mere prescription, was little thought of. But the habit of possession, and the threatened interruption of that habit, were felt then, as now. Tiberius Gracchus, instead of being refuted, was resisted in arms; and was murdered by the party, whose possessions he threatened to disturb. After this event, our author thinks the government of Rome too disorderly to furnish precedents for legislation: so that to a narrow period of little more than two

hundred years must be restricted the exemplary portion of the Roman annals.

During these only two pattern-centuries the form of the Roman constitution is quite uncertain. Hear our author.

"Historians seem to have been also inaccurate in stating the manner of appointing senators. Some of them say positively, that when the first hundred were appointed, each of the three tribes chose three, each of the thirty curia chose three, and that Romulus chose one; and when another hundred were added, upon incorporating the Sabines, it is expressly said that they were chosen by the people; yet others say that the kings, and afterwards the consular and censors, had the power of nominating the senators.

"It is probable that this seeming contradiction was owing to the notoriety of the people's power at the time, which made historians think it necessary to mention it in every case. For the same reason they frequently call a law, the law of a certain consul, yet they do not mean that he enacted it. In like manner, when a king is said to appoint senators, they mean that he presided at the meeting; and suppose it to be understood, that the votes, or approbation of the people, determined the matter, as in the case of enacting laws. That such is their meaning appears more certain when we reflect, that Livy, and other early historians, use, indifferently, both modes of expression. But what is most conclusive, none of the historians have denied the authenticity of those narratives which state, that the people elected the senators, and pointed out the particular manner of electing the first hundred, which they would have done, if they had supposed that those narratives contradicted their own accounts of these transactions.

"We are therefore to suppose, that the Roman historians understood these expressions, that the king, consul, or censor, nominated senators, as implying, that it was done either with the actual votes, or with the concurrence of the people. That the power of the people in that matter was so well known, that the mode of expression could not be misunderstood; as English historians, for the same reason, frequently call an act of parliament, an act of the king or his minister.

"Though the votes of the low ranks were of no use when taken by centuries, yet their presence in the assemblies was necessary, to support their tribunes, who had a legal right to stop public proceedings. It was by that power, and by their forming a legal head to the plebeians, that the tribunes were enabled to force the patricians (after many violent altercations, and being frequently on the brink of civil war), to yield up all the exclusive privileges which they had usurped when the consular office was established, and which they had acquired by the new method of voting; to allow the poorest Roman an equal vote with the richest in enacting laws, and

to be equally eligible to offices, which had been the constant practice in Rome, from the building of the city until the method of taking the votes by centuries was established."

Here is a theory of the Roman constitution, which begins by imputing inaccuracy to the historians. The writer is himself aware that he does not talk from his book. The routine of office among the Romans was this. A public character first solicited to become *quæstor*. In the early ages this was a mere collector of the taxes: in latter times it corresponded with a receiver of the revenue. It was a profitable office, and founded for the holder a permanent prosperity. The lenient *quæstor* became popular, and could pursue a tribuneship, which was conferred by the universal suffrage of the citizens. The strict *quæstor* acquired the support of the government-party, or optimates, and could pursue an edileship, which was for a long period conferred by corporations, called *centuriate assemblies*. The *edile* was expected to bleed freely, and to carry through his office a magnificence proportioned to his supposed profits. The splendid *edile* became *prætor*, a civil magistrate. The respectable *prætor* became *consul*, a military magistrate.

Where lay the nomination of the *quæstors*? Clearly, we apprehend, with the *consuls*: for Tacitus tells us, that until the year 307 the mere nomination by the *consul* was a valid election. Where lay the election of the *quæstors* afterwards? Clearly, we apprehend, with the *comitia tributa*. In many of our county elections the poll is taken by hundreds; the residents in each hundred voting at a peculiar booth. If at such elections the majority of each hundred told as a single vote, and the election was decided by the majority of hundreds, this mode of voting would resemble the *comitia tributa*. The *tribunes*, and latterly the *ediles*, were elected in the same manner.

But the higher offices of the state, those to have served which bestowed for life a seat in the senate, were in the gift of the centuries, or *comitia centuriata*. And what were the centuries? An arrangement of the Roman people depending on the amount of their income-tax. The non-payers formed collectively but a single company, or century. Those whose income was rated at 12½ thousand pence of brass, were divided into thirty centuries; each of which companies decided by an internal majority, like the tribes in the other form of election, concerning any

candidate, or law, and gave in their corporate capacity one vote: so that this class had thirty votes.

Those whose income was rated at 25 thousand pence of brass were divided into twenty centuries; so were those whose income was rated at 50 thousand; and so were those whose income was rated at 75 thousand: these three classes had in all sixty votes.

Those whose income exceeded 100 thousand pence of brass were divided into eighty centuries. Here is a list of only 181 centuries: but mention occurs of 192 centuries having voted: it is probable, therefore, that the equestrian order was separately divided into centuries; and, as round numbers prevail in the whole arrangement, that it was divided into 20 centuries: making in all 200 centuries, beside the class of non-payers, which, in case of equal division, had a casting vote.

As soon as the men of 100 thousand, and the men of 75 thousand, had polled; if they were nearly unanimous, an election was decided. The appeal was made to a lower and a lower class, only in proportion to the dividedness of opinion among the optimates. The Roman constitution, therefore, as far as respected the higher grades, or the election of prætors, consuls, and senators, was a government by property: or rather by those forms of property which contributed to the revenues of the state. He who thinks this government practically good (we think it at every period of the Roman history disorderly and oppressive), ought to advise, in Great Britain, the transfer of the choice of both houses of parliament to the payers of the income-tax; and that the number of votes, or quantity of influence, entrusted to an individual, should be proportioned to the amount of his assessment.

Instead of such very practicable change in our institutions, this writer suggests the following plan of constitution:

"Divide the country into provinces of such extent, that the most populous shall not contain above 1,500,000 souls; and in the least populous, that few of the inhabitants be above forty miles, or a day's journey, from the place of provincial meetings. Each province to be divided into districts of such extent as that there shall be at least four or five districts in the provinces of the least extent; and in the least populous parts, few of the inhabitants should be above fifteen miles from the district meetings, that they may go home in the evening. Lists to be made up of all the men in each province above forty years of age. Every three hundred of these, living

most contiguous to form a ward, and to meet in a church, or some other convenient place, on a certain day annually, to elect two provincial senators, and one warden or judge for the ward. These three officers must be forty years of age, and resident in the ward for which they are elected, or in one that is adjoining. These ward voters also to elect, at the same time, a vicewarden and sixteen jurymen, each forty years old, and resident in the ward.

"The wardens, vicewardens, and jurymen of every twenty contiguous wards in the nation, to elect out of their respective provincial senators, two men to be national senators; these to continue to be also provincial senators.

"The great national officers to be elected by all the senators, wardens, vicewardens, and jurymen of the nation, annually, the votes to be taken in their respective districts. These men to elect a consul, a viceconsul, and also such a number of generals, admirals, superintendants of the revenue, of the navy, of the ordnance, and such other national officers as the senate may judge necessary.

"The senators, wardens, vicewardens, and jurymen of each province, to elect annually one of the senators of the province to be governor; also to elect two judges, a public prosecutor, and colonels and majors of militia for the province.

"The senators, wardens, vicewardens, and jurymen of each district to elect annually one of their senators to be prefect or governor; and also to elect captains, lieutenants, and ensigns of militia for their district.

"In towns of more than one ward, the senators, wardens, vicewardens and jurymen, to elect one of the senators or wardens to be chief magistrate.

"It is usual to choose the generals of brigades from the colonels; but as the merits of colonels of militia cannot be known to all the magistrates of a nation, it seems to be proper, that the magistrates of two or three adjoining provinces should elect the generals of brigade. This method may also be adopted for electing other public officers whose sphere of action is local, and whose conduct can only be known in the neighbourhood, such as superintendants of public stores, of building ships, &c. care being always taken that the number of electors be so great as to prevent them from making it a job.

"As it is necessary that the society shall prevent, with jealous care, any man or set of men, from acquiring absolute power over their persons or property; they should be at all times prepared to defend themselves against internal or external enemies, by being properly organized, and regularly exercised as militia, in some prudent rotation till a certain age.

"When a standing army is judged necessary, the officers may be elected by the same persons who elect the officers of militia.

"Method of conducting public business.

The consul to have a seat in the senate, and, as agent for that supreme council, to have the charge and direction of all national affairs, to correspond with foreign nations, to lay before the senate such schemes as he judges necessary for conducting public business, estimates of expenses, and every other information that is requisite to enable the senate to form just views of the situation of the society, that such schemes may be adopted as are most likely to promote the public welfare. The consul also to correspond with the governors of provinces, with the generals, admirals, and other public officers, and to give such orders as he thinks proper for conducting public business according to the intentions of the senate, but to have no military command.

"The viceconsul to preside in the senate, and in the event of the consul's death, or being incapacitated, to officiate as consul.

"The national senate to meet on a certain day annually, and to have supreme controul over all the current national business, over the military force, over the consul and all national officers; and, when it judges proper, may propose a law or a tax, or to engage in a war; and if no objections are made within a certain time, the laws are enacted, and the war declared in the name of the people; silence being taken for their consent. But if an actual majority of the ward voters, or of the wardens and jurymen, give instructions to their respective senators to vote against any measure, they must vote accordingly: and if a majority of senators are instructed to vote against a measure, it must be given up.

"The senate is not sovereign: it is a select committee, composed of men of the highest rank and of the greatest abilities, chosen by the society to superintend their common concerns. It is but proper, therefore, that the wardens and jurymen, who are of the middle ranks, should have a negative upon laws or engaging in war. And to protect the lower ranks from oppression, it is necessary that the majority of ward voters, which includes every rank, should also have a negative. It is equally proper, that the majority of the ward voters, or the majority of the wardens and jurymen, should have power, at any time, to instruct their respective senators to annul any law enacted by the senate, the evils of which were not foreseen when it was enacted. But instructions from the wardens and jurymen are not to be regarded, when opposed by instructions from the ward voters.

"But it would be extremely imprudent in a society of free men to put themselves in the power of the senate, by making it necessary for all laws to originate in that council. Any individual of the society, therefore, has liberty to propose any law, but no power to call any meeting of the people. But if an actual majority of the ward voters approve of it, they may give instructions to their respective senators; and if a majority of senators are instructed to vote for the law pro-

posed, the senate must enact it. And laws thus enacted, by instructions of a majority of the ward voters, cannot be annulled but by the same sovereign power.

"When instructions are given to enact a law, to annul a law, or against a law proposed, it is evidently necessary, that the vote of each senator, who has received instructions, be counted, whether he is or is not present in the senate."

In the first place, why are men of forty alone to vote? Was the author born in 1765, and willing to level down to himself? The lives of youth have been tyrannically flung away by the rulers of France, in consequence of confining suffrage to those above twenty-five. The conscriptions press precisely on the class so excluded from suffrage. What man ever became excellent as an orator, to whom the senatorial arena was shut until forty? By whom but by young tribunes and representatives have the interests of the people been ardently advocated? The old age of a patriot, or a general, is seldom worth his youth.

In the second place, why should the stability of public laws and institutions be exposed to the custody of any single body of men, whose powers are delegated and revocable? Such republics are overturned, of course, by the generals of their own creating; by their Cromwells and Bonapartes. Some form of hereditary institution, not liable to be cashiered by dispersion, or by the voluntary revocation of power, is the strongest counteracting force to military usurpation. Before this check be withdrawn, a substitute antagonist force ought to be devised.

In the third place, why are the instructions of the people, or of the forty-year-old constituent body, to be held imperative? Wise decision is the object of senatorial deliberation. It is more likely that representatives, who ought to be chosen for their superior political insight, will decide aright, than the less leisurely, less instructed, constituency. The want of independence, not the want of wisdom, is the cause of what of oblique may be remarked in the votes of the parliament of Great Britain. It would be a wiser body, but perhaps a less independent one, if the qualifications of property were withdrawn, which narrow eligibility to those classes whose youth is too opulent to be industrious.

We could make further objections; but, as the speculation is not about to be realized, a complete discussion is needless.

It will be read with amusement, if not with conviction; and will familiarize the art of reasoning about governmental con-

stitutions, if it do not form a sect, like the schemes of Harrington and Hume.

ART. XXX. *Inquiry into the permanent Causes of the Decline and Fall of powerful and wealthy Nations.* By WILLIAM PLAYFAIR. 4to. pp. 300.

A NATION may produce a great crop of military merit at one period, as England did under Edward III.; a great crop of naval merit at another, as under George III. Literary excellence may abound most when public power is on the decline; as was the case of Great Britain, during the reign of James I.; and of France, during the reign of Louis XV. Wealth and the arts may attain their acme, as at Florence and Rome, under Leo X., when morals and liberty are disappearing. National welfare is a combination of various sources of comfort, of strength, and of glory: its decline ought not to be dated by the occasional decay of any one specific form of human competition.

There is something of antagonism between many of the desirable national qualifications. Opulence is naturally hostile to military greatness, by causing a less hardy rearing of the poor, by patronizing finger-work and sedentary manufactures, by accustoming the officer-classes to luxurious and delicate living, and by directing the attention of statesmen to the most orderly provisions for quiet, for security, and for defence. Yet the armies of Titus and of Trajan were formidable, while the wealth of Rome was at its highest pitch.—Poverty is naturally hostile to literature and the fine arts; by uprooting the leisurely classes, who can alone cultivate them, and by intercepting the demand for their productions. Yet Germany, which is less wealthy than Britain, has produced within the last thirty years, a greater crop of literary excellence; and has evolved more enthusiasm for art, if she has not displayed equal accomplishment. Equality is naturally hostile to politeness and refinement, but favourable to liberty and to justice. Commerce always generates morals; both pecuniary probity, and domestic chastity; but it is not so habitually accompanied with courage, with honour, with frankness.

The most essential ingredient of national welfare is power. Without sufficient strength to defend its own independence, a nation cannot but feel that every form of prosperity is precarious. What have availed to Geneva and Switzerland their morals and their liberties?

What to Venice and to Holland their commerce, their wealth, and their public order? What to Portugal and Spain their colonies? What to Italy the arts, or to Germany her learning? All these things are bowled down before the cannon-balls of the conqueror; or suffered to subsist only inasmuch as they can be rendered subservient to his aggrandisement. If therefore national decline is to be measured by any single standard, that standard ought to be military strength. Without a conscious power of self-defence, independently of subsidiary tributes to those royal *condottieri* who undertake warfare so make a profit by their soldiery, to flourish is but to invite partition.

Let us apply the gage, military preponderance, to the chart of Mr. Playfair; we shall find new lines of contour superseding his. The French revolution, which, with him, makes a great rift downwards in his silhouette of the mountain-summit of French super-eminence, will be found to elevate rapidly its pinnacles, and pile a Pelion on Ossa. What can Mr. Playfair mean by making wealth, commercial wealth, the great, the single standard of substantive excellence among nations! On this principle he ought to rank Egypt higher, after it became a Roman province, than while it obeyed the Ptolemaic dynasty. Alexandria derived an increase of demand and of prosperity from annexation to the Roman sway: yet who would place under Hadrian the acme of Egyptian greatness?

If Bonaparte had superseded the dynasty of the Guelphs, and were lording it at Windsor as he does at Shōnbrun, he might leave the present channels of commerce open, and add the opportunity of continental demand; but should we place at such a period the high-water of the tide of English greatness? No. Vile indeed must be the spirit which, for the sake of selling a yard or two more of calico or calamanco, would submit to the dictation of a foreign force, and hold at foreign mercy even an improved prosperity.

Let us then not confound the decline and fall of nations with a diminished demand for long ells or broad cloth, with a

cheapness of coffee, or a cheapness of turnip-seed. Let bankers sigh over the fall of stocks, and nobles over the fall of estates; these things, like the men who vest property in them, may pass away, and the nation remain stronger than ever. It is when recruits throng not to the standards of a country in danger; when pressure is inefficient to man its navies; when citizen-soldiers abound by exempting them from ballot and conscription, that there is cause to tremble.

To prolong the prosperity of the British empire is an important study and pursuit: but the means adapted to preserve its wealth may be adverse to those for preserving its power. Power, like time, is the foundation of longevity; wealth, like space, the foundation of extension. France, depending on men and iron, is likely to outlive; as Britain, depending on men and gold, is likely to outspread, every other nation. In Asia, in America, a British population is domesticating her language, and universalizing her manners: but each of her children will, in turn, lay claim to emancipation, and perhaps not conspire to protract her individuality.

The system of Mr. Playfair may in a great degree be gathered from the following passages:

"We shall see that the first revolutions in the world were effected by the natural strength, energy, and bravery of poor nations triumphing over those that were less hardy, in consequence of the enjoyment of wealth, until the time of the Romans; who, like other nations, first triumphed by means of superior energy and bravery; and afterwards by making war a trade, continued, by having regular standing armies, to conquer the nations who had only temporary levies, or militia, to fight in their defence.

"The triumph of poor nations, over others in many respects their superiors, continued during the middle ages, but the wealth acquired by certain nations then was not wrested from them by war, but by an accidental and unforeseen change in the channel through which it flowed. At the same time that this change took place, without the intervention of force, the art of war changed in favour of wealthy nations, but the changes took place by slow degrees, and the power of nations now may almost be estimated by their disposable revenues.

"This change, however, has by no means secured the prosperity of wealthy nations; it has only prevented poor ones, unable by

means of fair competition, to do, by conquest, what they could not effect by perseverance in arts and industry; for, in other respects, though it makes the prosperity of a nation more dependant on wealth, and more independent of violence; it prevents any nation from preserving its political importance after it loses its riches. It does not, by any means, interrupt that progress by which poor nations gradually rise up and rival richer ones in arts. It has not done away the advantages that arise from superior industry and attention to business, or from the gradual introduction of knowledge amongst the more ignorant, thereby lessening their inferiority, and tending to bring nations to a level; on the contrary, by increasing the advantages, and securing the gradual triumphs gained by arts and industry, from the violence of war, it makes wealth a more desirable object, and the loss of it a greater misfortune. It tends to augment the natural propensity that there is in poor nations to equal richer ones,* although it, at the same time, augments the difficulty of accomplishing their intentions.

"The superior energy of poverty and necessity which leads men, under this pressure, to act incessantly in whatever way they have it in their power to act, and that seems likely to bring them on a level with those that are richer, is then the ground-work of the rise and fall of nations, as well as of individuals. This tendency is sometimes favoured by particular circumstances, and sometimes it is counteracted by them; but its operation is incessant, and it has never yet failed in producing its effect; for the triumph of poverty over wealth, on the great scale as on the small, though very irregular in its pace, has continued without interruption from the earliest records to the present moment.

This speculation is, in our opinion, very inexact. The seats of trade become rich; but poor nations, as such, have no tendency to become seats of trade. The Scotch of late, as the Swiss during the preceding century, furnished to all the great commercial cities a large proportion of the superintending skill: from clerks they have become merchants, and have acquired vast wealth. Yet Switzerland and Scotland are not much enriched by the foreign success of their expatriated children: few bring home the rewards of their toil. The countries being mountainous, and therefore barren; the streams innavigable, and therefore useless; traffic cannot attain there an eminent activity. Geographical adaptation must coincide with that of the people, for any district to become very commercial. The mouths of

* The present inferiority of Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, compared with the rank they held in former times, is easily accounted for by looking at the scale of their revenues.

great rivers form the natural dwelling-place of trade: Alexandria, Thessalonica, Venice, may resume their ancient consequence; but Constantinople, Genoa, Naples, owed to accidental causes their greatness, and are probably in an irrevocable progress toward declension.

The radical cause of the migration of prosperity depends, according to Mr. Playfair, on the altered habits of education, which wealth always introduces.

If this theory were true, there ought to be no national declension any where: because, as all poverty must perpetually operate to generate the habits of frugality, industry and spirit; and as poverty is the perpetual destiny of two-thirds of the community; a great majority of the people must every where be stimulated to preserve sound habits; and the causes of decline could only attack a luxurious fraction of the nation, whose relapse into the lower classes would scarcely be felt.

The power of a nation is as the number of persons trained to arms; and the wealth of a nation is as the number of persons trained to industry. The difficulty consists in domesticating, in naturalizing, in fixing to the soil, the various forms of employment. The artisan must follow his work. When a town is built, and there is no further demand for houses, the builders must gradually disperse, and attach themselves to other masters, in districts not yet overbuilt. When the demand for calicoes abates, the weavers must quit their employers, and seek, under the makers of hempen and linen cloth, for analogous occupation. Our manufactures are limited, not by the possibility of make, but by the possibility of sale. So our commerce: if the continent wanted twice the quantity of sugar, and coffee, and cotton, we could cause them to be grown: a small rise in these articles, if it endures for a year or two, will induce the planters to take the requisite additional grounds into cultivation; but when the average produce comes up to the average consumption, that sort of commerce is full: no more hands can be busied in it with utility. If war raises the freight and insurance in English bottoms, so that the coffee and sugar of the West Indies can be carried more cheaply to Europe in American bottoms; and thus be landed at Hamburg and Petersburg, subject to fewer charges than are incurred at Liverpool and London; the coffee and sugar will find that cheapest road, and draw after them, from

Liverpool and London, the requisite capitals and superintendence.

The principal revolutions of commerce have resulted from the discovery of a cheaper route of transportation. The merchants successively remove their counting-houses, and their capitals, and the dependant labour, to the most convenient sites of emporium. The houses which flourished one war at Ostend, blossomed during the next at Hamburg: a long belligerence may cause them to strike root in Tonningen or Riga, if the old ports cease to be considered as neutral.

A vast portion of the trade of the world consists in *thoroughfare*: in the moving of commodities through a specific country, while on their progress from the place of production to the place of consumption. The increase and accumulation of customs, house duties, and dock-charges; the exorbitance of mercantile profits, rendered general by the profuse luxury, or profuse taxation of the traders; the accident of war, which, in the form of freight, insurance, or convoy-duties, has often successively assessed one particular route of transportation; the new geographical position of the seats of production and consumption; have all a greater or less influence on the trade which consists in transit.

Most of the instances of declension adduced by Mr. Playfair, are more simply resolvable into the discovery of a cheaper route of transportation, than into a supposed effeminacy, and incapacity of exertion, infecting the enriched countries. Babylon and Tyre flourished, while they conveyed the commodities of the luxurious and manufacturing East into the rude and newly-settled countries of Europe. The wars of the Greeks and Persians, by interrupting the intervening protective police, caused this trade to seek the securer, and therefore less expensive, channel through Alexandria. During that interval in which the Syrian isthmus was again secure from the Arabian robbers, Palmyra and Antioch rose into great consequence. Anarchy again drove the trade back to the isthmus of Suez, and through Alexandria to Venice and Barcelona. Something depended on the chief seat of consumption, which at first was *Natalia* and Greece, next Italy, and then Spain and France. The migration of trade was timed by the diminution of security, and executed by the progressive situation of demand.

Demand for foreign produce always di-

minishes with the cultivation of a country. Many of the arts of manufacture are progressively introduced and exercised at home. Russia, which imports beer, might brew it. Spain, which imports silk stockings, might weave them. England, which imports linen, is learning to buy the flax raw. It is in consequence of the internal progress of industry that the ancient markets fall off. Thus Germany now buys comparatively little of the British manufactures, and that for Poland, Hungary, and the ruder nations behind.

When the Portuguese first explored Hindostan by sea, Portugal became the great transit for every thing oriental. But Portugal was well situated only for the demand of the Spanish market. The Dutch took in hand the same trade: it was a cheaper course for the middle zone of Europe to import up the Rhine, and the contiguous rivers, than from Lisbon. The trade therefore migrated, without any fault of the Portuguese. When the Spaniards first discovered America, they rather attempted plunder than interchange: the public revenues, and the fortunes of officers and governors, were rapidly growing; but they founded no manufactures at home, for the supply of the colonial market, and they did not direct the industry of their colonies to commodities in general use. Silver, indigo, cochineal, which are forbearable articles, were made the objects of importation. The fashion of using segars and chocolate are the only systematically prudent accommodations of the Spaniards to the expediences of their colonial agriculture. They have used their colonies as taxable provinces, as instruments of revenue to the state, not as means of increasing the forms of European maintenance. They send out people to dwell there, not to thrive there: so that Mexico and Lima are more advanced in the arts of life than Madrid itself. Nor are the Spanish colonies adapted by nature to be countries of great exportation. They are ill-watered: there are few navigable rivers of consequence, down which the produce of the interior can be cheaply brought: hence the necessity of abandoning all but the more expensive productions to the agriculture of districts accessible by water. We rail at Spanish indolence for deriving nothing but dollars and cochineal from Lima; but it is doubtful whether our own smugglers, who profess to undertake the South whale-fishery, will be able to extract, from the coasts of Chili and Peru, any thing but dollars and cochineal.

With Mr. Playfair's view of the causes of the decline of commerce, the grand remedy would be, as he observes, to universalize education; in order that a sufficient stock of skill to conduct the higher departments of commerce, may be constantly originating in those classes, which are reared in penury, with frugal habits, with a desire to draw riches from whatever source; which are not refined into disinterest, philosophized into contentment, and polished into idleness; but which preserve a due portion of the honest-meanness of our nature, and meekly take every advantage which the laws have not branded with criminality. One set of qualities fit a man to acquire wealth; and another set to use it.

We should be very glad to see the benefits of education extended; but we should not rely on parish-schools for preventing the declension of commerce. The education of the Scotch is very general and well-conducted; so is that of the protestant or northern Germans. Both nations rear a large portion of the clerks and secondary agents of the commercial world. Yet it is not to this universality of education that the prosperity of Glasgow or of Hamburg ought to be ascribed. There is already enough of education in the world to supply the requisite number of merchants' clerks: no situation becomes vacant in the commercial line but that many candidates compete for it: situations will not abound the more for the profusion of candidates.

A distinct sort of effort is necessary to prevent commercial vicissitudes and declensions. This consists in opening fresh sources of demand; either by making treaties of commerce with nations hitherto averse from intercourse, as China; or by founding in the unsettled districts of the earth a civilized population, and thus rearing a nation of customers, as in North America. It cannot be too often repeated that the delta of a great river is in every war the most desirable situation to be occupied by Great Britain. To have occupied Trinidad and Bulam was wise: the island of Marayo, or, as some geographers have it, Maragno, at the mouth of the Orellana, would for a like reason be a desirable acquisition. A settlement there would soon fringe with plantations a vast navigable river, and become the medium of exchange for the commodities of innumerable nations. The chance for acquiring New Orleans at the peace of Amiens was shamefully neglected.

The prosperity of the British colonies

can greatly and rapidly be increased by suffering them to trade with one another. Some commodities, now imported by the West Indies through the mother-country, would in this case not come at all to England, but stop in their way from China or Bengal. But the increase of settlers in the West Indies, which would result from permitting a trade with the East, would make up by another sort of consumption for that lost in the form of East India articles. Besides, the eastern tropical agriculture and arts of life would thus become familiar to the western Indies, and be more speedily naturalized there. The charter of the India company not only retards and paralyzes the prosperity of Asia; but of all those portions of our dominion which might profit by its intercourse.

Without acceding to the fundamental principles of Mr. Playfair, we have derived gratification from his book: it collects from various quarters phenomena relative to the history of commerce: it illustrates them by a copious commentary; and impresses them on the recollection by various coloured charts ingeniously devised, in which curved lines describe the fluctuations of prosperity. The title-page announces disquisitions far more comprehensive in topic than are to be

found in the subsequent volume. The causes of the decline and fall of *commercial wealth* are alone discussed: whereas one is led to expect a theory of national power, and an investigation of the causes which have led occasionally, as in Spain, to the rise and the fall of agriculture, or as in Italy to the rise and to the fall of literature and of the arts. The author promises speculations as various as those of Montesquieu; but the fates of jurisprudence, of religion, of military discipline, are all forgotten, over the tariffs of the custom-house. The style is inelegant, unaffected, but redundant; the same ideas repeated recur with little variation of form in five chapters; Adam Smith is a dilute writer, but his expounder chooses to outdo his fault, and runs into a mawkish exuberance. Time was, when literary epitomizers were in fashion; when a Wynne obtained reputation, by stripping Locke of his endless ambiguity and voluminous tautologies. Time is, when literary expanders are vogue, and the materials of a pamphlet in order to be rendered saleable, must be dilated into a quarto. Time will tell when acres of barren paper will be willingly exchanged for a small but fertile garden; and when merit will be measured not by the magnitude but by the quality of its efforts.

ART. XXXI.—*Speech of Mr. Deputy BIRCH, in the Court of Common Council, at the Guildhall of the City of London, on Tuesday, April 30, 1805, against the Roman Catholic Petition, now before both Houses of Parliament.* 8vo. pp. 26.

HAD the law about baking, which passed in the thirty-first year of his present Majesty, included a provision to prohibit selling, or exposing to sale, during Lent, or on meagre-days, oyster-patties and baked custards, lest a superstitious consumption of the same should be made by Roman catholics, in preference to the roast beef of Old England; possibly the injustice of such a law might have been detected by the worthy Deputy. Is it less unjust to prevent a Roman catholic from exchanging his bodily or mental gifts for a portion of that income which the nation offers as a bounty to the soldier, or the barrister; than to prevent his exchanging a part of his income for the food which he prefers? Both are impertinent interferences with the mode of subsistence the most agreeable to the individual. Both tend to narrow the public supply of luxurious support.

The haranguing Deputy bawls out, that

“our religion, our laws, our liberties every thing is at stake.”—By *our religion* he can only mean the monopoly enjoyed by his own sect (the Bucerist, no doubt) of holding public offices. By *our laws*, he can only mean two or three laws which must be repealed to grant the prayer of the petition. By *our liberties*, he can only mean our restrictions on liberty: the catholics ask for the removal, for the withdrawal, of prohibitions: our liberties would be increased by granting their request. This last slang phrase is not merely an idle exaggeration, like the two former; but a glaring, inexcusable, dishonouring contempt for truth.

Next comes an abusive picture of catholic intolerance. A member of the church of England reviling catholic intolerance is a little like the Empress of Russia writing a comedy against lewdness, or Frederic of Prussia composing his *Anti-machiavel*. This church has been the

most intolerant of all the protestant churches, and with even-handed injustice has fired from a double battery the bullets of persecution, both at those who believe more, and those who believe fewer, than her thirty-nine articles. Under one sovereign a hundred and thirty catholic priests were put to death; under another, two thousand presbyterian priests had their revenues confiscated. Not one sovereign educated in her faith has yet

terminated a reign of glory; for Elizabeth was a catholic—William, a presbyterian—and the two first Georges, lutherans, when they acceded.

The Deputy concludes his speech by saying, "*We know in our consciences we shall always tolerate them.*"—The Deputy cannot know in his conscience what is historically false in fact. Inspiration itself cannot unrealize truth.

ART. XXXII.—*Suggestions for the Improvement of the Military Force of the British Empire. By the Hon. Brigadier Gen. STEWART, M. P.* 8vo. pp. 95.

THESE suggestions deserve the attention of government: a great revolution is become necessary in our armed establishment: we have not the removable force which the mere protection and preservation of our widely-scattered empire requires. The continent is concreting into larger masses: its enterprises depend on few wills, and Great Britain has been offered by our hereditary foe, like another Poland, to the quarry of partition. Navies are not a sufficient pledge for independence, habits of military service must pervade the mass of our populousness: and armies far more numerous than heretofore must be made a standing disposable force.

This will endanger our liberty. Submit then. Our independence is a higher care. But measures may be taken to render standing armies compatible with free constitutions. The venality of commissions, though in other respects mischievous, has the merit of connecting the army with the property of the country, and thus with the class most interested in the observation of justice, to the security of which liberty is essential. If rights of suffrage were the recompence of long service, there would be a tendency in the soldiery to defend such rights. The patronage of the army could be transferred to committees of the senatorial bodies. A larger proportion of independent rank, of rank resulting from mere seniority of service, might be tolerated; and the old officer, instead of selling his resignation to his successor, might have specific claims on the state.

After all, is it not a prejudice to suspect that large standing armies tend to strengthen the monarchic branch of any constitution? Did the army side with Charles I.? Did the army side with James II.? Did the army side with Louis XVI.? Has the power of Bonaparte been endangered by any disaffection but that of the army? The imperial dynasty

of Rome was often changed by the army. The whig jealousy of a standing army may well have arisen, from a suspicion that the intruded dynasty would be dismissed in its turn, by a powerful native force. Military revolutions always enthrone the best general. If any power in the community can limit the arbitrium of the chieftain of the armed strength of a country, it is that of an hereditary nobility: they alone constitute a force which cannot be cashiered by dispersion. Representatives of the people vanish before military usurpation; not so patrician families: if the House of Commons never repeats the blunder of voting the House of Lords useless, military usurpations are not to be dreaded.

At all internal risks, let us improve our army. A prudent alteration is proposed at page 22:—

"It appears to me advisable to divide enlistments into the regular service into three distinct voluntary periods, which, when united, should complete a species of twenty-four years, or that period of a soldier's life which intervenes between his sixteenth and his forty-first year. I would place the whole of the army, which is now serving, upon the first period. This should be for ten years; and I would in future cause all recruits to be enlisted for that period. I would establish a second period, which should be for eight years, and for which period a soldier may enroll himself previous to the close of his first period. On entering the second period, he should receive a half bounty, and, whilst serving in it, should have an addition to his pay, and bear some distinguishing mark on his dress. Previous to the close of the second period, a soldier should have the option of re-engaging for the third and last period, which I would term the veteran's service, and which ought not to exceed six years. I recommend that this period be likewise accompanied by pay and distinction on dress additional to the preceding. The soldier who shall have completed his third period of uninterrupted ser-

vices (for to this condition alone would I attach the advantage either of period or pension), should become entitled to half-pay for the remainder of his life, according to the rank which he may have held at the time of his discharge, or served under during the greater part of his third period. I would, moreover give every soldier, who is now in the regular army, credit towards his pension for as many years as he may have already served uninterruptedly, and when the twenty-fourth shall be completed, place him on the half-pay list, although he may not have gone through his three periods, according to this regulation.

"For the cavalry and artillery I would prolong the first period by two years, deducting them from the second; the additional time is in the first instance requisite for the instruction which is peculiar to those services.

"I conceive that the whole of these pensions may be borne on the Chelsea funds, but not necessarily the only bounty which issues from that institution, it being understood that extraordinary cases of service, wounds, or loss of health, shall entitle such soldiers as may be duly recommended to the benefit of it, at any period, as is observed at present: my object is to secure to every soldier who can produce a certificate of twenty-four years service, a comfortable pension for the remainder of his life, without his being indebted for it to any thing excepting the liberality of his country, and his own long services. The pension ought to be according to the pay of the third period, and not of the first; thus, for instance, I will suppose the pay of a private soldier in his first period to be fourteen pence per day, in the second to be fifteen pence, and in his veteran period to be sixteen pence per

day. The half-pay will be thus: eight pence for a private, probably eleven pence for a corporal, and fifteen pence for a serjeant, a proportional increase being understood to take place upon the pay of their ranks. When a soldier abroad shall have completed a period, he ought to be found in his passage home, if he will not re-engage."

The recommendation at page thirty-three, of a levy of boys, merits consideration: the military exercises are learnt with advantage early: and might with less encroachment on profitable labour be allotted in volunteer corps to younger lads. An augmentation of one-third in the pay of the middle class of officers is proposed, and the introduction of a new rank of cadet, or sub-ensign, is ingeniously suggested as a form for preparing the advancement of meritorious sergeants, or other non-commissioned officers, into the commanding and liberal grades of the service. A reform in the guards is for obvious reasons advised.

A vast enlargement of the regular force, an annihilation of the subsisting militia, and a modification of the volunteers into a stationary militia, seem to be objects of admitted expediency. The police, however, cannot be intrusted to a stationary militia: volunteers would object, in case of riot, to fire upon neighbours, on account of the permanency of vindictive feelings. The regulars must be at the call of the magistrate.

ART. XXXIII.—Observations and Hints relative to the Volunteer Infantry. Dedicated to the Earl of Moira. By an Officer. 8vo. pp. 47.

THE best defence against invasion is the fleet, which would probably intercept and sink the great mass of any approaching force. The next best impediment is a flying artillery, mounted on high and broad convex wheels, adapted for being driven rapidly along the sands of the shore.

Against a landed enemy, the regulars constitute the most satisfactory resource, and in case of their defeat, the rifle-corps, who would thin the foreign force one by one very rapidly. But militiamen and volunteers can seldom be brought to such a state of discipline, while in their semi-civil capacity, as to be entirely relied on for formal warfare and pitched battles. The great use of such associations is to drill and train men who may afterwards be regularized. The exemption from ballot was a strange inconsistency in the volunteer system, and has gradually stock-ed the corps precisely with those who shun

real service. One proposal of this officer deserves notice.

"If I might venture to suggest any thing, (which I do with great diffidence) that may, in my opinion, contribute to tactical improvement, I would recommend that the mode of formation should be always in three ranks; and that the third rank consist of pikemen, whose pikes, in the act of charging, should range with the bayonets of the line in front. The impulse arising from this method of forming would be irresistible, as the steadiness of the front rank, from a confidence of their being so well supported, would so increase the momentum of the charge, as to beat down all before it. The pike, likewise, as a defensive weapon against cavalry, is so far preferable to the bayonet, as its length would keep the horseman at such a distance that he could make little or no use of his sword."

Much verbiage occurs about sir Robert Wilson's pamphlet and the battle of Zama: and much just praise of the earl of Moira.

ART. XXXIV.—*Trial for a Libel in the Antijacobin Review*. 8vo. pp. 50.

WHETHER the Antijacobin Review continues to be assisted by a quondam co-operator, who has avowedly passed into the service of Bonaparte, we have not the means of ascertaining: its conduct could not be more favourable to French views if it received direct instructions from Talleyrand. Suppose the French were projecting the invasion of Ireland, (and the comments with which they have accompanied the intercepted correspondence from on board the *Aplin* show that they very lately projected it) what could possibly rouse the numerous classes in Ireland to take part with the foreign invader, in the present circumstances of the empire, but such virulent and bigoted abuse of the catholics, and such daringly personal attacks on their leaders, as have lately been hazarded by the Antijacobin Review, and punished in a British court of justice?

The trial in question is here recorded much at length: the obnoxious passage laid in the indictment runs partly thus:

"Nothing affords such strong evidences of popish dissimulation in Ireland, as the exhortations of the Romish clergy, and the loyal addresses of their flocks. They have commonly been found to be sure presages of a deep-laid conspiracy against the Protestant state; and after it has exploded in rebellion, their clergy generally lament, from the altar, the delusions of the people, and their treasonable conduct towards the best of sovereigns,

and the only constitution that affords any degree of rational liberty; though from the nature of their religion they must have known, and might have prevented it. The dreadful rebellion of 1798, accompanied with such instances of popish peridy, must convince the reader, that no reliance is to be placed on the oaths or professions of Irish papists to a protestant state. Doctor Troy must have known all the circumstances which preceded the insurrection in Dublin, on the 23d of July 1803, and yet he did not put government on their guard. The present administration are convinced of his treachery on that occasion, and yet, for many years past he had been treated at the Castle with the utmost respect, and had even received favours for some persons of his own family."

The jury fined the defendant fifty pounds: Mr. Erskine was counsel for the plaintiff.

We trust that the constituted authorities, in transferring to new hands the administration of our affairs, may be considered as having struck the tents of persecution for ever.

Nihilque præsentī patriæ communis statui magis accomodum foret, quam si mutua concordia in civilibus, tolerantia in sacris, postliminio revocaretur, et in commune consuleretur. Alioqui non majorum, non nostrum omnium, non tot regum fides, non legum majestas, non pax communis, non libertas æquabilis, non æquitas, non respublica stabit.

ART. XXXV.—*Hints to the Manufacturers of Great Britain on the Consequences of the Irish Union, and the System since pursued of borrowing in England for the Service of Ireland*. By the Earl of LAUDERDALE. 8vo. pp. 50.

LORD LAUDERDALE is an active if not an efficacious writer. Last year (III. 250) we noticed a considerable volume of his enquiries: we have now to comment on additional set of speculations.

Party-men should never blow into flame the smoking discontents of ignorant selfishness. By associating their cause with unwise alterations, they create an impediment to their being employed. When Mr. Pitt's Irish propositions were originally started in 1786, a mean jealousy was excited among the English manufacturers, and meetings of delegates were assembled to express the hostility of the trading world against these projected regulations. What was the result? Mr. Pitt acquired the gratitude of the tradesmen by giving way to their clamour: and a liberal measure, sanctioned by the approbation of

Adam Smith, was lost to the nation for ever.

We class these thoughts with that factious hostility. Does it matter whether our manufactures flourish along the Mersey or the Liffy, along the Humber or the Shannon? Does it matter whether our rents are expended in Dublin or in London? Let it suffice that manufactures will always thrive best where our rents are *not* expended; because it is a necessary consequence of the expenditure of the luxurious to enhance the price of labour. In the absence of its absentees, and in the depreciation of its money of exchange, Ireland is finding a vast premium for the promotion of its manufactures and the increase of its exports.

Again; does it matter whether money is borrowed in Dublin or in London, pro-

vided it be borrowed at the lowest rate? Why should not the minister open a loan-office, and pay dividends on stock, not only at Dublin, but in Jamaica, and at Calcutta? Let every man in these places, who chooses a slice of loan at the price of

the London market, be allowed to subscribe there. Subscriptions will not abound, because money is worth more there than in London. In this way a more diffusive stockhold interest could be created.

ART. XXXVI.—*An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, with Observations on the Means to be employed for preventing it.* By ALEXANDER IRVINE, Minister of Ranoch. 8vo. pp. 188.

A thousand years ago it was customary among the northern nations of Europe, whenever food became scarce, to decimate the young people, and to compel the emigration of the superfluous mouths. The ancestors of the Swiss were thus driven from the wolds of Westphalia, and fought their way to a territory among the Alps. Taught by observation, and not by book-makers, the people could then perceive that the condition of stayers is bettered by the exportation of the unsettled and unprovided for. The competition for necessities and for labour being thereby diminished, food cheapens and wages rise: and this facilitation of the means of maintenance incites speedily to new marriages, until a fresh glut of population supervenes. The mother, the sister, may be allowed to weep, who takes leave of an embarking colonist: but the magistrate will say farewell with a nod of approbation. He is aware that by thinning the stock of domestic populousness the recompense of domestic industry will be augmented; that marriages will consequently take place at an earlier age; that vicious intercourse and crippling disease will be less frequent, and the orderly comforts more widely diffused. It is not merely irrational, but immoral, to dissuade emigration; let the preacher applaud, let the poet celebrate, the man who first from the shore led an emigrating colony.

Against instigators of emigration our author is ludicrously embittered. One would think he had listened in his rambling years to some foolish scheme of expatriation, had been trying the profits of authorship on the Ohio, or to preach calvinism under the tin steeples of Canada; and having discovered that the sun shines no where so pleasantly as at Ranoch, was returned a weary, tanned, and disappointed wanderer. Why should he else pursue with an hostility so vindictive the oral geographer who happens to recount his experience? We extract:

"The last cause (of emigration) which occurs to me arises from the instigation of in-

terested persons, who promote the ferment of the people, and go about recruiting for the plantations with the usual eloquence of crimps. They generally gain belief from the character they assume, their subject, and the dispositions of those whom they address. Their mountebank elocution is wonderfully popular, because suited to every capacity. Their exaggerations and fictions work like a talisman's wand, or an electric shock. The poor and illiterate portion of the community have taken it for granted that all foreign countries are different from their own, and that every traveller must have strange adventures to tell; this more readily makes them fall a prey to those whose interest it is to deceive them.

"Some instigators have lands in America, but they have no people to cultivate them; they must then try to supply this want by those measures which interest suggests, by large promises of prosperity, and by gay descriptions of the country. They run no risk of detection till they have gained their object, and then, detection is less dangerous. At any rate, they who are willing to be deceived take some time to recover their senses, and when they do recover, they are ashamed to confess their weakness, because it is humiliating.

"There is another species of instigators, whose character is more detestable than those above described; they are those who want long and lucrative leases; but the difficulty is, how to dispose of those who in consequence must be dispossessed. Proprietors, though tempted by large offers, are unwilling to drive poor innocent creatures afloat upon the mercy of the world, unless they choose to do it themselves. If they do, no proprietor is warranted, by his own authority, to detain them against their will.

"It is not difficult, however, to make these peasants the dupes of their own credulity. To this they fall a sacrifice; and when once the assent of one is gained, or one is removed, the whole is unsettled, or more easily wrought upon. The ground is cleared of small tenants, and the tacksman is profited by his success.

"I am told there is another class of prompters or instigators.

"They praise emigration from vanity, to show their superior knowledge or power of oratory. They are in no danger of interruption. They probably have tried emigration themselves without success, and finding wood

water, land and rocks, good and bad in America, as well as at home, they returned; but they must have old saws, and sage sentences, and shrewd nods, to please the rabble, who are determined to be pleased with any thing that is new.

"All success having soired their temper, actuated by malice, or envy, or some vicious motive, they extol the advantages of America, and excite dissatisfaction, uneasiness, and turbulence. Bridled by the restraints of law, or fear of punishment, they dare not agitate seditions and commotions; they therefore wreak their rancour and spleen upon their innocent country in another way, and represent America as the land of liberty and pleasure. Those who listen to them, and are silly enough to be hoodwinked, may be said to deserve any punishment."

In the next section the author begins to calculate what number of Highlanders emigrate annually. He apprehends they amount to five thousand, which is an insignificant number. He imagines that if these five thousand had staid at home, and their childrens' children, Scotland would have been more populous than at present. The reverse is the case. Dr. Franklin, in his paper on the Increase of Mankind, and Mr. Malthus in his Essay on Population, have completely and irreversibly de-

monstrated, that men multiply every where with a rapidity proportioned to the permanent and habitual demand; and that, where the ways of maintenance are pre-occupied, a further increment does not easily take place; marriage is postponed, promiscuous and barren intercourse sets in, protracted celibacy, with all its concomitant habits, become general, and thus a voluntary accommodation of the number generated and reared to the number in habitual requisition takes place from natural causes. A cramped population always produces the habits of life usual in large cities, which habits keep down an increase that would there be inconvenient. But by exporting the super-numeraries to unsettled districts of the earth, they multiply rapidly, and create a demand among their descendants for the luxuries remembered in their mother-country, and thus furnish employment for an additional resident population there. Scotland will find new resources of domestic maintenance to result from the emigration of her sons. In our third volume (p. 310) this topic has already been discussed at sufficient length.

ART. XXXVII.—*Thoughts on the alarming State of the Circulation, and on the Means of redressing the pecuniary Grievances in Ireland.* By the Earl of LAUDERDALE. 8vo. pp. 122.

ONE of the grievances of Ireland here discussed is a want of small metallic change, in consequence of which paper representatives of minute values have been issued, called *silver-notes*. The wear and tear, and loss of these petty notes, is considerable among the poor, and is become a popular topic of complaint. The only remedy seems to be an increased coinage of pences, shillings, and half-crowns, sufficiently impure to escape melting, or exportation.

Another of the grievances here discussed is the state of the exchange. The Irish treasury draws on London at $11\frac{1}{4}$ above par; whereas the merchants, lord Lauderdale thinks (p. 92), would else draw at $16\frac{1}{4}$ above par. This interference with the natural course of things is a great grievance; commerce cannot speculate rationally or confidently where a minister has the impertinence to fancy he understands the interests of tradesmen better than they do themselves, and has the mischievous power of employing the vast capitals of the state to derange that natural course of things. To whom does it sig-

nify whether the exchange is high or low? If 100*l.* sterling is paid high in Ireland, at $116\frac{1}{4}$ *l.* the moment is favourable for the purchase of linens there; by the advance of one hundred pounds in London, one hundred and sixteen pounds worth of goods can be obtained. Of course the London merchants buy, and the Irish manufacturers are full of work. But the Irish absentee has to buy at a high rate the money he wants to expend in London, or Bath; and this same state of exchange, which benefits the most important branch of commerce, encroaches on the luxury of the non-resident land-owners and placemen. This encroachment is exactly the proper tax on absentees. But government, indifferent to the manufactures, and criminally accommodating to the placemen and noblemen of Ireland, have set about reversing this wholesome state of things; and instead of drawing in pounds sterling on London, and selling their drafts by a broker at the current rate of exchange, have drawn at the specific exchange of $111\frac{1}{4}$ *l.* Thus five per cent. is struck off the profit of the English

buyer of linens, who of course buys less or not at all; and five per cent. is added to the revenue of the non-resident Irish, by which means more persons can afford to quit the country. Thus the prosperity of vast manufacturing districts is nipped in the bud, and agriculture is retarded by offering a premium for the non-residence of proprietors. Such is the mischief of meddling politicians.

A third grievance here discussed is the excessive issue of bank-paper. The remedy is simple. Withdraw the restriction, as it is hypocritically called, on the conversion of notes into cash. The privilege conceded to the banks of England and Ireland, of not paying in specie, diminishes the value of every man's capital throughout both countries, by all the effect of the additional capital thus thrown into circulation. The bank of Ireland ought to have no other limitation imposed on its issues than would result from this simple act of justice. Private banks would perhaps discount somewhat more at six per cent. and the monopoly bank somewhat less at five per cent.; but the sum issued in discounting would not be very different. Discounting can be performed cheaper by great institutions than by individuals, whose capitals have a distinct habitual destination; but it will always be accomplished at one premium or other in the degree in which it is necessary to the wants of commerce. It is a mistake to suppose, that the issue of bank-paper can ever diminish the scarcity of money, as has already been explained (vol. iii. p. 298): it does not create a new property, it only renders a pre-existent fixed property circuable. According to lord Lauderdale (p. 101), the Irish bank-notes are at present really at a discount of ten per cent.: we do not assent to his method of calculation.

In 1796, Mr. Montagu, then chancellor of the exchequer, being called on in the house of commons to defend his conduct relative to recoining the clipped money, said, "It is better to do wrong than to do nothing." This vile deference for the wishes and claims of an agitated vulgar has found successive imitators. We have still ministers of osier, who bend to every wind of popular clamour from whatever quarter it may blow. Unequal to the effort of thinking out what is right, they leave that to the public, and endeavour to obey the average instructions of the louder advisers. This is called governing by public opinion, and has been the characteristic feature of British government these twenty years. It is in fact a sacrifice of ultimate approbation to present applause. It is the art of governing *down* to the people, and of throwing away, at every opportunity, the whole advantage of forwarder information and intellect.

Rather let us consecrate the inverse maxim: "it is better to do nothing than to do wrong:" we have more cause to be afraid of an awake than of an asleep administration. The rage for interference, regulation, and enactment, whether it respects scarcity of corn, or scarcity of money, is sure to increase the evil it professes to remedy. Repeal the impediments on circulation, the restrictions on issuing cash, the arbitration of exchange, the limitations on interest, the untransportableness of specie, deliver us, ministers, from the shackles of your predecessors, and prosperity will soon return.

Of the late publications of lord Lauderdale, this appears to us considerably the best. It is written clearly and well argued. It implies all his usual information, and displays the habitual anxiety of his patriotism.

ART. XXXVIII.—*Characteristic Anecdotes from the History of Russia, with Notes, chronological, biographical, and explanatory; forming a useful Manual of Russian History. Translated from the French of the Counsellor of State, Clausen. By B. LAMBERT. 8vo. pp. 233.*

ON the sources of Russian history we spoke with some attention in our second volume, p. 280. The author of this sketch has recurred to those sources, and has drawn from them an amusing selection of anecdotes, which are well adapted to prepare for recollection, the strange names with which they are associated.

Milton, one of the best secretaries of state known to our history, whose information and intellect chiefly dictated the

admirable diplomatic politics of the protectorate, had the merit of perceiving early the importance of cultivating a political friendship, and a commercial intercourse with Russia. In his brief history of Muscovy, he endeavoured the familiarizing of those leading facts which were best adapted to prepare the statesman and the people for adopting an interest in the transactions, and an accommodation to the manners of the Russians. Since Mi-

ten, Tooke is the most distinguished of our writers who have scattered important information concerning the history of the Russian empire.

It is well to call in the aid of the German labourers in this department of investigation. To Schloetzer, to Storch, distinct praise is due : to the one for his profoundly learned historical researches concerning the national annals ; to the other for his comprehensive and instructing account of the northern metropolis. Nor will this praise be extensive, but not less amusing, work of the state-counsellor Clausen, be without its share of popularity and circulation. By selecting the more peculiar anecdotes of the Russian princes, he picks, as it were, the flowers of character, and preserves the beauties of history. We cannot better enable the reader to appreciate this performance than by cul-ling, in our turn, half-a-dozen anecdotes from his anthology.

"Precepts of Toleration."

"History, says the celebrated Bolingbroke, is philosophy taught by example. On tracing the annals of all nations, on looking round and reflecting upon the occurrences of every age, we may be led to believe, that so many lessons have been lost to society. The same errors, the same species of frenzy, are renewed without interruption. We find a people in the thirteenth century, who, although deprived of philosophical institutions, preached peace and toleration to their prince, while all Europe armed to embark in the crusades, and while military expeditions were undertaken in France, in the name of God, against the Albigenses, twenty-thousand of whom perished, because they professed other dogmas of religion !

"Jaroslav, prince of Novogorod, demanded assistance from the inhabitants of Pleskof against the city of Riga, lately built, which he wished to attack and destroy. Having some alliance with the menaced people, they answered the prince who endeavoured to persuade them to join him :

"Thou art prudent ; thou knowest that all men are brothers ; christians and infidels, we are all of the same family. It is not necessary to make war upon those who do not participate in our creed, nor to assume to ourselves the punishment of their errors ; it is much wiser to live in peace with them. Then they will cherish our mildness and our virtues ; they will be affected by them ; and from the friendship they will conceive, will pass to the love of our religion."

"Noble Freedom appreciated by Iwan."

"Jerome Bowes was sent by Elizabeth, queen of England, in quality of minister to the Tsar of Russia. To conform to the et-

quette of the times, and the prerogatives of his place, he remained covered at the first audience. Some one represented to him the danger of such a conduct, and the evils he might bring on himself by it. "I am not unacquainted with them," said he, "but I am the ambassador of a queen who will revenge any affront offered to her in the person of her minister." The prince, far from being offended at such a declaration, presented him to the assembly, and recommended the boyars to imitate his example. "Behold," said he to them, "a brave man, who has the courage to uphold the honour of his sovereign with dignity. Who among you would do as much for me ?"

"Simplicity of Manners in the Time of Alexis."

"A Russian author relates in his Notices, a work which he compiled abroad, that during the reign of this prince, gold was as scarce as silver was common, and that consequently a large sum could not be carried without inconvenience : it was therefore the custom to pay visits without money to stake at play ; but such was the courtesy and simplicity of manners, that in the respectable houses of Moscow the masters gave the servant bags with thousands of rubles, to distribute to those who played. The company being met, each of them demanded money during the evening of the confidential man, so that, in some measure, they played at the expence of the host ; but the next morning they did not fail to return him the value of what they had taken and lost.

"These societies, continues the same writer, were free from pomp and ceremony ; every one was at his ease, and loss or gain did not dissipate the general good-humour."

"Unexpected Mediation."

"Major-General Golitsin having gained a victory as much by his valour as by his presence of mind and military knowledge, the emperor gave him permission to choose his own reward. He requested the pardon of Repnin, who had been disgraced a short time before. "How !" replied the monarch, "are you ignorant that Repnin is your mortal enemy ?" "I know it," replied Golitsin, "and that is precisely the reason why I supplicate your imperial majesty to grant him his pardon." Peter the Great then caused it to be announced to Repnin, that yielding to the earnest solicitations of Golitsin, he had restored him to his favour ; but thinking it, at the same time, his duty to give an eminent mark of his esteem for such generosity, he conferred the order of St. Andrew on the victor."

"Public Spirit of Peter I."

"After the conquest of Estonia, and the capture of the city of Revel, the emperor ordered the inclosures and fortifications of the port to be repaired, opposite to which he

erected a palace in the Italian taste, and planted a large pleasure garden. The Tzar named this charming spot the valley of Catharine (*Catherinen Thal*) in honour of his wife. He knew that neither himself nor his family could derive much advantage from it, as he was unable to remain long there; but his intention was to provide a place of recreation, where the public might meet. Some years after, when the whole was completed, he returned with the empress to Revel, and went to reside at the castle. Surprised at not seeing any person walking in the park, he asked a sentinel the reason. The sentinel said, "because no one of any description was permitted to come in." "How!" replied the emperor sharply, "what blockhead gave that order?" "Our officers." "What stupidity! did the fools imagine that I had caused these extensive walks to be made for myself!"

"Next morning it was proclaimed through the city by beat of drum, that all the inhabitants were allowed admission into *Catherinen Thal*, and that every one might go there for amusement, the guards being only stationed to prevent tumult, and to protect the trees and other objects from being injured."

"Instance of Courage and Humanity."

"A young officer of the police, who, at the setting in of the winter, was stationed on the quay at the Neva, to prevent any one from attempting the passage of the river till it was sufficiently frozen, discovered a person on the ice who had escaped the notice of the guard on the opposite side. Apprehensive of his dan-

ger, he called to him to return. The other heedless of his intreaties and his threats, kept advancing, until, suddenly, the ice gave way under his feet, and he sunk. The guard called for assistance; but perceiving that none of the spectators attempted to succour the unhappy man, he threw off his coat and plunged in, regardless of his own danger, and by his strength and courage, brought the man to the shore, who, two minutes later, must have lost his life. The emperor Alexander, who was riding, arrived on the spot at this interesting moment. He addressed the officer in the most flattering terms, and, giving him a ring from his finger, promoted him to a station greatly superior to the one he filled."

Not all the anecdotes here related are quite trustworthy: some speeches are ascribed to Peter I. which repose on a better authority than Voltaire and La veque; and some actions are ascribed to romantic and heroic motives, which may more probably be accounted for on common principles.

This translation is not made directly from the original, but through a French medium: it misbecomes us thus to avoid the approbation of Paris before we import a foreign work: this may be ascribed to a perverse habit in our reviewers, of crying down every thing German, a practice which has much interfered with our national popularity on the continent.

ART. XXXIX.—*The Effects of Civilization on the People in European States.* By CHARLES HALL, M.D. 8vo. pp. 324.

NATURE seems to have intended man for an eternal circle of conditions. From the anarchy of savagism regular causes every where draw him to the cohesion of barbarism. In this state the bonds of religious and political discipline are drawn tighter and tighter, until at length restraint generates industry, domesticity, and the elementary qualities of civilization. During the period of wealth and refinement which succeeds, religious and political coercion relaxes, education is diffused to all, and confined to those exercises, military and civil, which are required by all. With the equality and military habits of savagism soon returns its turbulence and ferocity; warfare levels the cities, and banishes the arts of trade; a community of women supervenes, each of whom lives unmarried, and rears an offspring by various fathers; education is more and more neglected, and the seats of culture resume the rudest condition, in which any part of the old world has yet been observed.

Much of this retrogradation has occurred in France during our own times, and will probably extend alternately to the other European nations.

There are always certain minds in unison with the coming age; an indistinct foresight of what must be, glimmers upon the intelligent; some of whom invite, assist, and welcome the new order of society. Thus Rousseau, among the French, undertook a systematic apology for the savage state, which he represented as the most desirable side of the social wheel: and the great popularity of his work, *Against the Inequality of Conditions*, is a strong proof, how sensibly the French felt they were sliding back to that stage of society, whence their ancestors began to emerge under Charlemagne.

Mr. Hall has undertaken, in English, a similar apology for savagism; and has endeavoured to show, that toiling for wealth is labour in vain; that as much comfort is possessed by the savage as by

the civilized; that happiness is more equally distributed, and less precariously held in the ruder communities; and that it is high time to begin marching back to the manners and morals of the middle ages. It is improbable that his book will be popular, like that of Rousseau; because we have not yet attained the acme or summit of civilization, and are therefore not ready to listen to those who are for leading us down the hill on the other side: at the time, no doubt, will come, when the Halls and the Northmores shall be hailed as the meteorous harbingers of that aerial dawn, which, in some equinox of anarchy, is to supersede the polar summer of our prosperity, and to illumine the numbing level of equality during the wintry midnight of a new dark age.

This treatise is written with talent: of its spirit an idea may be formed by the author's own recapitulation of his argument.

"Having given, under different heads, the effects of civilization on the mass of the people in most European states; it may not be amiss to draw the most material of them more closely together, so as to bring them under one view.

"We have seen that a small number of people in these states have first got possession of the land, the stock on it, and every thing that it produces; and then, by the means of these, have obtained the command of the labour of the people.

"This comparatively small part of the people being thus in possession of those things, and the power connected with them, are naturally desirous of securing those their great advantages over the rest of the people; and to put it out of the reach of those people to recover them.

"The power they are in the possession of furnishes them with the means of securing itself, as well as the wealth which is the foundation of it. To avail themselves of this power, the first step is to take the right of making laws, exclusively of the people, but which shall bind the whole people into their own hands, i. e. to assume the legislative power. This they do by means of their wealth.

"Having gained this important point, the next step was to make use of, and exercise this legislative power, by enacting such laws as would effectually secure to them the objects in view, i. e. to enact laws to secure property. The things of which the people are destitute, namely, the land and its produce, being such things as are in a high degree necessary to the comfort and very existence of the people—to enable the rich to retain these, must require strong and severe laws. This we find was done. The laws securing property in most civilized nations are of the most

severe kind; severe in the penalties and punishments inflicted; severe in their long duration; severe by their pain and torture; horrid by the terrors and agonies by which the mind of the unhappy sufferers are agitated and distracted, for many months, under their dreadful sentences.

"These few, i. e. the aristocracy, being possessed of the property of the whole people, and having power of claiming almost the whole labour of them; and having also, by the means above mentioned, secured it firmly to themselves; their next consideration is to make use of and apply this labour in such a manner as that it shall produce such things as will most gratify their desires and inclinations, and administer to their ease and pleasure. This is done by the manufactures of various kinds. These therefore are introduced, and forced on the people by all the means that artifice and power can furnish; notwithstanding the employments are such as include every thing that human nature, till by long habit it is broke to it, feels irksome, nauseous, painful: and notwithstanding they are unwholesome, debasing, and destructive of mind and body, to such employments nineteen-twentieths of the men, their wives and infants, are condemned, during all the years, months, and days of their lives; enjoying a very small part of what their labour yields. These employments, together with their poverty and want, occasion the miseries and mortality before stated.

"Most of the civilized states of Europe, not content with bringing miseries on their own people, extend their baneful influence to nations, inhabitants of the remotest parts of the earth. How many millions of the most harmless and innocent race of people to be found have been by a few avaricious traders reduced to misery and famine! How many from Africa have been brought to a worse condition than our cattle, by other sets of traders!

"The sum therefore of the effects of civilization, in most civilized states, is to enable a few of mankind to attain all possible enjoyments both of mind and body that their nature is susceptible of; but at the expence, and by depriving the bulk of mankind of the necessities and comforts of life, by which a great proportion of them is destroyed, and the remainder reduced both corporally and mentally far below the most savage and barbarous state of man. All these things being brought about in a regular, orderly, silent manner; under specious forms, with the external appearance of liberty, and even of charity; greater deprivations are submitted to by the poor, and more oppression exercised over them, by this cool, deliberate, systematic junction of art and force, than force alone was ever known to accomplish.

"This, as we have said, is the actual state of things in most civilized countries: but I by no means assert that this state was brought about by the express design or the contrivance of any set of people in these communities.

After the assumption of the land in large parcels, and the inequality of other property, which was the consequence of it, took place; it is probable that the power which followed, in those that possessed that property, over the rest of the people, was the spontaneous and almost necessary cause of the present system in most civilized states: but we are not, on that account, to be less anxious for its amendment."

There would be injustice in not giving to the author's remedy the same circulation as to his supposititious disease; for as a printed grievance may turn out an epidemic, the specific should also be within call.

"Having now stated the unhappy situation of the mass of the people in most civilized nations, and also assigned what I apprehend to be the true cause of it, it now remains to propose a remedy for it: but

Hoc opus, hic labor.

"This, however, does not arise from any difficulty in finding an appropriate remedy; for when the true cause of a disease is discovered, we are seldom at a loss for a cure. The difficulty arises from the unwillingness of those who occasion the evil, and who imagine that it is for their interest that it should continue, to permit the remedy to be applied.

"An ancient physician says, that all changes in the constitution, though even from worse to better, ought to be gradual. I believe the same caution will still be more necessary in regard to the political constitution: great disorder and even convulsions are apt to be raised in both constitutions, by a hasty and indiscreet use of powerful remedies. But it has been found by experience that the human constitution will bear, in large quantities, powerful medicines, if administered with skill and caution. The remedy I have to propose in the disease of civilized society is powerful, and a powerful one in this case seems to be required. It is not, however, a dangerous one, and may be safely committed to the hands of such persons as are disinterested and dispassionate. To obtain such persons, they should be taken not from the aggrieved party; for from that quarter they would not probably be cool and temperate; their feelings, from the pressure which they have undergone, would probably urge them on too violently. On the contrary, as neutral persons are hard to be found, they should be taken from the aggrieved, or the aggrieving party; for, though we may be inclined to do justice, we are seldom so hasty and violent in doing it to others, as we are to have it done to ourselves. Such persons might be safely entrusted with the management of the most powerful means. It would be better, therefore, that the redress of the grievances of the poor should originate from the rich themselves.

"The cause of the evil having been demonstrated to be the great inequality of

wealth, the remedy must necessarily be either to remove this inequality, or to counteract and to prevent its effects. As to the first, I would only propose the abolition of the law of primogeniture, which is to be found in most nations, and the annulling of which, in the course of no long time, would, as has been before shown, have greater effects than may be imagined. It is a practice, when to consider it in a private view, does not appear conducive to the happiness of the people, a practice that makes beggars frequently of the children but one; and, if the parent has an equal affection for all of them, is scarce a less grievance to him than to the youngest children. A possessor of a large estate has in this case but one, perhaps, of a large family provided for; and to provide for the others in a way in any degree suitable to the manner in which he has brought them up, or to what would be expected from him, he is embarrassed all his life—and not one father in ten has the conduct to effect it. A law attended with these circumstances would not, as it should seem, have been continued so long had there not been some reason, not avowed for it. A family with a head raised so much above the rest gives a miniature of monarchy, and has from that resemblance, and for other reasons, been supposed inclinable to support prerogative. Alas! how few nations in most states have the good of the people in view, either in their origin or continuance!

"As to the other mode; namely, to prevent the effects of wealth. It has been said that the chief effect of the unequal distribution of property is the drawing off the labor of the poor from producing the necessities of life, and employing it in producing the refined manufactures. The obvious remedy, therefore, is the prohibition, by law, of the refined manufactures, or the subjecting them to such heavy taxes as would much less the production of them. The direct operation of this would be the prevention of the effects of the alleged cause: this would be drawing the venom from the jaws of the serpent, and depriving him of the power of destruction: this would prove an effectual cure, and that in a manner safe, peaceable, and constitutional; liable to occasion no disorder in the constitution; no convulsion in the state; and requires nothing to be put in execution, but a real desire in the rich of redressing the grievances of the poor. Neither is it a novel, untried method; the enacting sumptuary laws having been the practice in many states of all ages. Here, then, is the cure, not Utopian, but simple in its nature, easy in practice, and certain in effect.

"The advantages of this method are obvious. In the first place, the change may be introduced by as slow degrees as shall be found requisite; so as not to throw artificers out of employ, till labour is found for them in agriculture, and the arts subservient to it; which will soon be the case, as the capital

before employed in the refined manufactures, how less in demand, will of course be transferred to agriculture, &c.

"Another circumstance that renders this mode less exceptionable is, that it will alleviate the miseries, and bring comforts to the poor, without in any proportion diminishing the gratification of the rich man. Will the poor be less warm in a second cloth than he who is in a superfine? Will he sit easier in a velvet than a plain chair? Will he sleep better in a silk than in a linen bed? Will he eat less heartily, his appetite unhurt by exotics, on plain beef and mutton, than he does on high-seasoned dishes, unnaturally provoking it? The truth is, the pleasures which the rich enjoy are by no means equal to the sufferings the poor undergo, in the present system.

"It has been observed, that in every science, the more thoroughly it is understood, the fewer and more simple are its principles and precepts: hence the remedy proposed, being single, and in its nature simple, carries presumption with it that the true cause of the evil in question has been assigned."

The mischievous effect of the privileges of primogeniture, and of the practice of entails, are sufficiently obvious, without the vast scaffolding provided by this author to exhibit them in an unwelcome point of view. The laws which distinguish between real and personal property must first be revised: and as the legacy-taxes on personal property approach nearer to the true value, than those on real property, it is for the interest of the revenue to make the change. The privilege of entail, and that of qualification to sit in parliament, may next be limited to capital vested in the public funds. Hereditary consequence should be confined to those who stake their property in the hands of their country; not to those who guard their acres with an armed peasantry against their due proportion of taxation; who pass corn-bills to indemnify themselves, at the expence of the poor, for pretended land-taxes; who profligately propose the plunder of a tenth of the funds without offering at the same time a tenth of their estates to the country; and who have attached great political and constitutional rights to a form of capital, which the financier only knows by its niggardliness.

As to the second alternative prescribed by Mr. Hall, the enactment of sumptuary laws, we cannot conceive his motive for the proposal. Expence, luxury, extravagance, profusion, these are the virtues of opulence, the grand levelling causes, which restore the expedient balance of property,

and undo the folly of governments in patronizing and promoting inequality. Enact sumptuary laws, and the accumulations of avarice, of rapacity, of monopoly, of violent plunder, will never wander back to the reservoirs whence they were pumped, but endow a pampered greatness with incessant superiority. Rather enact laws to compel the payment of gaming debts, and the contracts of minors, to permit the breach of entails, and the violation of endowments, and to promote the voluntary descent of the children of prodigality into the middle classes of society. Wealth should be the reward of industry and exertion; it should escape from idleness, from negligence, from rashness; and, with it, nobility should expire, which is a privilege too vast and too permanent for the interests of emulation and the proportion of recompense.

We recommend this book to perusal, not to confidence. It is one thing to remove the legal impediments to equality, it is another to enact artificial provisions for introducing it. The boldest inroad on huge possessions, which is likely to be executed, would be a legacy-tax on property descending directly, which should increase with the amount bequeathed, so as to levy on small properties one per cent; on larger, two; on great properties, four; on vast, eight per cent. In this way every generation of the rich would be sensibly impoverished, if the arts of acquisition fall into neglect.

A heavy and proportionate tax on the jointures and settlements of heiresses would diminish the motive for wedding debility and overlooking beauty, which endows a family with the best gift, bodily health and perfection.

Men breed down to a certain pitch of misery; to a lower in the rude than in the luxurious nations. The savage races therefore continue to multiply in a state of privation and difficulty, which would impose celibacy in a civilized community. The lowest classes of civilized life are consequently better off than the community in savage society. Whatever rises above the basest order is clear gain to human happiness: it is so much plenty and enjoyment, which in a savage state would not have existed at all. There all are equal: all are fed, as in a workhouse, with the merest necessities, and with the least possible amusement of labour. With every improvement in civilization, the suffering classes become fewer, the enjoying classes more numerous. Machines are

invented, which dismiss whole villages of the miserable, and maintain the proprietors and scatterers of their productions in comfortable affluence. Not only the intensity of human welfare is greatly increased on the whole by the social arts, but the numbers of those maintained in a given district. Where savagism will feed ten, civilization will feed a hundred. It is a preferable form of national existence, not only because nine-tenths of the community are better provided for, but because nine-tenths of the community are super-added to what would else exist.

Whether civilization is strictly the result, or the cause of the condensation of populousness, has been occasionally disputed. There seems to be a mixture of action and reaction. Multiply, from whatever cause, the people, and new divisions

of labour and arts of life are recurred to, which approximate them to a more refined condition. Thin the population, from whatever cause, and something of the idleness, privation, and rudeness of savagism will return. The North-Americans wilder, as they disperse along the Ohio and the Mississippi; and recivilize, as they collect in the Genesee country, and about the lakes. The expulsion of the Moors rebarbarized Spain; the intrusion of the French would recivilize Egypt.

The style of this work is clear and full, the argument ingenious, but sometimes excursive: there is too much about the detail of agricultural operations for a speculation which discusses other agrarian laws than those of the experienced farmer.

ART. XL.—Observations on the Poor Laws, and on the Management of the Poor, in Great Britain, arising from a Consideration of the Returns now before Parliament. By the Right Hon. GEORGE ROSE, M. P. 8vo. pp. 44.

THE last thirty years have produced a marked change in the condition and manners of all ranks of society in Great Britain. There has been a vast increase both of wealth and people; but there has also been a grosser and a growing inequality in the distribution of the wealth and in the comforts of the people. This is chiefly to be ascribed to the perverse legislation which has uniformly distinguished this period. Instead of breaking up, as Adam Smith proposed in 1776, the commercial monopolies and great corporations, which always favour the concentration of jobs, contracts, speculations, and profits in few hands, a corrupt preference has been shown, by our ministers and lawgivers, to the commercial aristocracy. Every thing has been done to sacrifice the numerous to the superior classes of tradesmen. The charter of the India company has been renewed: the bank has been privileged against legitimate demands: the interests of our manufactures, which maintain the poor, have been postponed to those of a colonial agriculture, where an equal circulation of capital maintains but a hundredth part of domestic industry. Taxes on popular consumption have been multiplied beyond example: imposts on the rents of houses, lands, and bonds, and on conveyances and legacies, which justice indicated as the first, were reserved for the last resources. Accordingly the higher orders of the commercial world have thriven; but the middle class has sunken

step by step, until at length it is reduced to recruit the numbers of the poor. One-eighth of the population of the country is maintained by charitable contribution.

The poor rate is now more than treble that of 1776, and more than double that of 1786. Yet, as Mr. Rose too truly observes (p. 4) "I may venture to say, that those who look most narrowly into the present situation of the poor will not think it on the whole advanced in point of comfort beyond what it was thirty years ago."

Dr. Macfarlan's Enquiries concerning the Poor were first published in 1782; they still constitute the best book we possess on the subject. They recommend, with Price and Acland, the institution of benefit-societies: they reprobate the construction of houses of industry as less expedient than domestic relief. Mr. Rose has the high merit of having introduced to parliament that bill for the encouragement of benefit-societies, which repeals the law of settlement in favour of those paupers who are members of such societies. From this pamphlet it may be presumed that he also aspires (p. 33) to accomplish the abolition of work-houses. The proper use of these edifices would be to convert them into hospitories for the aged poor: there must however be receptacles for orphans, and for abandoned persons, who are suddenly thrown on their parishes for a maintenance.

One million and forty thousand persons

in England and Wales are stated to be in the habit of receiving relief. It would be as unsafe as inhuman to turn those people loose upon the chance of voluntary bounty. What is to be done? Surely the wages of labour ought to maintain the workman. Under the present system, the employers of the poor issue less than the average value of maintenance, and, in the form of meal-money and winter allowances, assess the rest of the community to pay their workmen. Encourage the rise of the wages of labour. This will promote the introduction of machinery throughout our manufactures, and render these less likely to migrate into the cheap and populous countries. Our agriculture enjoys a monopoly of the home-market, and can therefore assess the increased wages on the price of produce. This rise of labour may best be promoted by a profuse exportation of the poor. At the first peace, let our ships of war be employed in transporting gratuitously to our several colonies all those who wish to emigrate. The number will be found very considerable of both sexes. The shattered constitutions of a metropolitan poor will best bear removal to the tropical colonies. The hardy mountaineers of Wales and Scotland are fitted to succeed in Canada. The increase of poverty is the signal of nature for dispersion.

If we compare those countries of Europe which are placed under a presbyterian hierarchy, with those which are placed under an episcopal hierarchy, it will appear evident that the instruction, and the morals of the poor, are far better attended to by the presbyterian clergy. They are a remove less above the poor than episcopalian clergymen: they habitually condescend to visit the lowest of their flock, they blush not to diffuse elementary instruction, they willingly share those toils of superintendence and accountability which refinement scorns. Hence the cheaper and superior management of the Scottish poor, which is candidly acknowledged by Mr. Rose.

"It has been much insisted upon, that in other parts of the united kingdom, there are no compulsory rates for the maintenance of the poor.

"This assertion, though very confidently made, and very generally received in England, is however, as far as regards Scotland at least, altogether erroneous. For I am informed, from an authority on which I can confidently rely, that the poor there are supported by collections at the church doors; by certain small fees on marriages, baptisms, and

funerals; and by the interest of sums given or bequeathed for that purpose; and, when the above are not sufficient, by an assessment laid on the parish by authority of the heritors or landholders; and the kirk session, that is the minister and elders of the parish. The amount of this assessment, upon the whole, is (as in fact it is in England) in proportion to the actual number of poor in the parish at the time. The selection of objects to whose relief this assessment is to be applied, is likewise vested in the kirk session, whose ordinary functions in this respect may, if there is any reason to suspect abuse, be controlled by a meeting of the heritors. In England, the selection is in the first instance in the overseers, but checked by the vestries, consisting of the inhabitants who pay the rates, with an appeal to magistrates. The imposition therefore and appropriation of this tax, in both parts of Great Britain, being lodged in the hands of the very persons who are to pay it, should give the fairest chance for such imposition and appropriation being limited by the necessity of the case. But the chief distinction between England and Scotland with regard to the poor, arises from the superior management in the latter; where they are as effectually provided for as in the former, though at infinitely less expence; and in some degree at least to early education. There are few workhouses in Scotland, (none except in a few great towns) nor is it usual to send any persons there who can find places of residence for themselves; infinite advantage is likewise derived from the constant and active attention of the clergy, who are invariably resident, and who have no interest to balance against their feelings of humanity. Another essential difference in the management of the poor in the two countries is, that in Scotland there is no power, or at least none that is commonly exercised, of removing paupers from the parish in which they have not acquired a settlement by residence, to the parish where their right of settlement is. The just apportionment of this burden between the parishes may be, though it very seldom is, I understand, a matter of legal discussion; but it does not affect the personal freedom of the pauper, who may reside where he pleases. When disputes arise concerning the settlement of particular paupers, which are not often carried to the extremity of legal proceedings, if the parish where he is resident at the time prevails, the parish found liable might perhaps insist on his coming to reside there; but in practice, I am assured, the managers of the funds for relief of the poor in such parish always prefer paying a compensation to the parish where he resides, from the expence of which the law has relieved it; which saves to themselves, or to the public, the charges of removing him; and if he is able to do a little work in aid of the public fund, it leaves him undisturbed in the exercise of such industry or occupation.

"From the short account here given of the

Scottish laws and practice relative to the support and employment of the poor, it will be seen that, contrary to the supposition, too hastily adopted, of our English writers on the subject, the general principles of the system very nearly resemble those of England; the difference seems, as before observed, to be in the execution of the powers, which the legislature has provided for attaining its object."

It is rumoured that government was projecting to take the management of the poor into its own hands: we hope that this scheme is not to find warm patrons among the newly-constituted authorities. The rage for governing too much must surely by this time have spent itself, and must begin to look back with melancholy regret on its labour in vain and its toilsome injuries. Elective institutions alone retain their vigour unimpaired: unless the

people appoint the overseers of the poor, there will soon be oversight. It is the elective character of a presbyterian hierarchy which is the cause of its efficacy: were government to appoint by its exclusive will the presbyterian ministers, they would become, as in other establishments, indolent courtiers.

The slow progress of instruction in England is deeply to be lamented. Macfarlan wrote in 1782: yet how many workhouse-bills have been passed since that period: our philosophers think in vain; we are determined to learn only from our own experience.

This pamphlet contains many curious facts, drawn from the reports laid before the house of commons, which are nowhere else so cheaply accessible.

ART. XLI.—*An Essay on the Principle and Origin of Sovereign Power. By a Dictatory of the Church. Translated from the French, with a Preface and Appendix. 8vo. pp. 350.*

THE restoration of absolute monarchy in France operates, as might be expected, on the literature of the country. The cringelings of despotism are looking back to the ancient apologists of arbitrary power, and are republishing the obsolete sophisms of their jesuitic predecessors, in order to stabilitate the practical omnipotence of their emperor by a corresponding theory. Certainly these principles are never so plausible as when urged in behalf of a great sovereign; and never so contagious as when the natural schools of refutation are reduced to the fewest possible number. England and Sweden are the only fragments of the old world which retain a trace of limited government. "It is at no time easy to spread among the people a passion for liberty; that requires principle, self-denial, exertion, disinterest, instruction, humanity, patience, perseverance, justice. But in all evils of the opposite kind the natural inclinations are flattered: to obey accommodates the indolence; to corrupt and be corrupted, the avarice and ambition of men. We are now once more, as were our ancestors, in danger of being entangled by the example of France, in the net of an hypocritical and relentless despotism."

With such feelings, we have already stated them in greater detail (Vol. II. p. 335 to 337), we cannot approve the needless importation of French principles in politics: they are often enounced with

eloquence, and illustrated with felicity; and when they profess to borrow, as in the present instance, the aid of religious doctrines common to both nations, they are but too likely to find, even among respectable persons, a listening and a docile audience.

The first part of this work undertakes a refutation of the hypothesis (so this author calls it) of a state of nature anterior to society.

It is an historical fact, that savages pass many ages in anarchy before they unite under any form of government: while the means of maintenance are easy, while the hunters can find game, and the graziers pasture, this anarchy mostly continues peaceful: it degenerates into hostility when the scramble for food begins. The necessity of concert, for the conduct of efficient hostility, has every where founded the first, rude, occasional, transient government, the elective monarchy of military chiefs. Not theory, but observation, contemplates a state of nature as a state of war.

"Hobbes asserts (continues our author), that the condition of man, in a state of nature, supposes perpetual warfare, because all have a right to all things, since each man endeavours to establish this right in his own individual favour, and claims it as an indisputable privilege. Hobbes subjoins, that man, from the necessity of his nature, is inclined to relinquish this state of misery, in which he cannot comply with the laws of nature; and he

draw this conclusion; that fear induces him to enter into society.

"What is, then, this alleged necessity in the nature of man, which forces him to quit the state of nature? and still farther, what is the state of nature, in which the laws of nature herself have no efficacy? all this appears, say, not only contradictory, but absurd. The French jacobins have reasoned much like this. In the midst of anarchy, they have promulgated revolutionary laws. These are, say, the natural laws of anarchy.

The object which Hobbes proposes, is to discover the origin and principle of sovereign authority. Natural laws not operating, says the philosopher, in the state of nature, the fundamental law is, the maintenance of peace. Man cannot accomplish but by delegating his right to a representative body, to a state, or a single person, invested with the sovereign authority. From the moment he does, yields up his rights, the sovereign alone exercises all which man possessed in the state of nature. No authority whatever, can be independent of his. He is the arbiter of right and wrong, and the only competent judge to decide on all religious and political opinions which arise in the state. No recourse can be had, and no reference can be made to any foreign, or other tribunal, not even in matters of religion; because such appeal would produce a rivalry of power, and endanger the maintenance of peace. Since this state of peace is the fundamental law from which all others flow, it would be repugnant to the natural law, that there should subsist in the same society, two authorities independent of each other.

"Hobbes is not aware that the peace enjoyed under the sanction of the laws of society, is necessary for the observance of natural laws, of which it is not the source: as natural, existed, prior to human laws. To suppose that mankind are, originally, in a state of warfare, and that the state of peace obtained by instituting government, is the foundation of natural laws, is, as Montesquieu justly remarks, 'to make virtue and vice depend on laws formed by men, and to subvert, with Spinoza, all religion and all morality.'

"Man is born with evil inclinations which render him hostile to his kind. This is the true position of the case. But, at the same time, he is born in society, and subject to an authority that restrains his passions, and affords to reason time to resume her sway. These are two facts which must not be separated, as Hobbes has actually done, to support his theory. He first produces man existing in a state of war, and then, to secure the state of peace, he makes him stipulate with his fellow-creatures, and agree to form society.

"If the system of Hobbes is radically absurd, it is not because he asserts that men are born naturally hostile to each other; it is be-

cause he supposes that this state of anarchical nature is anterior to the formation of society. When we observe the will of man subjugated by his vicious inclinations, we endeavour to trace the cause of a disorder which is by no means natural, and we discover that in the beginning, he has not passed from a state of anarchy, to a state of society; but from a perfect society, where by means of his innocence, he held communication with his Maker, with celestial beings, with a company analogous to himself, to a state of degradation in which his evil passions would have almost totally extinguished the light of reason, if for the happiness of society to which he has been preserved, God had not added the farther benefit of the authority which regulates it, and which it cannot dispense with; at any period of its formation, or existence."

The argument of Hobbes is here not unfairly stated: but where is the pretended refutation? Hobbes says that man relinquishes the state of anarchy by that necessity of his nature which inclines him to avoid misery. Is this contradictory, or absurd? But the author, having warped the word jacobins into his first paragraph of reply, thinks, like a true follower of Burke and Barruel, that he has won a victory.

The second attempt at answer is given in the language and under the shelter of Montesquieu. But Montesquieu is himself not correct in asserting that Hobbes makes virtue and vice to depend wholly on laws formed by men. Hobbes recognizes, with Ulpian, a rule of right inherent in animal nature. Let us turn to the treatise of commonwealth: the twenty-sixth chapter contains the theory of civil laws: the doctrine there maintained is thus expressed. 'A law that obliges all the subjects without exception, and is not written, nor otherwise published in such places as they may take notice thereof, is a law of nature. For whatsoever men are to take knowledge of for law, not upon other men's words, but every one from his own reason, must be such as is agreeable to the reason of all men; which no law can be, but the law of nature. The laws of nature therefore need not any publishing, nor proclamation, as being contained in this one sentence approved by all the world: *Do not that to another, which thou thinkest unreasonable to be done by another to thyself.*'

This is founding equity on the interests of all, and recognizing a principle independent of accidental enactment: so that neither Montesquieu, nor his copier, can

justify their abusive assertion : and neither of them have offered any argument of objection.

The third attempt at reply is strangely vague. It begins by saying, that man is born with *evil* inclinations, which render him hostile to his kind. To say nothing of the impiety of an hypothesis, which supposes the creation of evil beings ; there is no foundation in experience for supposing that the selfish inclinations, with which a man is born, operate, in the majority of instances, inimically toward other men ; the reverse is notorious : and, with every progress in the social art, the selfish qualities of each are rendered more and more conducive to the welfare of all. To be born in society makes no difference in the original propensity ; but tends to restrain those forms of gratification, which interfere with the interests of others. It is incorrect to say that Hobbes separates these facts, in order to support a theory ; and makes man stipulate with his fellow-creatures, and agree to form society : as our author pretends, by whom Hobbes is here unfairly described as founding the rights of law exclusively on compact. Hobbes differs from other publicists precisely in this, that he considers (c. xvii.) sovereignty by *acquisition* (under which denomination he comprehends violent conquest) as *equally* legitimate and just with sovereignty by *institution* (under which denomination he classes all voluntarily formed government, all association by compact) ; but Locke and Rousseau consider only the latter as tolerable.

To attack this part of the theory of Hobbes was in the advocate of Bonaparte gross imprudence ; but the fact is, he had never read Hobbes at all ; he quotes him at second-hand, and having called him radically absurd, he exhibits, like Caracalla, his British cockle-shells, and claims a triumph as for the conquest of a province.

It is in truth presumption for such a puny arguer to break a spear with Hobbes. Does he know with whom he entered the lists ? With the greatest metaphysician of that country, whose school of metaphysical writers ranks higher than any rival school, ancient or modern. With him, who supplied to Locke the whole mass of truths in ideology, which occasionally adorn the essay on human understanding. With him, who had cautioned the world against those sophisms of Berkeley, that may be considered as a reduction to absurdity of the system of

Locke. With him, whom Hartley could only expand, and Hume only embellish.

Yet his services to the metaphysics ideology fall short of those rendered the metaphysics of jurisprudence. He in this line the rival, perhaps the surpasser of Grotius. His reading, if less comprehensive, is more select and as profound. His illustrations, if few, are far-reaching and fortunate. If he neglects the praise copiousness and maxim-quoting, he atones that of condensation and appositeness. His principles, if built less on authority and testimony, repose more on observation and experience ; and, after the competition of a century and half, are acquiring among publicists, a legislative rank. His reasoning is of a bolder, clearer, more exhaustive, and more unprejudiced cast than that of Grotius ; and breaks untried ground with the fearlessness of conscious right. Grotius coasts along the known shore, dropping the plumb watching the land-marks : Hobbes starts forth into the ocean, aware of his bearings and confident in his compass.

After quitting Hobbes our author proceeds in like manner to attack Montesquieu and Rousseau : respecting the men we contentedly abandon his preference, to continental estimation or contempt. The appeal to revelation, what revelation has not spoken about is perpetual. The duty of obeying Bonaparte is weakly hinged on prescription right. When does prescription begin ? When was it first just to obey Bonaparte ? The principles of the philosopher of Malmesbury alone supply a precise answer : they are every where hostile to anarchy, and friendly to order and to justice.

“ Subjects who revolt against the lawful authority which their fathers have taught them to respect, are guilty of a crime unpardonable on any grounds whatever. Subjects who acquiesce in usurpation, at the same time that they hold it in abhorrence, become its accomplices and abettors, by their weakness. But the injustice is not equally applicable to the succeeding generations. The son of a rebellious subject is, in infancy and youth, completely subject to the parental authority, and on entering into life, he is, from the habits of education, submissive to the sovereign reigning. As his reason unfolds only gradually, his mind readily receives every impression stamped on it by his tutors. His parents, unquestionably, abuse their authority, and violate the engagements they entered into to direct his affections towards the

tal sovereign, when they teach him to believe that the usurper on the throne, is the legitimate prince. The heinous crime of dethroning, thus, resting with the parents, it follows that the child, necessarily, must regard the usurper, as the legal king, as he cannot exert such effect. The parents impose on judgement, without depraving the minds of their sons, by arming their prejudices against the government they themselves have enjoyed. The unjust sentiments which are crime and immorality in the parents, in the children, but prejudice of education. They are not incompatible with principles of reason and justice. Thus, as generations succeed each other, the ties that attach the subjects to the new government, become more rational, and consequently, more lawful. All authors and victims of the revolution have appeared; and the people have lost their ancient habits, and those of former times, and contracted new ones favourable to existing circumstances. Their affections directed, by a natural bias, towards the ruler under whose protection they have been, and which, by the influence of its laws, has them a new political existence. This leads to subordination and justice, operating by the regular and successive action of the moral and physical causes, that govern the world, becomes really the order established by the Almighty; and this is what we would wish to be understood, in saying, that a government legalizes itself by prescription."

Many long notes are attached to this work, some of which, as the note J. comprehend much theological matter: they chiefly contain historical anecdotes and illustrative quotations, and are more a-

musings than the barren speculations of the text; but are in places inconsistent with it.

The translator has not performed his task with sufficient knowledge: thus at page 296 mention is made of Rousseau in these terms. 'His moral romance, called *Emilia*, was condemned in 1762 by the French parliament.' Here the book on education, called *Emilius*, is plainly intended; but the translator had never heard of this most popular and celebrated book, and therefore turns the hero into a heroine. So again in the preface we read of Marbly, where Mably is meant; but this may be an error of the press.

The preface is so long as to form a prominent part of the book: it reviles Bonaparte with that low virulence which the late ministries condescended to patronize; and constitutes an odd introduction for a systematic homage to his authority. The translator tells us his author, a grand vicar, has for ever laid to sleep the doctrine of the majesty of the people: is he ignorant that the word majesty signifies greatness; that it is employed with more propriety of a people, than of an individual; that it was currently applied at Rome to the people before it was usurped by the emperors; and that Louis XI. was the first modern sovereign who was addressed as his majesty? To talk of the majesty of the people of San Marino would be misplaced flattery; but it is a truism to talk of the majesty of the people of Great Britain.

XLII.—*European Commerce; shewing new and secure Channels of Trade with the Continent of Europe: with a general View of the Trade, Navigation, &c. of Great Britain and Ireland.* By J. JERSON ODDY, Esq. 4to. pp. 651.

THE most dangerous theoretical error which prevails with respect to commerce is this: that a country should endeavour to sell more than it buys in any other given country. On the contrary, withersoever we send goods, it is important thence to contrive articles of importation. Else the ships incur a loss of back-freight: and the exchange between the two countries tends to a par which is continually opposing fresh obstacles to our supplying that market any longer. When the demand at Petersburg for bills on London transcends the natural supply of the Russian exporters who have to draw on London, the bills rise in value, and thus an additional price must be given in Russia for all imports, which impedes the progress of importation. Exportation and importation are alike profitable. The nearer they approach equality, the stronger their tendency to continual increase. A ba-

lance, an equipoise, of trade, is every where desirable; not the preponderance of exportation over importation.

The utility of enquiring into the productions of different countries is in nothing more sensible than in the great increase of commercial intercourse, which usually results from such enquiry. If we can but find something to consume, no matter what, were it a mischievous superfluity, such as tobacco, we thereby make it the interest of the people to consume something of ours in return. The interchange of the commodities is a profit to both parties; and new means of maintenance are opened to those who employ themselves in the transportation of goods. The movers of wares, sailors, watermen, carriers, form a most numerous body of men, and are in rude countries the apostles of civilization, and the teachers and introducers of new arts. To fetch and carry, be it

but a fir-tree, or a block of stone, becomes a cause of roads, and thence of agriculture; of machinery, and thence of manufacture; of reckoning and intercourse, and thence of letters, figures, languages, and learning. We may blame the child that cried for the moon: but to covet the remote is to scatter benefits at a distance.

Adam Smith defends the opinion that commerce with contiguous countries is most advantageous. The returns, he says, are quicker: and thus an equal capital can put more industry in motion. We doubt the truth of this proposition. The manufacturer sells at the shortest credit, not in the nearest but in the richest country. Where capital is of least value, it is most frequently employed in discounting. Holland and Germany bought at a shorter credit than France: so did Spain. The returns are quickest, where there is most wealth. Not the contiguity, but the opulence of a country determines the rapidity of its returns. But quick returns at a small profit are less advantageous to the trader, than slow returns at a large profit. It is better to return a given capital once a year at twenty per cent. profit, than four times a year at five per cent. profit: three-fourths of the labour of inspection and direction are economized in the slow return. Capital can be coined according to the wants of the trading world: it is not for want of capital, but of demand, that certain branches of industry droop and wither.

We may therefore modify the doctrine of Adam Smith, and lay it down as a maxim, that commerce is most desirable in those countries, where a given capital is returned in a given time with the largest profit. Now this is always the case in the rudest countries. Where the arts of commerce have long prevailed, where the competition of dealers is great, where the number of persons skilled in the objects of interchange is become considerable, the profits lessen. No advantage can there be taken. Every thing has its known value, its fixed price, its habitual quality, its expected time of payment. Commerce is become a machine, which provides every thing, of the same known shape, size, and tale. The exclusion, therefore, which this country is suffering from the tracked and trite markets of the world, is not to be classed among the misfortunes of its commerce. Others will be explored of a more profitable nature: nor would the heavy burdens of taxation, under which our commerce labours, permit us to com-

pete with our ancient advantages in the countries where profits are low. Of these new markets, Russia is one of the most promising; and the volume before us expands in full magnitude its availability.

Mr. Oddy seems to imagine that this constitutes not only a prominent feature, but a prominent merit of literary composition. His information is various and curious; but it is not select. Antiquarian anecdotes of the Anseatic cities might as well have reposed in Anderson's history of commerce, without being repeated here. A few custom-house tariffs and tables of imports and exports were desirable, and would have been instructive; but, whether three or four contiguous sea-ports present similar catalogues, some might have been suppressed. The weights, the measures, the moneys of exchange, are not only to be found in every merchant's assistant or negotiator's magazine; but are here faithfully chronicled, as if they were recorded for the first time. The gazettes are put in contribution, and lists of minute places are given in alphabetic order; but the road-books are unaccountably forgotten: in several places we wished in vain for information concerning the relative distances. Mr. Oddy has made his book as he would have made an invoice, every petty article, which it is justifiable to charge for, is pressed into the list of particulars: the object is to swell the sum total of value. Booksellers now-a-days like this: they will not touch a pamphlet, or an octavo, because it does not pay the advertising: but a huge bale of quartos is a speculation worth opening an account for.

An interesting map of Europe is prefixed to this volume, in which the national boundaries are omitted, but the rivers and canals are all traced, by which means the main courses of produce are visible at a glance, and the natural commercial metropolises present themselves. It appears that Riga is a more adapted emporium for Russian trade than Petersburg; and, as it is more accessible from not being frozen up so soon or so long, it will probably become eventually of more consequence than Petersburg. The very expensive quays and custom-houses made at Petersburg form a motive with the government to force intercourse into that direction: so again at Odessa, which is a still more perverse situation, government having there constructed showy buildings will have them made use of. This is a consideration beneath the enlightened mind of

Alexander. If trade naturally tends to Riga and Oczakow, he would do better to transfer thither at once his patronage, and let the merit of creating a prosperity, which will strike root there, even in despite of his neglect. A valuable account given of the internal communications of Asia, of which we shall borrow a fragment :

* The Wolga has already been described, together with its junction with the Neva, connecting the Baltic and Caspian seas, and so the route to Siberia and China, all of which are united by means of the canal of Peter Volotschok, through which the principal part of the trade of the empire is conveyed.

"The number of barges which passed through the canal in 1776, amounted to 2,537; in 1777, to 2,641; and the average number is generally computed at about 2,550.

"Many of those vessels or barks, (as they are called) bring down from 100 to 400 tons each, and some few more, particularly to Archangel. These barks are perfectly flat-bottomed, and many of a great length: the largest planks are selected for the purpose of building them; the timbers and crooks are generally selected from such trees as have knots of a proper shape. The depth of one of these vessels is seldom more than four feet; some few more: the sides are perpendicular, and not much regard had to shape: they load them to draw from twenty to thirty inches of water, or more, according to the season of the year and to the water they expect to find in their respective navigations. Their ruckler is a long tree, like an oar. In case of leakage, instead of a pump, they put up a rough cross bar, from which is slung, by means of a rope, a wooden scoop, with which they throw out the water. These vessels are rudely constructed, purposely for conveying only one cargo; they cost from one hundred to three hundred rubles each; and when they arrive at Archangel, Petersburg, or Riga, and their cargoes are discharged, they are sold or broken up for fire-wood or other purposes, seldom fetching more than from twenty to fifty rubles.

"Although a great part of the products are brought down by water, while the navigation continues open, yet the great preparation for the following year's business is during the previous winter; and great quantities of goods are conveyed by sledge-ways, during this season, not only to Archangel, Petersburg, and Riga, but particularly to those parts which have not the advantage of interior water conveyance. Flax and hemp come to Narva, grain to Revel, flax and grain to Riga, particularly if the prices happen to be high at the time. The produce from all parts of the interior, which have not the advantage of water conveyance, is carried by sledge-ways to the nearest pristan, or place where the barks are built, from whence they are floated down with the current, so soon as the snow and ice

begin to melt: they are previously loaded, to be in readiness to take advantage of the water when it is high. The masts and heavy timber are conveyed out of the forests to the nearest navigable communication, during the winter, when it is that a great interior commerce prevails, particularly in the articles of importation by the last arrived ships, their cargoes being carried by the sledge-roads to the remotest parts of the empire. So general is this sort of communication, that, to and from Mosco, merchandize has been conveyed that distance frequently so low as ten copecks per pood, the ordinary rate being from twenty to thirty-five copecks per pood, which is fifteen shillings the lowest, the highest forty-five shillings per ton, for a distance of between four and five hundred miles; certainly considerably cheaper than freights by sea, for the same distance, without reckoning the insurance, and uncertain conveyance, while the other is certain and expeditious. The cheap rate of land carriage, and still more reasonable rate by water, though more tedious, is a favourable circumstance to forward the external commerce of this empire, as well as that amongst the interior provinces with each other, which is very considerable."

Nor will a short account of the Russian college of commerce be unwelcome to our readers: we have boards of trade, but they realize Adam Smith's idea of a perfect commercial government, and let things alone.

"It is no doubt of importance to every government wishing to promote any particular object, or carry into execution more effectually any particular view, to establish purposely a board, under its immediate protection and sanction (distinct from other establishments), that more minute attention may be given, and more prompt measures adopted.

"On this principle the Russian government have, at Petersburg, established a college of commerce, or, properly speaking, a board of trade, consisting of a certain number of directors, with a president, who take into consideration, and under their direction, every thing relating to the trade of the empire; and to that board applications must at all times be directed. It has the controul of the brokers, brokers, and every department connected with commerce; in matters of dispute, it acts, likewise, in a judicial capacity; and the only appeal from its decision, in case of the dissatisfaction of either party, is to the senate, where two hundred rubles must be deposited: a certificate being produced from the secretary of the senate, that the deposit is made, when the requisite documents are given from the college of commerce, and proceedings commence in the superior court.

"It is through this college, that the English only have the privilege, specially provided for by treaty, to appeal in cases of dispute, or for redress from the Russian subject; and through this channel only it is, that the native subject must apply for redress against

the British merchants; amongst whom, if any disputes or controversies arise, the directors of the college of commerce very wisely order it for arbitration among the British merchants, who are selected for that purpose.

"This is a sort of court of equity in commercial matters,—the decisions are prompt and attended with little expence, as the impartiality of the judges is at least equal to what could be found in the common courts of law: it is attended with advantage. Here it may not be improper to observe, that it is certainly of advantage in commercial matters, that differences should be decided speedily, not only because witnesses are generally ready, and the facts recent, and well remembered, but that it prevents the interruption and suspension of business, which would otherwise be occasioned. Inferior and prompt courts of this sort may be always corrected by the power of appeal, therefore they deserve approbation."

We know not why Mr. Oddy should have preferred to spell *bracker* instead of *broker*, which is our usual form of writing the word. If commerce is thus to naturalize all the synonyms of her native terms, and to incorporate them in the *lingua Franca* of the counting-house, sir Herbert Croft will not be able to confine his supplement for Johnson's dictionary to the reduplication which he has already announced. The progress toward a universal language will be very rapid, when all the words of the earth are acknowledged to be English: but an Englishman will then find it as difficult to learn to speak, as a Chinese to learn to write.

The Holstein canal deserves notice, praise, encouragement: from this description it does not appear that the Sound duties are levied on ships adopting this course.

"The Holstein canal was begun in the year 1777, and was completely finished on the 4th of May, 1785, but opened in 1784. The whole undertaking cost 2,512,432 rix-dollars. There are six sluices, which cost 70,000 rixdollars each.

"This canal on the side of the Baltic commences about three English miles north of Kiel, at a place called Holtenau, where is a sluice, another at Knoop, and a third at Rathmandorff, till it comes to the Flemlude lake, which is the highest point; and from this lake, on the side of Rendsburgh, there are three other sluices, one at Konigsforde, another at Kluvensiek, and the last at Rendsburgh; these are on what is called the Upper Eyder, and the Lower Eyder is from Rendsburgh to its mouth, running by Tonningen, below which place it falls into the sea, betwixt Eyderstadt and Dithmarschen. The distance is about one hundred English miles, and vessels must either sail or tide it, or both;

whilst from Rendsburgh to Holtenau, near at the mouth of Kiel Bay, upon the Baltic, is only about twenty-five English miles, which can be navigated in all weathers, except during a strong frost, as horses can be had, required, at fixed rates. The vessels are through a sluice in little more than eight or ten minutes each, for each of which they pay only four shillings Danish, or about so much pence English.

"The surface breadth of this canal is one hundred feet, and at the bottom fifty-four Danish measure, and the depth ten fathoms throughout at the least. Vessels can pass through the sluices one hundred feet length, twenty-six feet in breadth, and a foot four inches draught of water, Danish measure; and which, for the regulation of British merchant and ship-owner, as well as the master, it must be observed, is in proportion of English measure for the vessels:

Length . . .	95 feet, 4 inches,
Breadth . . .	24 — 9
Depth . . .	9 —

"As this canal may in the present state of Europe be greatly frequented, more general and minute particulars are given for the information and use of those who may avail it, and which here follow:

"All ships, to whatever nation they may belong, are allowed to pass through on the same conditions, without any exception.

"No unloading or discharging of any foreign goods and merchandize is permitted at any other place situated on this canal, than at Holtenau and Rendsburgh; but only inland produce, manufactures, and timber, are allowed to be taken in and unloaded at the sluice at Knoop, Grös Konigsforde, and Kluvensiek, and likewise by the bridges at Suedsdorf and Landwehr, and by the Tilekiln at Rade, under the inspection of the officers of customs.

"The masters of all ships and vessels coming out of the Baltic, are to give an immediate notice of their arrival at the custom-house at Holtenau, and to declare their place of destination.

"As soon as a ship or vessel enters the canal, then the master of the same is to make a general statement in the following form:

"I, N. N. master of the ship [brig, bark] called —, bound from — to —, with a cargo of —, [or with ballast] do hereby mention the arrival of the same at the royal custom-house at Holtenau, the

"N. N."

"The custom-house officer at Holtenau then furnishes the master with a passport, according to the statement made; with which he may continue his voyage to Rendsburgh.

"In case the cargo of a vessel arriving at Holtenau is either discharged in the whole, or in part, then the statement, examination, and payment of duties of such part of the cargo, is to be made according to the royal

prescription, dated the 23d of November, 1778; if not, an exception is made with respect to those transit goods and merchandize which are landed and stored here.

* The duties to be paid on inland produce, manufactures, and goods, loaded within the limits of the canal, and not passing the limits of the Rendsburgh custom-house, are to be paid at Holtzenau, when passing that place.

* The masters of ships and vessels, proceeding from Rendsburgh to Holtzenau, are to make an immediate declaration on their arrival to the custom-house officer at that place, who will then, without any further examination, allow them to continue their voyage, on producing the passport they have received from the custom-house at Rendsburgh; no further statement in writing of the cargo they are in, will be necessary to be made, as the duties on those ships and merchandize passing through the canal by Rendsburgh have already been paid at the custom-house there.

* In case there should be any goods and merchandize on board of a vessel coming from Rendsburgh, which are to be unloaded at Holtzenau, then the note received from the custom-house at Rendsburgh is to be delivered to that at Holtzenau. The said goods and merchandize may then be discharged and delivered according to the prescription of the act of November, 1778, and the custom-house officer will make out a particular passport for the remainder of the cargo. The same is done for those vessels coming from Rendsburgh to Holtzenau, in order to complete their cargo, with which they are to proceed to other inland places.

* Vessels which only take in ballast at Holtzenau are exempted from making any statement in writing.

* All ships and vessels arriving at Rendsburgh are to deliver as soon as they arrive there, the passports they have received from the custom-house either at Holtzenau or Tonningen to the custom-house at Rendsburgh, where the duties are to be paid on all goods and merchandize passing through the canal.

* The masters of vessels which have taken in their cargoes at any foreign ports, must necessarily be provided with bills of lading and invoices drawn up in a due and regular form, containing the quantity, quality, and value of the goods; which documents, the masters of such vessels are instantly to deliver up to the custom-house, in order to be signed: it is therefore necessary that such documents should be drawn up in as complete and plain a manner as possible, in order to prevent delay, which will otherwise take place. Those ships or vessels which have taken in their cargoes at any Danish port, may be exempted from making up a specified statement of the same, on the master's delivering to the custom-house at Rendsburgh a passport in which the goods and merchandize he has on board of his ship are duly and plainly stated.

* The masters of such ships and vessels as have taken in their cargoes in any foreign port,

and are proceeding therewith to any foreign port, are allowed a premium of four per cent. to be deducted from the amount of the duties they are to pay, which is immediately deducted in the account of the canal duties.

* After the duties and other expences taking place in passing through the canal have been duly paid, a passport is granted to the masters of the vessels for the further continuation of the voyage.

* Although the master of a vessel may have a cargo on board, which he is to discharge at Rendsburgh, in order to remain within the territories of his Danish majesty; or if even he takes in native produce and manufactures in return, yet he is to pay the duties laid upon such foreign or native goods and merchandize, in the act of the 23d of May, 1778.

* The custom-house officers at Tonningen are to proceed in the dispatch of ships and vessels sailing out of the canal, or entering into the same, according to the prescription of those at Holtzenau. Those ships and vessels arriving from Rendsburgh at Holtzenau, without having passed through the canal, or likewise those proceeding from the Elbe river and the North Sea to Rendsburgh, are to prepare themselves with respect to the payment of duties according to the act of the 23d of May, 1778.

* Those regulations are general, and there are no exceptions.

* Payment of lastage in passing through the canal, is not demanded from vessels under the following circumstances:

1. "Those passing through without loading or discharging any goods or merchandize in any part of the canal.

2. "Those small vessels which only trade in the canal, or on the Lower Eyder, from one place to another.

3. "Those ships which do not load or discharge in any place on the banks of the canal, above the fourth part of their burthen.

4. "Those ships which, on account of damage or a leak, received during the voyage, are obliged to discharge the cargo.

5. "The packet boats regularly sailing between Kiel and Copenhagen, if they load or discharge in the canal."

This author is somewhat timid and courtly, in his commentaries. He has occasion to mention the blockade of the Elbe and of the Weser, so ridiculously undertaken in our own wrong; and he mentions it without a word of censure. It obliged English goods to take a circuitous course, which greatly increased their expence to the consumer, and did not the least injury to the enemy. On the whole this work is replete with fact; and gives the newest and most authentic information concerning the state of commerce, in countries where its state has greatly altered of late years; so that it may be con-

dered as the only account extant which approaches authenticity. With the superfluity of detail we are dissatisfied: one forgets the leading facts amid the multiplicity of particulars: one is annoyed, as by a druggist's labels, with lists of what is sold but once in a twelvemonth.

Some theoretical passages occur toward the conclusion of this valuable collection of phenomena, from which the author appears to think it of great consequence that we should grow at home every thing we want. He complains that we do not rear, but import from Spain, the fine curled clothier's wool; that we send to Sweden for pitch and tar, instead of planting the highlands of Scotland; that we import corn, hemp, and various other commodities not incapable of being produced at home. We recommend to the author an attentive perusal of those chapters of the fourth book of Adam Smith which relate to the choice of a market. He has fully and irreversibly proved that it is for the interest of a community, as well as of an individual, to buy where it can buy cheapest, without any attention to the patria of the produce. If corn can be fetched cheaper from Odessa, than it can be grown

in Norfolk, it ought thence to be brought, and so with clothier's wool, with pitch, and with hemp. To purchase of foreigners facilitates sale to foreigners: and by buying naval stores in Russia, instead of producing them, we enable the Russians to buy our manufactures, and thus put into circulation between the two countries a capital which would else lie dormant, we have done better for ourselves than if we had grown at home these stores. The greatest possible circulation is the ultimate end of the wisest commercial lawgiver: this end is best promoted by not growing at home the raw productions of barbaric half-taught industry. The true art of increasing the commerce of Great Britain is to seek for distant wants. Can the produce of the butter-trees of Africa not be rendered a necessary at our breakfasts? Can the candleberry-myrtle not be allowed to furnish a cheaper and more beautiful sort of tapers than those now burnt on our card-tables? But for the duties on exports and imports, a thousand experiments on foreign production would be made, which would gradually expand the gratifications of luxury and the dominions of commerce.

ART. XLIII.—*The Conveniences, Principles and Method of keeping Accounts with Bankers in the Country and in London; with accurate Tables adapted to the calculating of Interest Accounts with Ease and Dispatch; and to the discounting of Bills of Exchange: wherein the Table of Interest for one Day is extended to One Million Pounds, for calculating Interest Accounts on the Principle adopted by the London Bankers. Also, other useful and extensive Tables. To which is added, a concise and practical Treatise on Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes, including Bankers' Cash, Notes and Checks.* In Two Parts, By WILLIAM LOWRIS, Sheffield. 8vo. pp. 294.

THIS author sets up for an instructor of tradesmen: p. 6 he tells us that on both sides of an account with a banker the interest is generally calculated at five per cent. There are few bankers who allow more than three per cent. for deposits, and many who allow nothing.

His interest-tables are less compendious, but more complete for five per cent. calculations than those already in use; but for interest at every other rate, the old books are seemingly more convenient. Mere inspection is perhaps an insufficient ground of decision.

In 1786 Mr. Thomas Hurry, of Great Yarmouth, published tables of interest for

one day from one pound to five hundred millions; in which the fractions of farthings are made integral in the lender's favour. That book appears to us better adapted than this to abbreviate the labour of a banker's clerk, and to increase the profit of his master.

Now that Great Britain is becoming a lending nation, and advances vast sums to colonial non-residents and to foreigners, it would be a public advantage to tolerate the advance of legal interest from five to six per cent. Pope Clement VI. declared the exaction of interest to be heretical: such heresy is useful at least in this world.

ART. XLIV.—*Sketch of the Political State of Europe in February, 1805.* By W. HUNTER, Esq. 8vo. pp. 205.

THE state of Europe is so much changed in the short period of one year, that a sketch of its condition in February, 1805,

is of no more value than an old almanac. A vast confederacy was then forming to set limits to French domination: it has

since been dashed to pieces, and France has acquired a transalpine Gaul.

This sketch was intended as a sort of manifesto for that confederacy. Whatever inveighs against the ambitious, encroaching, restless violence of the French sovereign, is in its place. Not so some other passages. The antichristian sect domineers in continental literature; and Bonaparte is there hated for the restoration of catholicism. Instead of sighing over the irreligion and republicanism of the Montesquieus and Rousseaus, this writer should have invoked the reprobation of philosophy against the apostasy of the converted slaves of Napoleon, and their hypocritic adoration of Pius VII. Nor ought the assumption of a new imperial title by Austria to have been blamed. The dissolution of the German empire was at hand; and, without the assumption of a new imperial title, the rank of Austria would then appear to have declined. The flattery bestowed on the king of Sweden is sufficiently in its place: so is the conciliatory language expended on Prussia: but ministers ought to have been

aware, though authors need not, that these two friendships were nearly incompatible. The king of Prussia coveted Stralsund, which we were paying Sweden to fortify and defend. The lesser should have been sacrificed to the greater object; and Sweden neglected for the cabinet of Berlin. Holland ought early in the summer to have been powerfully invaded; as well in order to detain, from the invasion of Austria, the Gallo-Batavian division of the French army, as in order to have a gift, wherewith to allure the co-operation of Prussia. The Russian troops landed at Naples might earlier have been landed at Venice, and offered to the archduke. The confederacy has failed through the improvidence of man.

Of the Russian emperor Alexander more civil things might have been said. By founding such comprehensive institutions of public instruction, by conceding so great a liberty of the press, by limiting so considerably the institutions of vassalage, he has done much already for the civilization of Russia.

ART. XLV.—*Thoughts on the Civil Condition and Relations of the Roman Catholic Clergy, Religion and People of Ireland.* By THEOBALD M'KENNA, Barrister-at-Law. 8vo. pp. 193.

LIFE is frail, and power more so. How seldom the accidents of birth confide inherited authority to the virtuous man! how much more rarely does the wisdom of society correct the lottery of nature! It is, therefore, of high importance, and incumbent duty, to seize, as soon as they occur, the opportunities of political beneficence: they are lent but rarely, and never for long. There are public services, which to postpone is to endanger: of this class is the catholic emancipation; which, opposed, as it always will be, by the personal deference of the sovereign for the church, can only be conceded by his prudence in a time of national calamity, as the price of an union necessary to our safety.

This is a most instructive dissertation concerning the condition of the catholic clergy, and people of Ireland. It describes, in curious detail, their manners, prejudices, and reciprocal relations, and is well adapted to remove the apprehensions of the timorous, concerning the probable effects of withdrawing restriction. This pamphlet, however, seems drawn up for the instruction of a set of men of detail, such as one may suppose the Addington ministry to have been, who could not

ascend to those higher points of view, whence the statesman has to regard. Instead of supporting the catholic cause on the grand principles of justice and policy; and of pointing to the useful glow of allegiance which gratitude will inspire; a vast quantity of parish information is given, to shew that if the catholic priests have farms allowed them, and little salaries from the government, and the opportunity of domestic, instead of continental education, they will become attached to a patronising sovereign, and that they can and will attach to him a numerous ignorant savage multitude, of which they are the expedient instructors. These remarks are well worth the attention of office; as, even after the emancipation of the catholics, some subordinate patronage may be awhile necessary thoroughly to recover affections so harshly spurned aside. A more expedient form of patronage than the regium donum proposed by Mr. M'Kenna, surely, would be a repeal of the act of uniformity; and the consequent permission for catholic patrons to present the livings of their respective parishes to catholic priests. The Gothic king Theodatus said, "God keeps many religions,

why should not we?" The present revenues of the hierarchy are amply sufficient for endowing all the clergy who ought to be paid by the state. The plan here suggested is thus sketched :

"The Catholic hierarchy in Ireland consists of twenty-six prelates, and the warden of Galway, a dignitary enjoying episcopal jurisdiction. A moderate income annexed by government to each of these stations, and to a certain number of dignitaries in each diocese, together with the offices and professorships of the Royal College already founded, would, I think, be found sufficient to induce Roman Catholics, of good condition, to permit their children, when so inclined, to engage in the ministry; and to prevail on persons of pretensions, who have engaged, not to abandon the original sphere of their duties. The advantage must be incalculable, in forming the general character of the order, if you can draw within it, and afterwards retain in the country, men of education and talents; men who are accustomed to be respected, and who have the feelings incidental to that habit; men, whose early or whose long-continued impressions have been liberal.

"The number of Roman Catholic parish priests in Ireland actually exceeds one thousand; it would probably be expedient, (for the reasons and purposes already stated,) to decrease the number by an addition of about one-half.

"The expense of his peculiar worship, to a tolerably substantial farmer or mechanic, in the most opulent and Roman Catholic countries, amounts to about five skillings annually; the common labourer is, in the greater number of places, excused; where he is required to contribute, the accustomed rate is one shilling; this includes the contribution of the entire family, and for this the priest is bound to attend them when sick, even at the most unseasonable hours, and to administer confession when they apply to him. He is also to keep his chapel in order, to celebrate divine service, and preach on Sundays and festivals. In what I have denominated the Northern district, the emoluments of the Catholic parish priest are on an average, as I apprehend, from about thirty to fifty pounds per year; in the other parts of Ireland, these emoluments run from sixty to ninety pounds, varying with the opulence or with the customs of particular districts. In Munster the perquisites are highest, on account of a greater liberality in paying for marriages, which immemorial usage has established; the towns produce from one hundred to one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty pounds per annum; in some very few instances they go so high as two hundred pounds. The bishops receive a small donation from every marriage, and a voluntary assessment of one to three guineas from each parish priest in the diocese. The bishop has always one parish; in some instances, where his receipts

are inadequate to his expenses, he holds a second by *commendam*, which he administers by a curate. The bishop usually visits his diocese in each year, and holds assemblies of his clergy, called conferences, for the purposes of communication, discipline and instruction. There is perhaps a single instance of a bishop, whose living exceeds four hundred pounds; in general the income of this class, including the parish, amounts to about that sum in the best circumstanced districts. In other places they receive from three hundred to three hundred and fifty pounds.

"The stipend levied for the parochial clergy of the Catholics thus appears adequate to the comfortable subsistence of a single man; but it is precarious; it is obtained by mean solicitation; it induces habits inconsistent with any degree of firmness or elevation of mind, such as you would desire in the minister and magistrate of morality; such as you would emphatically desire, where a rude and unreflecting people are to be formed to more tractable habits, to be guided and not unfrequently resisted—it is not a necessitous, but a dependant and degraded order.

"The towns are in a good measure to be set apart from the present description. There is a sort of regular assessment in these places, which, with the occasional dues for marriage and christening, and the kind and generous devotion of procuring and requiring prayers for the deceased, renders the condition of the clergy tolerably reputable and commodious. In the North of Ireland, the Roman Catholics are, with inconsiderable exceptions, the poorest of the people; this circumstance accounts for the small recompence of the clerical function in that district, and for the greater difficulty in obtaining it. The main fund in the North arises from a pitiable, and almost ludicrous exhibition at funerals, which indeed daily declines, but which ought altogether to be removed, as an impediment to civilization. I cannot censure the priest, who has no other means of subsistence; but whilst he lives by such means, no respect or credit can be annexed to his character, especially in this age, when we advance so rapidly after our neighbours in the refinements or decencies of life, and when we are so much accustomed to confine our sentiments of respect to those who are placed by their situation above the appearance of necessity. In Connaught there is a very considerable body of Roman Catholic gentlemen, and the lower class are, with few or no exceptions, of the same religion; but the former are above attending minutely to the occasions of the clergy, and the latter are too poor, to be of any assistance—the substantial peasant, who labours and thrives by his industry, is not as yet so common in that district. The gentlemen, if the priest does not render himself objectionable, are ready to give him a liberal and hospitable use of their houses, and are, I believe, accustomed to make presents in kind of the several articles of agricultural produce,

but they are very little formed to the notion of assigning him a pecuniary and independent remuneration.

"In the remainder of the country, the face of society does not vary essentially—the prevalence of agriculture in this tract has formed a very numerous class of substantial and comfortable farmers; they are not prompt in their contributions—they require to be pressed, solicited, nay teased; it is, however, in one shape or other obtained from them; and where the priest has a farm, the working people, by immemorial usage, assign him a day in each season, for the several operations of husbandry; this custom (which once was universal), as well as the donations of produce I have just noticed, have fallen very much into disuse, since the demand for labour has increased, and since the value, both of that and of articles of produce, has been enhanced considerably.

"I would simply propose to introduce into our Roman Catholic ecclesiastical system the principle of fixed property, and the principle of preferment. I would reduce the duties to a certain compass, and allow leisure to fulfil them; some minor objects occur which may be turned to advantage in the correction of our people, and which therefore become momentous.

"I have already noticed the huts or hovels which occasionally appear to be dedicated to the worship of God, according to the forms of the Roman Catholic discipline. Indeed I am given to understand, that in a few instances the service is performed under a ditch, without any other shelter. This humiliation is not disgraceful to the people, it is their misfortune; but certainly there is neither honour nor ornament to the country, nor is it creditable to its gentry, that the worship of the God whom we all adore, upon principles in which we are unanimous, and according to rights not very foreign from those of the predominant or established church, should be, under all the circumstances of ancient and popular following, thus meanly and shamefully conducted. I would abate those nuisances—those monuments of churlish imbecility and faction. I would substitute decent and comfortable edifices—I would do so, in the hope that the people who frequent those places of worship might be induced, by the greater show of neatness and propriety, to attend their parish chapel in better apparel. The inferior Irish require to be led out of the habits of rags and filth into those of a certain elevation of mind and decency of appear-

ance; they require to be initiated in those wants which would prove a spur to their exertions, and give a more laudable direction to their expences.

"The new division of parishes would impose a necessity of building several chapels; where the old ones are in the condition I have described, it would be equally incumbent to replace them. Hitherto this charge has been left to the wealthy Roman Catholics, and those Protestants (I must say they have been many) who saw the propriety of making this provision for the popular worship, and paying this compliment to its followers. Those who act so deserve praise, but I cannot see that the foundation of a national improvement ought to come out of the pockets of particular descriptions. It certainly is a matter of as close interest to a Protestant, as to a Roman Catholic of property, to redeem the people from dissipation and nastiness; it is a matter of nearer interest, when the people to be so redeemed happen to stand to the former in the relation of his neighbours, his tenantry, or dependants.

"When the Roman Catholics of a parish are not able to provide themselves with a moderately neat and decent chapel, the judges of assize might have power to order the work to be done, and to direct the grand jury to assess the expence, like our other local improvements, by presentment. It would add to the merit and utility of the measure, if where there is a Protestant population, the chapel could be placed contiguous to the church, so that the respective congregations, at least at going to and from Divine service, might mix and be blended together."

This is buying the catholic clergy rather dear; yet it is evidently better to hire their allegiance than to set it at defiance. The foundation of schools, the diffusion of the art of reading, is the first and most essential step toward the abolition of fanaticism: surely the catholics could be induced to use a vernacular liturgy, which converts at once every place of worship into a reading-school.

There is a copiousness in Mr. McKenna's mode of writing, which at times fatigues; but his information is complete, his practical good-sense highly worthy of confidence; his sentiments liberal and gentlemanly, and his eloquence polished and splendid.

ART. XLVI.—*Outline of a Plan, for reducing the Poor's Rate, and amending the Condition of the Aged and Unfortunate; including those of the Naval and Military Departments: in a Letter to the Right Honourable GEORGE ROSE, occasioned by his Observations on the Poor Laws, &c. By JOHN BOVE. 8vo. pp. 61.*

THIS pamphlet, although addressed to the Right Honourable George Rose, is not a reply to his 'Observations on the

Poor Laws,' or a perpetual commentary. It makes a pretext of that publication, which circulates much, for introducing

analogous topics to public attention. Mr. Bone inclines to the opinion that poor laws might be laid aside, and that a system of benefit-societies might be advantageously substituted. One of his schemes is to found a vast old-man's hospital, in which all those should have a right to spend their age, who would contribute in early life towards its maintenance.

The plan merits diffusion.

"1. That a subscription should be immediately commenced, for the purpose of establishing an asylum, for the aged and infirm of every description.

"2. That the subscription should consist, both of the voluntary subscriptions of the nobility and gentry who might chuse to patronize the institution, and of the contributions of those, of whatever class, who might chuse to provide for themselves in the case of age or infirmity.

"3. That preparation should be made for erecting very extensive premises, as near as convenient to the metropolis, and of sufficient extent, to accommodate all the contributors who may be likely to require it.

"4. That in the erection and contrivance of such premises, particular regard should be paid to their being provided with suitable accommodations and conveniences, to afford every pleasure and comfort that can be necessary to soften the effects of age and misfortune.

"5. That each contributor to the fund should be entitled, in case of necessity, to a distinct and entire set of chambers, for the use of himself and family, which should be as much their own, and for their own use, during the remainder of their lives, as any possession which they might have purchased in any other way elsewhere; subject only to such rules as the good order and tranquillity of the institution might require.

"6. That besides a dwelling, each should be allowed an annuity, with certain indulgences, according to the class in which he shall have contributed, and which should be divided in proportion to the sums paid.

"7. That those not chusing to become residents, should receive their annuities at their own dwellings.

"8. That voluntary subscribers should be privileged to recommend poor persons, whose poverty or misfortunes alone, have disabled them from making any provision for themselves; with limitation, that no person should be recommended who had omitted contributing to the fund, when the means were in his power.

"9. That all regular contributors should be at liberty to send their children to be educated and instructed in all the useful arts.

"10. That books should be opened at the office of the institution, to receive the applications of all persons in want of agents or

servants of any kind, and of all persons wanting places or situations; and that as it would be fair to argue, that those who contributed to the fund, were the most remarkable for the sobriety and prudence of their conduct, their applications should be attended to first.

"11. That rooms should be provided for persons coming to the metropolis, (and not having acquaintances,) where they might continue for short intervals, until they might find employment; in order to preserve them from falling into the hands of the artful and depraved.

"12. That cripples and disabled persons should also be admitted, upon the recommendation of subscribers, and be employed with due regard to their several infirmities.

"13. That poor persons should be allowed, upon moderate terms, to send their children to be nursed and educated, who would otherwise be obliged either to neglect their children, or the means by which they obtain a livelihood.

"14. That a bank should be opened to receive the small savings or earnings of the youth of both sexes, who have no dependence but their labour and economy, and to return them on the day of their marriage, with the interest and premiums proportioned to the amount.

"15. That baths and conveniences should be provided, to which itinerant dealers and wandering people might resort, to wash both themselves and their clothes.

"16. That the peculiar circumstances of marine and military persons, not permitting them to contribute regularly, like the other classes of the community, separate funds should be formed for them, in which they might deposit such sums as they might occasionally spare, and which should be returned to them in annuities, with proportionate premiums, in cases of age or infirmity.

"17. That the surpluses should be so divided as to indemnify those who might subscribe to the fund, without having occasion to apply to it for aid through life.

"18. That the institution should be under the government of a president and twenty-four directors, to be chosen by the subscribers of certain descriptions, from amongst themselves, and that certain great officers of state, and representatives of public bodies for the time being, should be members of the court. The immediate management to be vested in certain subordinate officers, who should be responsible for the good conduct of the institution, and for the due observance of all its rules and regulations."

Instead of building this protestant monastery near the metropolis, where the expence of founding and feeding such an institution is the greatest possible, why not construct it in some romantic situation of the cheapest provinces of the empire? Among the hills of Devonshire, or the

mountains of Wales, structures of this kind would cost one-half less to the patrons and inhabitants; and would, from their effect in the landscape, be more conspicuous and striking trophies of national beneficence. As the Jews had cities of refuge, so we might have cities of charity; in which dwellings for the insane, for the blind, for the crippled, for the aged, for the foundling, for the orphan, for the penitent, might be collected in beautiful arrangement. A metropolis is the very place in which to solicit funds for such establishments; but it is a needless sacrifice of the health of the inmates, and a needless waste of the contributions of the subscribers, there to rear the asylums of helplessness. In some of those sites which traffic cannot pervade, such as Craven hundred, in Yorkshire, a splendid city might thus be created by the concurrence of the eleemosynary virtues. Schools of medicine, and of theology, might, with advantage to the sufferer, be domesticated in the same situations. Every opportunity should be seized of withdrawing the needless population of London, which becomes too vast for the health and the morals of the people.

Another plan of the author is to provide baths for the poor; which, in the summer-season, would no doubt be throngingly frequented: they ought to be floating baths, as nothing but a running stream can adequately supply numerous bathers. The Greeks connected their public baths with the places of military instruction; and the young people, after doing their exercise, went into the water: in this climate, probably, it would be necessary to invert the order of application. It is highly expedient that soldiers should be taught to swim; highly expedient that all those engaged in dirty occupations should be regularly rinsed: utility, health, comfort, would all be consulted by the institution and free use of popular baths. Pliny says that public baths were first introduced at Rome in Pompey's time: but Agrippa was the great purifier of the Romans; for, during his edileship, one hundred and seventy public baths were constructed. Vitruvius describes a bath-house as usually consisting of seven apartments.

There are other benevolent plans in these pages, which merit discussion.

ART. XLVII.—*Observations on Charity Schools, Female Friendly Societies, and other Subjects connected with the Views of the Ladies' Committee.* By CATHERINE CAPPE. 8vo. pp. 177.

Mrs. CAPPE (the widow of the celebrated Newcome Cappe, of York, the eloquence of whose fast-sermon, and the learning of whose scripture criticism, are long to be remembered) has here laid before the Ladies' Committee of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, a series of observations concerning the education and management of the female poor, which merit a general attention. The best analysis will be a transcription of the table of contents:

"1. An inquiry respecting the manner in which children, who have devolved upon the parish, ought to be disposed of.

"2. On charity schools in general—first principles in their constitution, from which there should be no deviation.

"3. Inquiry, whether female charity schools, of whatever denomination, ought not to be regulated and superintended by ladies? Also, to what extent the hope may be entertained, should the foregoing reasoning be deemed satisfactory, that the various old-established charity schools throughout the kingdom will be new regulated on the general principles recommended by it: also, how far the ladies' committee may have the power of contributing towards this most desirable end?

"4. Inquiry respecting the description of poor girls to whose benefit it would be desirable that our old-established charity schools should principally be appropriated.

"5. Inquiry by what means it would be possible, so to proportion the various classes of private charity schools throughout the kingdom to each other, as that the number of young women educated in them, for servants of different denominations, might be, in some degree, suited to the probable demand for those of each particular description: also, how far the ladies' committee may have it in their power to give assistance towards carrying such a plan into effect.

"6. Objections considered to the admission in any case of the offspring of illicit connexions, or of profligate parents, into private charity schools; whether it would not tend to the encouragement of vice? whether it would not act as a discouragement to virtuous industry?

"7. Examination of the question whether the female children of the honest, virtuous, and industrious poor, may not be better educated, under the parental roof, more happily for themselves, and more acceptably to their parents, than in the best regulated charity school?

"8. Inquiry what would be the best and most acceptable means of assisting the honest

and industrious poor, in the education of their children?

"9. Examination of the question, ought young females, on leaving a charity school, to be bound apprentice for their labor?

"10. Inquiry in what manner young girls, leaving a charity school, might be eligibly disposed of, if happily, the present method of binding them out apprentices, should be abolished?

"11. Objections considered, against the abolition of apprenticeships, taken from the danger of leaving a young woman to the guidance of her own discretion, at the age of sixteen or seventeen years.

"12. On friendly societies or benefit clubs.

"13. Some account of a female benefit club, instituted at Berwick in Elmet in November, 1778. Errors and omissions pointed out, notwithstanding its present flourishing state.

"14. Observations on the female benefit club instituted at York, August, 1788; its present state; annuity fund superadded in November 1800.

"15. Account of a female benefit club begun at York, January 1, 1801, by the enrolment of two hundred and forty honorary members, and completed by the admission of one hundred and fifty general members, on the 24th of the following June.

"16. Observations on the above institution: necessity of its being established on so large a scale.

"17. Sketch of a female benefit club in the parish of Thornhill, in the West Riding of this county, established on the 1st of September, 1804.

"18. General observations on friendly societies. Principles essential to their answering the ends for which they are instituted, and therefore considered by the author as fundamental in their formation.

"19. On the great importance of the plan of the ladies' committee: obstacles they will have to encounter: considerations on the best means of overcoming them.

"20. Inquiry how far some other parts of the plan of the ladies' committee may be prac-

ticable, and by what means some difficulties, which appear formidable, may at length be overcome."

Of all these very interesting and instructive enquiries the most important, and that which most requires legislative interference, is perhaps the case of female apprentices. They are too commonly the starvelings of parsimony, and the premature victims of a niggardly libertinism. Why tolerate enduring contracts? Why cannot every agreement be made by the year, and for the year? The power is excessive, and it is very frequently abused, which masters have obtained over their apprentices of both sexes. It would abolish a great deal of household strife and cruelty to quash this legitimate despotism. Apprenticeships are, for the most part, fraudulent contracts, in which the master takes advantage of a child's ignorance, and of its parents' impatience of the voracity of adolescence, to purchase three or four years of its labour at one-fourth below the value.

Every part of this book is valuable: the appendix contains useful documents for founding friendly societies of females. The civic duties of women form a new branch of morality, which it is the merit of the present age to have brought into busier practice. The deaconesses of the primitive church did indeed, in many respects, render to the poor services analogous to those conferred by the superintendants of our friendly societies, but there was less of wisdom and discrimination in the end and direction of their efforts. The Fabiola of Saint Jerome, who is said to have founded the first hospital for the sick poor, does not appear to have given personal attention to its management.

ART. XLVIII.—*War in Disguise; or, the Frauds of Neutral Flags.* 8vo. pp. 215.

THIS tract is ascribed to an eminent civilian, who wrote under the patronage of his majesty's late ministers. It has made that sort of impression which usually attends a pamphlet supposed to be official: the merchant buys it, in order to square his precautions accordingly: the placemen all have it at your service: if you meet a clergyman in company, he enquires whether you have read it.

Yes, we have read it, and read it with sorrow. It proposes to this nation to revoke its own concessions, to dissolve into a nest of pirates, and to become the pest

of the seas, as France is of the land. It tends to bring on an immediate rupture with North America, and a fresh combination of the Baltic powers, to cripple our maritime ascendancy. The counsel it offers is doubly pernicious; very impolitic, and somewhat unjust.

The objections ought to pass into circulation; we shall therefore be minute in our criticism.

The author begins by barking at Bonaparte. When an Englishman meddles with conduct which he feels to be unbecoming, he sets about accusing the French of an-

logous oppression; he secretly intends their precedent both for an example, and an extenuation. Among the paragraphs adapted to irritate our anti-gallican passions, others are interspersed, which pretend that war has changed its character, and is become a cause of opulence. This is ignominiously inferred from the notorious circumstance that, during the anti-jacobin war, the West Indian trade of Britain flourished, which arose from the devastation of San Domingo, and some other seats of tropical agriculture; in consequence of which, vast additional lands could be cultivated by it, without overstocking the European market with produce. Produce sold dear, not because there was war, but because there was scarcity. Unless missionaries were sent to make insurrections of slaves in Cuba and Carolina, mere war would not again raise the price of sugar, coffee, and cotton: the seats of culture have shifted, but the production meets the average demand. The argument from revenge, and the argument from cupidity, to begin a war against neutrals, are feeble and paltriness.

Next comes the author's strong-hold: his argument from the pretended principles of international law.

According to the rule between nations, enemy's property found on board neutral vessels is lawful prize. In the *Consolato del Mare*, it is laid down as a rule,—*Se la nave, o navilio, che pigliato sara, fusse di amici, e le mercanzie, che lui portera, saranno d'inimici, lo ammiraglio della nave, o del navilio armato, può forzare e costringere quel patrone di quella nave, o di quel navilio, che lui pigliato avera, che lui, con quella sua nave, gli debba portare quello, che di suoi inimici sara.*—Thus not only enemy's property found on board a neutral is lawful prize; but the neutral is compellable to bring the property to the port indicated by the captor. He is, for this, to be allowed freight. Albericus Gentilis relates a case where the Tuscans took the effects of the Turks, at that time their enemies, on board some English vessels. The case was tried; the Turkish goods were determined to be legal prize; but the captor was ordered to pay the freight to the English: it being a principle that what belongs not to the enemy cannot be acquired by war.

Grotius is not explicit on this subject. He countenances the opinion, that not enemy's property in general, but only instruments of hostility, are seizable in neutral bottoms. The modern doctrine seems

to derive from him, that neutral ships make neutral cargoes, with the exception of what is called contraband of war. His words are: *Quare quod dici solet hostiles censeri res in hostium navibus repertas, non ita accipi debet quasi certa sit juris gentium lex* (lib. iii. c. vi. § 6); where the word *hostium* is plainly a slip of the pen for *amicorum*, the ships and cargoes of enemies being of course confiscable, or condemnable: yet Puffendorf has not detected this error of phrase, but comments the passage as if it were correct.

Bynkershoek disinclines to this doctrine of Grotius, that a neutral vessel neutralizes her cargo, and says expressly:—*Non sum qui videam, cur non liceat capere res hostiles quamvis in navi amica repertas; id enim capio quod hostium est, quodque jure belli victori cedit.* So says also the French naval ordinance of 1681.

The difficulty which Grotius felt in defining what is enemy's property, when found in the ships of neutral countries, can only be eluded by naming certain articles as illegal. Merchants are now so accustomed to provide proofs that the property of a given consignment vests in a neutral house, that it is become the object of a regular per centage, to furnish a vessel's cargo with papers proving it to be American. There is sometimes an honest, there is oftener a mimic, transfer. This is the fraud against which our author inveighs with so much bitterness, which he represents as so useful to our enemies, and so detrimental to us; which he calls a war in disguise, and which he wishes to punish by the indiscriminate seizure and condemnation of all neutral vessels which have taken their cargoes in colonial ports.

The Americans admittedly go to Port au Prince in San Domingo, and receive on board cargoes of coffee, sugar, and cotton, which are, in the ship's papers, specified to belong to American merchants resident in Charlestown. The vessels, on their arrival in America, are often provided with fresh papers, without being unloaded, and come to Europe to deliver such cargoes at Bourdeaux; the fresh papers still specifying the property to be wholly American. So, from the Havannah, dollars, indigo, tobacco, are carried to Salem; there provided with fresh papers, and thence carried to Bilbao or Cadiz. These vessels are known to bring the produce of French planters to French ports, and of Spanish planters to Spanish ports; but if our cruisers seize the vessels, and bring them hither for adjudication, the papers are such

that the court of Admiralty decides for a release.

Why should this trade be interrupted ?

1. It destroys both the French and the Spanish nursery for sailors. While the colonial intercourse was carried on, as in former wars, under hostile flags, protected occasionally by convoys, French sailors and Spanish sailors were employed in every voyage to and fro. Now, all the sailors employed are Americans.

2. It provides a nursery for British sailors. At the breaking out of a war the English government presses from the merchant service the men requisite to man the navy: the merchants immediately raise their wages, and this tempts Danes and Americans to come and assist in navigating the merchantmen. Whatever increases the number of Danish sailors, assists in manning the merchantmen of the Eastern coast; whatever increases the number of American sailors, assists in manning the merchantmen of the Western coast. During the American war there was much fraudulent neutralization, which the Danes covered, and which they repaid by furnishing our merchantmen with sailors: during the present war there is much fraudulent neutralization, which the Americans cover; and which they would repay in like manner, if we were now distressed for sailors.

3. A large share of the profits of this neutral trade centres in Great Britain. The voyages are, almost without exception, insured at Lloyd's; and the property is there so well known to be often enemy's property, that written engagements are exacted of the insurer, that he will not, in case of loss, dispute the neutrality of the property. In this form a percentage of five or six in the hundred, is levied on all the property so brought to Europe. Of the vessels employed a great number have joint owners in Great Britain. When the consignments are really purchased by the American merchant, who, in this case, often buys on half-account with an English house, they come consigned to London, with a liberty in the connected house here to change their destination, for Cadiz, Bourdeaux, Hamburg, according to the prices of each market. The cargoes thus circumstanced leave not only a commission, and various charges to the British merchant, but half the clear gain besides. Every branch of this trade yields a tribute to British prosperity.

But, it is contended, this neutral transportation, on account of the cheap insur-

ance, carries the produce of the French and Spanish West Indies cheaper to Antwerp and Hamburg, than English transportation. The continent buys, consequently, in preference of the French and Spanish settlements; whose agriculture now thrives faster than that of the English islands. The answer is:—Open the ports of the British islands to the same commerce: break up that suicidal monopoly, which retards, in all our islands, the settlement of merchants, the progress of agriculture, the increase of reciprocal consumption, the demand for our manufactures, the variation of productions and occupations, and the growth of every form of prosperity; a monopoly, which ignorance devised, and tyranny perpetuates.

In order to find a pretence for destroying a useful branch of trade, very profitable to this country, and conducted in all the acknowledged forms of licit intercourse, our author is obliged to quit the law of nations, which, as we have shewn, sanctions this trade, and to recur to what may be called British cosmopolitical law; to those public rules which the British courts of justice prescribe for our conduct toward other countries. These rules are versatile as our administrations; for the Crown claims and exercises a dispensing power, (and a most mischievous prerogative it is,) which, with the advice and concurrence of the privy council, can at any time, and frequently does, vary its directions to our admirals and cruizers, concerning the description of vessels liable to seizure. These orders become, in the court of Admiralty, rules of adjudication: indeed they emanate from a power to which an appeal lies from the court of Admiralty: and thus our cosmopolitical law, or rule of intercourse with the rest of the world, escapes the proclamation of parliamentary discussion, and the check of independent tribunals.

It is only in this sort of law, if law it may be called, arbitrary and despotic by its nature, given perhaps by caprice, perhaps by ignorance, never, we trust, by venality—that something like a pretence can be found for invading the security of this neutral American shipping. In the war of 1756, all the neutral ships which took in cargoes in the French colonies were detained, and the cargoes condemned as enemy's property. The fact of receiving a loading in a colonial port which was, during peace, shut to neutral commerce, was held sufficient evidence of the cargo being hostile property. A neutral, it was plausibly

contended, has no right to deliver a belligerent from the pressure of his enemy's hostilities, by trading with his colonies in time of war, in a way that was prohibited in time of peace.

It is admitted, however, even under English cosmopolitical law, that a neutral has a right to carry on his accustomed trade to the utmost extent of which that accustomed trade is capable: Sir W. Scott so argues. Now it is notorious that the French have been progressively relaxing their colonial monopoly ever since 1778, when the disturbances in North America became objects of their patronage. Thus in 1781 we seized and released the Niger and Copenhagen, neutrals trading to the French West Indies. This relaxation of monopolous policy has been so rapidly and systematically progressive, that, before the antijacobin war, the colonial assembly of Guadaloupe, and soon after Cayenne, the governor of the windward islands, opened indiscriminately the ports of these French colonies to the American commerce. The troubles of St. Domingo induced, less formally perhaps, the same effect. The Americans have ever since enjoyed this branch of traffic: so that, on the principles of English cosmopolitical law, it is a trade they have a prescriptive right to pursue.

In the treaty made between his Britannic majesty and the emperor of Russia on the 17th June, 1801, the third article declares what property shall be considered as neutral in these words: "That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war and of enemy's property; and it is agreed not to comprise, under the denomination of the latter, the merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account, which merchandise cannot in any case be excepted from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power."

Here is a positive convention with Rus-

sia in support of the American practice; now the Americans are entitled by treaty to be put on the footing of the most favoured nation. If, therefore, these concessions do impair the rule of the war 1756, (a rule never acceded to on the continent, for France* protested in 1758 at Petersburg against it) the author is not justified in asserting that this country has never relinquished the principle. A very absurd relinquishment, we grant, because the nature of the rule of the war 1756 required that to load in a colonial port, shut during peace, should in a neutral be sufficient evidence of the shipment of enemy's property. But ministers, during the last thirty years, seem never to have taken the trouble of thinking over the operation of a general principle: and now they propose to break their agreements because they find out they have made them ill.

We trust that the present ministers of his majesty are actuated by principles more liberal, and more consistent, than those which have so often oppressed commerce under their unfortunate predecessors; that they will place public justice and cosmopolitical virtue in the destruction of monopolies; in the repeal of the navigation laws; in the facilitation of commerce to the numerous rather than to the incorporated orders of tradesmen; and that in their future treaties they will propose to abjure, on both sides, the right of capturing merchant ships, and thus reconcile a perpetual commercial peace with military, and even with naval hostility.

The separation of the American half of the English nation from the British empire ought no longer to be viewed with displeasure, but with approbation. It is thus enabled to preserve neutrality during the warfare of the belligerent half; and to lend the convenient aid of its flag and its privileges to conduct a common commerce, which is thus rendered independent of the caprice of cabinets, and the piracy of naval adventurers.

* It was this protest which laid the foundation of the armed neutrality.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT CLASSICS, CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES, MYTHOLOGY, &c.

CLASSICAL Literature, though much studied in England, and illustrated by a few works of great and acknowledged eminence, yet is not a province in which English editors and writers have often chosen to exercise their talents. Hence our catalogue of domestic publications under this head is as usual scanty, while our metropolis and universities continue to furnish an ample opening for the reception of the never-failing productions of German industry and learning. Among these an edition of the poems, bearing the name of Orpheus, by Herman, is distinguished by erudition, industry, and boldness sometimes approaching to temerity. In our own country, Mr. Walpole has edited some elegant specimens from the fragments of the ancient Greek comic writers. He has also afforded us another proof of his industry, by a volume, consisting partly of translations from the classics, by old and neglected authors, and partly of various copies of verses, the productions of his own pen, both original and translated from various languages. Mr. Good, in his translation of Lucretius, has given a faithful and spirited representation of that great, and almost unrivalled, didactic poet, accompanied with a commentary displaying a cultivated taste, and uncommon variety of learning.

ART. I.—*Orphica, cum Notis H. STEPHANI, A. CHR. ESCHENEACHII, T. M. GESNERI, TH. TYRWHITTI. Recensuit Godofredus Hermannus. Lipsiæ, 1805. 8vo. pp. 1026.*

THE fabrications, which bear the name of Orpheus, collected in this ponderous volume, are in themselves little interesting to the reader of taste, and of little importance to the cause of sound literature. We have, however, been induced to select them from the mass of German publications to which the late, like preceding years, has given birth, by the celebrity of the editor under whose name they appear, and the curious nature and original matter of the ample dissertation which he has appended to them.

The pieces commonly denominated Orphic, and which, as they pass under that title, though they seem to possess no other species of connection, have usually been published in conjunction with each other, are, 1st, a tedious poem of nearly fourteen hundred verses on the subject

of the argonautic expedition: 2ndly, a collection of mystic hymns, perhaps of different ages, and some of them probably of considerable antiquity: and, 3dly, a poem on genius, and their fabulous properties, medical and magical. The last of these poems includes no mention of Orpheus, and no evidence that the writer of it intended to ascribe it to that poet.

Editions of these writings have already appeared in numbers sufficiently adequate to their merit. The first is that of Florence, published by Junta in 1500, a work of great rarity, containing the argonautic and the hymns. These were republished by Aldus, at Venice, in 1517, along with the poem on the loves of Hero and Leander, and with the addition of the lithica. To these succeeded several other editions, none of which it is necessary to mention.

except that of Gesner, comprising the collected works, with the notes of preceding editors, and his own; and those of the lithics and argonautics separately, by Tyrwhitt and Schneider.

The editions of Gesner and Tyrwhitt, with the exception of the Latin versions, are embodied in this publication. Many notes are also added by the present editor, which display his ingenuity, and his very extensive, and commonly accurate, knowledge of the Greek language, not without some infusion of his customary bile. The version of the argonautics, by Cribellus, is retained (as being made from a valuable manuscript, which we suppose is at present either not extant, or not accessible), along with the curious translation of the hymns by Scaliger. The various readings have been collected by the collation of several MSS. (the most valuable are stated to be those of Vossius, Ruhkenius, and Vienna), and some ancient editions.

These pieces, like most of the other minor Greek poems, have descended to us in a very corrupt state. The editor has, therefore, taken considerable liberties in reforming them by conjectural emendation. "Textum argonauticorum, hymnorum, et lithicorum," says he, "ita ut corrigendus mihi videbatur, reſinxi. In argonauticis quidem, corrupto opere, si quid fortasse audacius mutatum videatur, æqui lectores, non modo multitudinem vitiorum et magnitudinem reputabunt, sed illud etiam recordabuntur, haud paullo difficilius esse malum, quam bonum scripturæ emendare." Many of his conjectures are certainly ingenious; but we doubt the propriety of inserting them constantly, however violent, into the text. We cannot but prefer the modesty of Tyrwhitt, who has made his notes the vehicles of many most ingenious emendations, but has cautiously abstained from introducing them, however probable, into the text of his author.

On the argonautics and hymns we shall not dwell; as a minute enumeration of the various readings, by which they are justified or defended, would perhaps be tedious to our readers. With respect to the former we shall only observe, that the editor appears to us to have introduced, with much too great frequency, his favourite expletive *ei*, for which, indeed, he seems to have sought a place wherever it was possible that it should exist.

As we are indebted for the best edition of the lithics to a very ingenious and learned scholar of our own country, that

poem is likely to have received in England a greater share of attention than the others by which it is usually accompanied. We shall, therefore, proceed to give a faithful account of the various readings of a considerable portion of the text before us, collated with that of Mr. Tyrwhitt. The only advantage of authority which the present editor appears to have possessed above his learned predecessor, is an inedited exegesis of Tzetzes on the Iliad of Homer, preserved in a public library at Leipsic, containing several verses of the lithics, which are corrupt in the common editions, in a correct state, and confirming the previous conjectures of Tyrwhitt and other critics.

Ver. 5. *νηπιτιοισι* for *νηπιτιυβοισι* is adopted from the note of Tyrwhitt.

7. *αγαλλομενης* from the conjecture of the same critic.

11. The order of the words *Κρονιδης ταντων* is changed, to remedy the short syllable in *cæsurâ*.

14. For *χαϊροντας* is substituted, from the emendation of Ruhkenius, *χαϊρορτες*.

17. On account of the preceding *ος κεν*, for *αωωγχι*, is read *αωωγ*, by conjecture.

18. *εσελθεμεν*, from Tzetzes.

22. For *αικις*, *αικις*, which form is also substituted in another instance, 140.

28. For *αντικρυς*, *αντικρυ*.

35. For *χρυσειν επι λεχος αιεν*, is read *λεχος αιεν επι χρυσειν*, to give a better support to the short syllable in *cæsurâ*.

39. 'αλ', necessary both to the sense and the metre, is inserted from the conjecture of Tyrwhitt.

42. The final *ν* is added to the word *τισσσι*, to sustain the short syllable. We mention this merely to denote the canon of prosody, which is adopted on this subject by the professor, the application of which occurs in several other instances.

43. In compliance with the epic form, for *αικε θελησι*, T., *αικ' εδελησι*, H.

53. For *εκασψ*, T., *εκαστην*, H. Neither the common nor the new reading is free from difficulty: *εκασψ* can scarcely be used for *cuiquam*, in which sense alone it affords any meaning; and *εκαστην* is perfectly unnecessary.

57. For *αριχηται*, from the conjecture of Tyrwhitt, *εριχηται*; for *ος τ'*, from the rules of the language, *ος κ'*.

60. For *αιοιδυ*, *αιοιδης*, a plausible conjecture.

62. In a verse indubitably corrupt, the conjecture of Hermann, inserted in his text, is perhaps the best which has been offered. *αλλα σε, πρεσβα δαμοσσην*.

67. Difficulties of prosody and grammar are avoided by reading *θεοὺς ἐποπίζεμεν αἰὲν ἔοντάς*.

68. For *ἀνδρῶν, αἰγῶν*—the conjecture of Ruhnkenius.

70—72. The ingenious conjectures of Tyrwhitt are deservedly adopted, with the addition of a necessary grammatical alteration, *τευξάσι* for *τευξέσι*. We shall not, perhaps, be considered as digressing too far from the subject, if we take this opportunity of mentioning a corrupt reading, which maintains its place in all the recent editions of Homer, *Od. vi. 262, αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν πῶλ' ἰος ἐπιβήσομεν*. This reading is vicious, as giving an intransitive sense to a transitive verb, and as placing a future indicative where an aorist subjunctive is required, in this connection, by the preceding *ἐπὶν*, though, by the grammatical figure called systole, *ἐπιβήσομεν* may indeed be considered as the subjunctive aorist. The valuable Harleian MS., 5674, in this passage reads, without doubt justly, *ἐπιβήσομεν*, which appears also in the Florentine edition of 1488, and the Juntine of 1519, and probably in most MSS., and in most printed editions previous to the publication of Eustathius, in whom the common reading is found. In *Od. K. 334*, the common editions, by the same error, read *ἐπιβήσομεν*, the Florentine and Juntine, *ἐπιβήρομεν*.

73. *ἀμερδεῖς*, the conjecture of Tyrwhitt, is adopted.

77. *Φασεμβροτε*, the conjecture of Gesner.

78. *δαμαζοῖτο*, from Tyrwhitt.

82. For *ἐμ' ὑπισχνόμεαι*, *εὐμεδεν σέυμαι*, the former word from ed. Ald., and cod. Par.; the latter from conjecture, to replace a word not usual in the epic writers. Homer, however, uses *ὑπισχνόμεαι* in the same sense. The conjecture we think not necessary, and its admission into the text not warranted; it is, however, in itself not improbable.

84. *διζῆμαι*, from the conjecture of Tyrwhitt, whose note has been by some accident omitted.

85. *μερῶνισσαι*, from Gesner, to preserve the uniformity of the mood.

86. *ἐξέρπειν*, for the same reason.

89. For *ἀκαπνέντες*, certainly corrupt, *ασθμαίνοντες* by conjecture, the former word being considered as a gloss for the latter. Yet the authorities adduced in the index of Tyrwhitt, induce us to prefer *αἶνα πονάντες*, the conjecture of Portus.

90. For *ἐφ' οὖν*, to avoid the hiatus, in a situation of the verse in which, however,

in our opinion, it is not wholly inadmissible.

107. *τεῖος*—so Musgrave.

108. *ορεξάμενον δε δοκεύσας*; a good conjecture of Portus, which we wonder that Tyrwhitt did not receive into his text.

110. The editor successfully vindicates the common reading *κην* against the conjecture of Tyrwhitt. This power of *κην*, though not uncommon, has not been much noticed except by modern grammarians.

111. *αντις*, according to the orthography of the epic writers.

113. *ὄροντες*, from Tyrwhitt.

116. For *πλειω*, is well read *πλειην*.

118. For *αλαληντο*, *λεληντο*. Though the common reading is doubtful, the conjecture is too hazardous to be inserted in the text.

119. *δεινον*.

120. *λαφυζαι*, from the conjecture of Bernard.

123. *οῖσσατο*.

130. *αβ* for *αι*.

141. *εδ' αρα*, from Tyrwhitt.

145. *χ' ὡ μιν ἐπεσσυτο*, from the same.

147. *λαθεν*, from the conjecture of the editor, the reason for the preference of which to that of Gesner, received by Tyrwhitt, we do not discern. Either of them is admissible, and one of them necessary.

148. *απο*. Tyr. and Musg.

149. *ἐπιτήξας*. T. and M.

159. *λασιαις*, from Ruhnkenius.

172. *αἰδει*, by a probable conjecture.

173. *παρα*.

182. *παλαγένης*, from Tyrwhitt's conjecture.

183. *φλογας*, from the same.

186. *αυτος*, Gesner.

192. *ανακτιπν*.

195. *οἱ δ' αρα*, an indubitable emendation.

200. *οτι*, from Aldus.

207. *περιμυκησωνται*. In the preceding line should probably be read *παρὰ τῆς* (Il. xvii. 30.), as depending on *εργν*.

209. *κυανανγερων*, a conjecture preferable to that of Tyrwhitt.

213. *ερχεσθαι* for *ερχε*.

214. *καρποφορον*, Tyr.

217. *υται*, Gesner's conjecture, accommodated to the measure.

218. *Σην*, from Schneider.

226. This verse is silently, but justly, corrected by reading *νοη*.

227. *εκ' αραων*. Tyr.

228. *πετρηκα*.

231. *κην* for *και*.

238. Where a conjecture is necessary,

that of Heriman, *κρᾶ δοίω*, seems the best.

246. *σερεη τε*, the corruption of the passage is certain, and the remedy not improvable.

248. *εὐρης*, a grammatical correction for *εὐροίς*.

251. *χαιρίς*, the certain emendation of Ruhnkenius.

265. *ρεξῆ*.

267. *ἦδε γὰρ* — *αἴει*. We should prefer *ἦδε κεν* — *αἴοι*.

268. The emendations of Tyrwhitt are adopted.

273. This verse is well corrected, *ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐνὶ πτόλειο*.

274. *κυρός*, from Tyrwhitt.

282. *ἐακρυύσαι ἄδω μένος*, from Bernard.

292, 3. From the emendations of Tyrwhitt.

297. The correction of Musgrave is adopted.

300. This verse is well corrected from conjecture, *ὅς κε* — *φορεῖσθιν*.

301, 2. The punctuation of these verses is altered according to the observations of Tyrwhitt. The latter of them, partly from the conjecture of the editor, and partly from that of Tyrwhitt, is also read thus:

Μαγνήσση, τήντ' ἐξῆχ' ἐφιλατο Σηριος Ἀρης.

303. *πελαση*, a grammatical emendation.

304. *αγανοφρονα*, from Musgrave.

306. *αἶρει*, from the same.

309. *παλυνη*, vid. 303.

310. *ὀπερδυσμιο*, from Dinnerus.

313. *σώμα*, from Pierson; *φύλασσει*.

325. The verse is supplied by the insertion of *τοῖ*.

326. *ἐδερξάμαι, ὅν γγ' αἶψα*.

331. *γὰρ τοι*, from Tyrwhitt.

332. The emendations of Tyrwhitt are adopted.

335. *δεῖδεμεν*, from the same.

339. *συν* for *νυν*, a necessary emendation.

347. *ὅτις κ' ἀκροῖτο*.

349. *αρτεμεεσσιν*, Ruhnkenius.

350. *Παρίς*, Tyr.

We had intended to have continued this collation through the poem; but as the variations are so numerous, and many of them so minute, we feel that it would be abusing the patience of our readers to proceed. The instances which we have already given will be sufficient to furnish a specimen of the edition.

The most important part of this volume

is the annexed dissertation, the purpose of which is to ascertain, by arguments of internal probability (especially such as relate to the prosody), the age of the argonautic poem.

The period when this poem was probably composed, has been, and continues to be, a subject of considerable doubt. It furnishes an instance of literary imposture which, in all ages of the Greek history, appears to have been pretty frequent, and to which the scarcity of books in these ages was calculated to give great facilities. And if the poems of Rowley at one period gained credit in England, and imposed on an enlightened age, it will not excite our surprize if similar adventurers met with similar success in periods when the art of criticism had been less cultivated, especially when they came forward under the sanction of names consecrated by popular superstition or enthusiasm. Onomacritus is perhaps one of the earliest of these falsifiers whose names remain upon record. He is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 6.) as banished from Athens by Hipparchus, in consequence of having been detected in the act of interpolating some supposed oracles of Musæus. He was afterwards reconciled to the family of the Pisistratidæ, and contributed to encourage the expedition of Xerxes into Greece by illusory predictions, adapted to flatter the vanity of that monarch. To this worthy prototype of such as in subsequent ages have amused themselves, and displayed their ingenuity in a similar way, the argonautics have been by many, with little probability, ascribed. Toup (Em. in Suid. ii. 98.) is inclined to consider them as the work of Cleon, a writer mentioned by the scholiast of Apollonius. Ruhnkenius, whose remarks upon this performance occur at considerable length in his second epistola critica, without assigning an author, affirms its antiquity in decisive terms, as at least not posterior to the age of the Alexandrian poets. Valckenær, by an incidental expression, seems to treat the imposture with contempt, and Schneider regards it as the barbarous and tasteless work of some ignorant Greek in a comparatively recent age.

The want of external testimony leaves the question to be determined by arguments of probability. It does not certainly appear that this work is once quoted by any ancient writer. Ruhnkenius (and who is a more competent authority on such a subject?) allows the fact in general, though he attempts to make a few obscure

exceptions; his authorities, however, which are only two in number, appear to fail him, as one cannot be shown to allude to the work in question, and the antiquity of the other is disputable. If the date, therefore, of this poem is capable of being fixed with any degree of probability, it must be from the internal evidence to be deduced from the investigation of the work itself.

Some German critics, mentioned by Hermann, have attempted to collect that evidence from the geography of the poem: the result is, however, too uncertain to be depended upon. A more probable mode of approximation to the truth, is that adopted by the editor himself, who divides the epic poets into classes, according to the styles of versification prevalent in different ages, by a comparison with which he attempts to assign the place of the author of the *Argonautics*. If the poet himself is of little importance, the observations and researches to which he gives occasion may at least prove valuable.

The classes into which the epic writers may be divided, according to our author, are the following:

I. That of Homer and Hesiod, which he considers as immediately subsequent to the origin of poetry among the Greeks, the distinctive characters of which are, certain liberties practised with respect to the quantity of syllables in the middle of words, the lengthening of short syllables in *cæsura*, the admission of the hiatus, and the use of the digamma.

II. The age of the *Homeridæ*, or rhapsodists, comprizing parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; most of the *Homeric hymns*; and the shield of *Heracles*, ascribed to Hesiod. These writers, says the editor, retain the power of the *cæsura*; they admit the hiatus, but with much less frequency than was allowed in the *Homeric age*, while they abstain from other licences; they preserve the use of the *Æolic letter*.

III. The age which succeeded the disuse of the digamma, admitting the hiatus only in phrases borrowed from the ancient poets, in which it was often occasioned by the omission of the obsolete letter. The power of the *cæsura* is supposed to be the same as in the preceding age, and to this period is referred the hymn to *Mercury*.

IV. The writers who are comprized within this period extend from *Aratus* to *Manetho*, including the poets of the *Alexandrian school*. Their numbers are sup-

posed to be more polished, and more restricted to rule, than those of the preceding periods; the very knowledge of the digamma, as employed in heroic verse, was obliterated; the licences of the power of the *cæsural pause*, and the hiatus, were admitted only in phrases and hemistichs borrowed from Homer and Hesiod. Yet the digamma in one case (the use of the pronouns *ἐγ* and *ἐ*) uniformly and remarkably preserves its force.

V. The last age is supposed to have declined gradually to negligence and barbarism of numbers, from which it was rescued by *Nonnus*, or some other writer, who established a system of heroic versification, differing in some respects from that of any of his predecessors, and subject to strict laws. The writers of this school employ, with much greater frequency than the preceding poets, the trochaic *cæsura* in the third foot; they scrupulously abstain from the same *cæsura* in the fourth foot, which is indeed little used by the poets of any class; the syllable preceding a mute and liquid is always made long; the hiatus is only admitted in a few forms taken from Homer, and the power of the *cæsura*, in lengthening the short syllable on which it falls, is wholly abrogated.

The following circumstances are assigned, by M. Hermann, as furnishing the chief distinctions in the structure of the epic verse as employed by the poets of different ages and classes; the situation and nature of the *cæsural pause*; the degree of efficacy which that pause is permitted to exert in sustaining a short syllable; the admission or rejection of the hiatus: and the influence of a mute and liquid on a preceding short vowel. The rules laid down on these subjects are applied to the practice of the principal writers of heroic verse, from *Theocritus* till the latest ages of Greek poetry, and many passages of their works examined by a reference to them.

1. In Latin, the principal *cæsural division* of the heroic verse is formed by a long syllable succeeding the second foot. In Homer, the same pause is employed with great frequency: there is, however, another pause, which is used by that poet with almost equal familiarity, formed by a trochaic division of the third foot, as in the second verse of the *Iliad*,

Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρ' ———

The use of this *cæsura* seems gradually and almost regularly to have increased in

frequency through the subsequent ages of Greek poetry. In the Alexandrian writers it begins to be predominant; in most of the authors subsequent to the christian æra it abounds; and in Nonnus, and some very late writers, the use of it becomes almost general. The usage of a poet, in this department of versification, may afford some indication (though not to be relied on without other circumstances of confirmation) respecting the age in which he lived. We may here observe that the transition from the ancient to the recent practice does not appear to have been so marked and sudden as M. Hermann seems to imagine, but to have been accomplished by several intervening steps, as may be collected from the writers who flourished between the ages of Homer and Nonnus. The practice of the pseudo Orpheus, in this respect, sufficiently accords with the supposition that he flourished in an age subsequent to the christian æra, but preceding that of Nonnus.

It is remarked by M. Hermann, and apparently with justice, that the heroic poets of all ages seem cautiously to have abstained from a trochaic division of the fourth foot. This remark will admit of some practical application in the division of words. In the 5th verse of the Iliad, Heyne, to preserve the Ionic form of the imperfect, reads *δε τελειετο*; *δ' ετελειετο* is requisite, or at least preferable, for the versification.

II. It is well known to every reader who is in any degree versed in the writings of Homer, that a short syllable in cæsura is frequently made long by the force which that situation of the verse is calculated to throw upon it, though generally perhaps not without some support from the succeeding syllable. And even in Homer, where the necessity of recurrence to this licence could be avoided by the insertion of the paragoge letter, or by any other means, such assistance seems to have been adopted. In subsequent writers the admission of this liberty seems to have been confined to Homeric forms and phrases, and at length to have been totally disused. In estimating the age of an author, this is, therefore, a circumstance which deserves regard. The author of the argonautics adopts the practice of the poets preceding the age of Nonnus.

III. In the present editions of Homer the hiatus appears to recur perpetually. It is, however, commonly remedied by the insertion of the digamma; and in the remaining instances the admission of it

appears to have been, generally at least, regulated by certain rules. One of the places in which it is admissible, though unnoticed by Hermann, seems to have been established by Mr. Wakefield, as succeeding the trochaic cæsura in the third foot. If this remark is well-founded, several verses which M. Hermann is disposed to correct, will not stand in need of the remedy which he offers; for instance, Hymn. in Merc. 446,

τις τεχνη, τις μυστα αμυχανεων μελεδωνων,
of which the following correction is proposed,

τις δ' η μυσ' ηδ' εστιν, &c.

As, in the former case, subsequent writers have admitted the hiatus principally in forms borrowed from Homer, the most recent poets have rejected it altogether.

IV. With respect to the influence of a mute and liquid on a preceding vowel, in rendering the syllable long, the practice of the earliest and latest writers seems nearly to have coincided. The versifiers of some of the intervening ages, particularly Quintus Calaber, and others who appear to be nearly his contemporaries, frequently make the vowel, preceding the combination of such letters, short, while Nonnus rigorously adopted the ancient usage. In Orpheus the instances of this licence are remarkably numerous, a circumstance which may have some weight in determining his age.

These observations are greatly dilated by our author, and applied to a vast variety of instances extracted from the works of the poets, and interspersed with various incidental remarks, relative to the versification of the epic writers. The conclusion derived from the whole is, that the author of the argonautics has adopted that style of versification, which was prevalent a few centuries after the christian æra, and which preceded the age of Nonnus.

His diction is the next subject of examination. The following observations are ingenious: "Antiquorum propria sunt in primis hæc duo, simplicitas orationis etiam in summo ornatu; grandis autem, elata, metaphoris splendens dictio, non nisi in re actiosa et plena commotionis animorum, qualis quidem dictio ab epici carminis natura abhorret. Contra, recentem ætatem, corruptumque venustatis sensum, arguit oratio molesta, quæsitæ, omnino gravior quam pro rei tractatæ conditione. Multo autem recentioris magisque corruptæ æta-

is indicium ea dictio est, in qua qui est ornatus, vim suam et virtutem nimio usu jam amisisse intelligitur. Cognoscitur hoc ita, si scriptor, præsertim, alienus a vano ornatu, exquisitas verborum formulas ibi adhibet, ubi non voluit ornare orationem; ubi autem grandiore dictione opus est, is abstinet. Ut exemplo rem illustrem, molesta dictione usi sunt Callimachus, Nicander, Lycophron, sed perpetuo, ut pateat gratiam hinc scriptis suis quævisse. Multo post idem fecit Nonnus. Hic, pariter atque illi, habuit imitatorès suos, qui, quæ isti multo usu vulgaris reddiderant, pro vulgatis adsciverunt. Quo fieri non potest quin seniores ætate se esse prodant. Sic igitur etiam Orpheus. Hic minime sæculo præditus ingenio, quum brevitàtem et simplicitatem magis necessitate quam consilio consecraretur, multa tamen habet, quæ quia altius assurgere videntur, ita sunt ab hujus oratione aliena, ut manifestum sit, is temporibus scripta esse, quibus jam erant vulgaris."

—p. 772.

The use of the pronoun *ôi*, necessarily occupies a conspicuous place in a dissertation on the language of Orpheus. The metrical power of this word, with its accusative *ê*, is also treated more largely and accurately than we remember to have seen it elsewhere considered. The passages of the ancient writers, which violate the metrical canon on this subject, are copiously investigated, and emendations proposed, of the truth of many of which we entertain no doubt; but our limits will not permit us to enlarge. The grammatical employment of the word *ôi* by our poet is most singular. It seems, on various occasions, to answer to almost every case, person, and number, and frequently to be used as a mere expletive. Its various employments are diligently enumerated by M. Hermann, but he should not have quoted his own corrections as examples of his rules. Vestiges of a similar usage are found in Quintus Calaber, whence it is inferred that the pseudo Orpheus

flourished subsequently to the age of that poet, Quintus being considered as the prototype, as deviating less, from ancient and established custom.

On the whole, much learning and ingenuity are manifested in this dissertation; and though none of the arguments separately taken are sufficient to determine the point in question, yet, by a complication of probabilities, M. Hermann seems to have succeeded in evincing the truth of his position, that the unknown author of the argonautics flourished in a late period of Greek poetry, probably subsequent to Quintus Calaber, but almost certainly prior to the age of Nonnus.

Among the addenda to the lithics, are some various readings from Tzetzes, one of which would have deserved insertion in the text, had the editor been earlier acquainted with it; v. 11. *ταρὰν ὕπερ ἀ-Σερα* for *ταραον*. M. Hermann, on this occasion, finds reason to condemn his own conjecture, which he has inserted in the text, supplying a proof of the injudiciousness of the hasty reception of an emendation, though not improbable, which the first inspection of a valuable copy may immediately overthrow.

Among the Harleian MSS. is preserved a copy of the argonautics, the collation of which does not appear to have been yet communicated to the public. Though not a MS. of very ancient date, it appears to have been taken from a valuable original, the readings which it supplies being commonly coincident with those of the MSS. of Vossius, Vienna, and Rubenius. It frequently possesses the expletive *ôi* where it is obliterated in the common copies. One reading it furnishes, which, though very obvious, has not appeared in any printed edition till the present, in which it is inserted from the conjecture of Gesner in the index, and which does not seem to exist in any of the collated copies, *ἐνοτάμιον* for *ἐνοτάμιον*, v. 317, ed. Herm.

ART. II.—*Comicorum Græcorum Fragmenta quædam. Curavit et Notas addidit ROBERTUS WALPOLE, A. B. Trin. Coll. Camb. 8vo. pp. 116.*

THE remains of ancient literature, though comprizing, without doubt, many of the most valuable productions of the best ages of Greece and Rome, yet form but a wreck of the vast collection of their taste and science. The mere catalogue of authors whose names only remain, of works whose titles alone have survived

the injuries of time, which doubtless bear but a small proportion to those of which the very memory has irretrievably perished, would perhaps form a volume of no inconsiderable bulk. To collect an extensive library was indeed a work of royal magnificence; but we may justly be inclined to wonder, considering the disad-

advantages resulting from the difficulty of multiplying copies, and the obstacles and discouragement which this circumstance must have caused to literary exertion, that the formation of large libraries, and much more of those immense repositories of books whose existence is recorded, should have been within the limits of possibility.

The works of the extant writers have, however, preserved to us considerable fragments of many of those which are lost; the collection of which, arranged under their several heads, though a difficult, would be a very meritorious service to the cause of literature. Such a project Bentley is said at one time to have entertained; and a monument of his skill and diligence is extant in the fragments of Callimachus, which he has explored, though not without leaving some gleanings to the care of succeeding critics. In no department, however, have the scattered relics of learning more employed the attention of scholars than in that of the drama. This species of composition among the Greeks is peculiarly interesting: partly from its intrinsic merit, and the specimens which it affords of that Attic elegance which has been the admiration of all ages; and partly because we are able to trace it with greater exactness than most of the other established forms of writing, from its rude origin through its various stages of progress to the ultimate perfection which it acquired. It is computed that in the age of Alexander about three thousand dramatic pieces of various descriptions were extant, of which some kind of memorial remains. It is to be regretted, that of the comic writers, Aristophanes is the only author of whom any entire work is preserved. The fragments however of Menander and Philetaerus, lamentable relics as they are of departed fame and genius, still amount, with their due proportion of commentary, to a considerable volume. The names of the most eminent comic writers of Greece have been rendered familiar to English readers by Mr. Cumberland, in the interesting sketch of their works which he has given in the *Observer*; and his own masterly translations convey no inadequate representation of the elegance of their remains.

Some of the most interesting fragments of the comedians, selected by the

taste, and illustrated by the learning, of Mr. Walpole, are comprized in the little volume which forms the subject of this article. The authors are Cratinus, Eupolis, Plato, Pherecrates, Alexis, Antiphanes, Anaxandrides, Aristophan, Ephippus, Epicrates, Eubulus, Phœnicides, Philetærus, Timocles, Mnesimachus, Xenarchus, Macho, Theophilus, Menander, Philemon, Diphilus. These fragments are elegantly printed, and we believe more correct in their readings than they have hitherto appeared. We wish that to each article Mr. Walpole had annexed the name of the author in whom it is to be found.

Peculiar value will be attached to this volume, in consequence of some emendations which it contains from the masterly hand of professor Porson, some of which we shall transcribe. In a fragment of the *As-sentatores* of Eupolis, for *σκαμμα γαρ τις ελεγε*, is read, *σκαμμα γαρ ειπ' ασελγες*, an emendation which may be classed with that of Alexander Aetolus, by Casaubon, celebrated by Valckenar (*Dietr.* 279). A humorous fragment of Epicrates (p. 18) has the benefit of the same criticism both in the reading and the metre. P. 99, we have the following note; which contains the first application of the celebrated MS. of Plato, recently brought to this country, to the purposes of criticism, that we remember to have seen; we wish that it might be speedily followed by many similar instances. 'Philetaeri, Venatrice. Quicunque accurate Suidam in vocibus *Φιλεταερος* et *Νικοστρατος* lectitaverit, is liquido dejerare posset ista duo nomina ad unam eandemque personam respicere. Hanc Porsoni conjecturam extra omnem dubitationis aleam ponit scholion quantivis pretii, quod, literis præ vetustate obtutum oculorum pane fugientibus, ex MS. Platonis *Dialogorum* nobiscum perbenigne communicavit vir eruditissimus, p. 47. For *πορ ταυτα, καν εκατος στη βιωσεται*, the corrupt reading of a verse of Menander, we have the following emendation—*στη βιως ει*, an improvement on that of Toup, and doubtless the genuine reading.

Translations of many of the fragments from Grotius and Cumberland are added. The whole is creditable to the taste and industry of Mr. Walpole, and we hope that it is the precursor of future exertions.

ART. III.—*Specimens of scarce Translations of the seventeenth Century from the Latin Poets. To which are added Miscellaneous Translations from the Greek, Spanish, Italian, &c.* By ROBERT WALPOLE, Esq. B. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. 12mo. pp. 164.

OUR early English translators have long laboured under the imputation of that servile fidelity, which is true indeed only to the words of the author, while his spirit

is suffered wholly to evaporate, and leaves behind little more than a lifeless form. Yet a few there are, whom even the severest censurer will except from this accusation. It is the object of Mr. Walpole, by the specimens collected in this volume, to give his readers a more favourable idea than is usually formed of several of our early writers, "in this species of composition, with whose productions the general mass of readers is but little acquainted, from the rarity of the books in which they are contained." The best perhaps is that from Gallus by Cotton, but we are doubtful whether any of them merit revival from the oblivion into which they have sunk. They certainly do not in every instance correspond to the former part of the panegyric of Mr. Walpole, that "fidelity has been scarcely ever sacrificed to paraphrase, and in many passages peculiar felicity has been displayed by them." The latter of the following lines is audaciously inserted by Oldham in his translation of the story of Byblis and Caunus.

"Alive I'll press, till breath in pray'rs be lost,
And after come, a kind beseeching ghost."

P. 33.

He thus amplifies three lines of the original:

"Dixit, et (incerta tanta est discordia mentis)
Cum pigeat tentasse, libet tentare; modumque
Exit, et infelix committit saepe repelli."

"She spoke: but such is her unsettled mind,
It shifts from thought to thought like veering wind,

Now to this point, and now to that inclin'd,
What she could wish had unattempted been,
She strait is eager to attempt again;
What she repents, she acts; and now lets loose

The reins to love, nor any bound allows;
Repulse upon repulse unmov'd she bears,
And still sues on, while she her suit despairs."

P. 33.

We know not what specimen we can select with greater propriety, than part of the story of Lucretia from Ovid, by Creech.

"This art prevail'd; she fear'd an injur'd name,
And liv'd and suffered to secure her fame.
Why dost thou smile, triumphant ravisher?
This shameful victory shall cost thee dear;
Thy ruin pay for this thy forc'd delight:
How great a price! a kingdom for a night!

"The guilty night was gone;—the day appears;
She blusht and rose, and double mourning wears;
As for her only son, she sits in tears,
And for her father and her husband sends.
Each quickly hears the message, and attends.
But when they came and saw her drown'd in tears,
Amaz'd they ask'd the cause,—What violent fears,
What real ill did wound her tender mind?
What friend was dead, for whom this grief design'd?
But she sat silent still, still sadly cried,
And hid her blushing face, and wept and sigh'd.
Both strive to comfort, both lament her fate,
And fear some deadly ill they know not what.
Thrice she would speak, thrice stopp'd; again she tries,
To speak her wrong, yet durst not raise her eyes:
'This too on Tarquin's score,' she cried, 'I place;
I'll speak, I'll speak, ah me! my own disgrace;—'
And what they could her modest words express;
The last remain'd, her blushes spoke the rest.
Both weep, and both the forc'd offence forgive:
'In vain you pardon me, I can't receive
The pity you bestow: nor can I live.'
This said, her fatal dagger pierc'd her side,
And at her father's feet she fell and died."

Several French translations from the Latin poets are also contained in this collection.

The second part of this volume is entitled Miscellaneous Translations, containing versions in Greek, Latin, and English, from originals in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, Greek, and Latin. Two Greek poems are original: an epitaph on Mr. Tweddell, who died at Athens; and an ode, honoured with a prize, on the surrender of Malta to the English arms. The former of these poems, as it is short, we may be permitted to transcribe.

"Ευδεις ἐν φθιμένοισι μάτην Σοφίης αἶψ' ἐρέψας

"Ἀνθεα, καὶ σὰ νέον Μιῦσ' ἐφιλήσε μάτην.
'Ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τὸ γῆινον αἰετι-
καλύπτει

Τίμωρος ὁδὲ ψυχὴν οὐρανὸς αἰεὶς ἔχει.
'Ἦμιν δ' οἱ σὲ φίλον ὡς, κατὰ δάκρυ

χέοντες
Μναμα φιλοφροσύνας χλωρὸν, οὐροῦμεθα,
'Ἢδ' ὧ δάμω καὶ τερπνὸν ἔχειν τοῦτ' ἔστι,
Ἀθηνων

Ὅς σὺ Βεῖταγρος ἐὼν κείσαι ἐν ἀνδρῶν

- His Greek compositions prove Mr. Walpole to be well versed in the works of the lyric and dramatic writers. The use of the tenses is not always nicely accurate. The following line contains an Anglicism:

"Cum mortis almus composuit sopor."

The sense requires, though the metre will not admit, composuerit: *ευαγγελισ* (p. 133) would be more accurately *ευαγγη*. The optative following *πειν* has a different power.

The translations from the Greek are mostly of amatory poems. The following specimen is among the best:

"Fraught with the nectar'd sweets of early spring,
Mark where the Zephyr speeds his destin'd way,

And seeks upborne aloft on balmy wing
Each flower that glitters in the morning's
ray.
Onward he hastes; and views with glad delight,
Where gemm'd with dew the blushing rosea bloom;
There ling'ring checks awhile his eager flight,
And sighing o'er inhales the soft perfume.
Still as he flies, the fragrance which he sips
He breathes around, and scatters through the air,
Till fix'd at length he rests on Julia's lips,
And, mingling with each tender accent there,
Sighs with the sigh which from her bosom flows,
And scents with balmy dew the kisses she bestows."

ART. IV.—*A Compendious Dictionary of the Latin Tongue: for the Use of public Seminaries, and of private Students.* By ALEXANDER ADAM, LL. D. Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 911.

THE writer of this work is well known to the public as the author of several eminently useful performances tending to facilitate the acquisition of classical learning; and in common with his former publications, the present volume bears ample testimony to his accurate erudition. In many respects it certainly possesses a decided advantage above every similar work intended for the use of the English learner. The examples have been selected with great care, and commonly present the most striking passages, or those which most require illustration, in the authors from whom the words are taken.

"In order to connect the knowledge of words and things together, whenever a beautiful moral sentiment occurred, or an allusion is made to a remarkable custom, to an historical fact, or the like, the whole sentence is transcribed, and if difficult, explained. When the example refers to any thing of great importance, it is farther illustrated by quoting similar passages from various authors. On this part of the work the compiler has bestowed the utmost attention, and hopes it will be found useful to readers of every description. Any one, who takes the trouble of examining only a few of the words, on which he has enlarged, and of comparing them with those in Ainsworth, or indeed in any other dictionary the compiler has met with, will perceive the pains he has taken, and how much still remains to be done, to facilitate the perusal of the Latin classic authors."

It is no unimportant advantage, that for the authorities quoted, the best editions, as those of Ernesti, Gesner, Dra-

kenborch, &c. have been commonly consulted. The typography also, an essential circumstance, though till lately much neglected, in a work intended for the use of young persons, has been carefully superintended.

The authorities to which Dr. Adam acknowledges himself principally indebted, are Cooper and Ainsworth, Gesner's edition of the Latin thesaurus of R. Stephanus, Facciolati, the indices of Burman, Ernesti, &c.

It is mentioned that a few names of gems, plants, and insects, which rarely occur, are omitted. This we regret; as they are few, the insertion of them would not have sensibly increased the bulk of the volume.

In one respect this work appears under a disadvantageous form. The former part of it is an abridgment of a larger work; while in the latter part the articles are inserted without curtailment, and consequently appear on a much larger scale. The circumstance is thus accounted for. The author, being prevented from executing the design of publishing his larger work by the high price of printing and paper, resolved in the mean time to publish an abridgment for the use of learners; intermingling, for the service of more advanced students, a fuller explication of such words as appeared most important or difficult; but perceiving as he proceeded, the utility of more copious illustrations, he afterwards introduced them more freely, and in the latter part of the book has

enlarged on every word in proportion, to its importance, on several of them, nearly as much as he proposed in his larger work.

Derivatives, and compound words, except in the case of words compounded with prepositions, are commonly inserted under their respective radicals. We doubt whether this method, though more satisfactory to the advanced student, be so well adapted for the use of the very young scholar, who has difficulties enough to contend with in the acquisition of a complex language. But we suppose that this dic-

tionary is only intended for the use of those who have made some proficiency beyond the elements of the Latin tongue.

We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing our sense of the useful and meritorious labours of Dr. Adams in his preceding publications; along with our hope, that the success of the present volume will be such as to justify him in shortly communicating to the public the larger work of which it may be considered as a specimen.

ART. V.—Greek Exercises, in Syntax, Ellipsis, Dialects, Prosody, and Metaphrasis: to which is prefixed a concise, but comprehensive Syntax. By the Reverend WILLIAM NEILSON. 8vo. pp. 162.

THE practice of exercises, though familiar in the Latin, and of great importance in the acquisition of any language, has been strangely neglected in the Greek, at least till the publication of Dr. Huntingford's useful work. The motives which have induced the publication of the present volume, after the appearance of that of Dr. Huntingford's, are not explained. Perhaps the latter has not been much used in Ireland. We shall not enter into a comparison of the two works. Each possesses its advantages. That of Mr. Neilson, from the greater minuteness and variety of the rules, and less complexity of the sentences, is perhaps better adapted for the use of *young* scholars. It possesses also some important additions. The following extract from the preface of the author will sufficiently explain his plan; it is only our duty to add that it has been carefully and successfully executed.

"The sentences are all, except in one or two unavoidable instances, in Attic prose; for it is evidently improper to distract the learner's attention from syntax, to poetic licenses, or variety of dialects.

"Each chapter is divided into three parts. The first contains plain sentences, rarely anticipating any subsequent rule; these ought to be all rendered into correct Greek, before the other parts of the chapters are attempted. The second contains more variety of expression, and exemplifies the rules promiscuously, as well as the particular one prefixed to each chapter: this part is from ¶ to the end of the English sentences. Having finished these sentences, in all the chapters on syntax, the student will be able to trans-

late the third part of each chapter, which consists of Latin sentences, with no corresponding Greek.

"As there are many elliptical expressions, which cannot be comprehended under any general rules of syntax, a selection of the most important examples has been made from Bos's excellent work on ellipsis. The scholar is to supply the words omitted; which he will do with ease and pleasure, being enabled, by the translation, to find them, and directed, by the blank spaces in the Greek page, where they ought to be placed. The Latin language was preferred to English, in these, in the sentences to be translated at the end of each chapter, and in the chapter on metaphrasis, as we have no English-Greek lexicon.

"In order to give a knowledge of the different dialects, quotations from Ionic, Doric, and Æolic writers, and Homer, are inserted, which are to be rendered into the common Attic Greek. The student will thus learn every thing of importance in each, with much more ease and pleasure, than by committing a number of rules to memory.

"The lines reduced to prosaic order, and to be returned into metre, are intended to form a taste for the melody of Greek poetry. And, to impress upon the mind the distinction between a poetic and prosaic style, it is recommended to exercise learners in paraphrasing, or imitating in prose, select passages of the Greek poets. This is usually called metaphrasis. A short specimen of it is given in the last chapter. It was thought unnecessary to insert more pieces of this kind, as any poet will furnish sufficient exercises."

The rule prefixed to chap. vii. on the use of the particles *av*, *say*, &c. is not sufficiently accurate and distinct.

ART. VI.—The Nature of Things: a Didactic Poem. Translated from the Latin of Titus Lucretius Carus, accompanied with the original Text, and illustrated with Notes philological and explanatory. By JOHN MASON GOOD. In Two Volumes. 4to.

SEVERAL causes seem to have conspired to withdraw from the poem of Lu-

cretius, that degree of popularity and esteem to which it is justly entitled, and

which it has always enjoyed with a few discriminating men of letters. The abstruseness of its subjects; the irreligion and licentiousness which have been attributed, the former perhaps justly, the latter certainly with great injustice, to the sects of Epicurus; have operated to its prejudice; nor is it every reader on whom the simplicity, and in some passages ruggedness of the style, will not at first operate unfavourably. On the other hand, the skill with which the argument is treated, but more especially the exquisite pictures and descriptions, the frequent strokes of sublimity and pathos with which the subject is varied and adorned, will ever secure for this poet a high degree of estimation with readers of real taste, and will place him in the foremost rank of Roman genius.

Though the circumstances which have been mentioned have almost necessarily precluded this writer from the enjoyment of extensive popularity, yet many modern writers and readers of taste have been no strangers to his merits, and there are few authors of whom imitations may more frequently be traced in the works of succeeding poets. Thus our own Spenser, a writer indeed intimately conversant with the great performances of antiquity, has almost translated the introduction of the poem in a long passage, which does ample justice to the original. The modern literature of the most polished nations of Europe, and that of our own country in particular, possesses also various translations of this writer, though in few instances capable of affording any adequate representation of his beauties. That of Marchetti perhaps alone presents an exception to this remark. The French, as usual, appear to have naturalized the poet only by means of prose translations; and the versions, whether partial or entire, which our own country has afforded, have in most instances been long and deservedly disregarded.

It has been the fate of this poet to have suffered in the original almost as much from the licentiousness of his editors, as, in modern languages, from the inadequacy of his translations. The publication of a splendid edition of the Latin text in this country by Mr. Wakefield, in which many passages have been restored to a state of integrity, by the aid of manuscripts and old editions, in consequence of which the attention of the public has perhaps been directed in a greater degree to the work of this poet, seemed to offer a favourable

period for a translation, of merit commensurate to the claims of English literature, and the just reputation of the author. This office has been undertaken by Mr. Good; honourably, we think, to himself, and beneficially to the cause of learning.

The elegant poetical talents, and the various learning of Mr. Good, are already well known to the public; and these are qualities which it is requisite for a translation of Lucretius to combine in no ordinary degree.

The preface contains, at considerable length, an account of preceding versions which have come to the knowledge of the translator, as well as of the views with which his own translation was undertaken, and the principles upon which it has been conducted. On this subject the writer may properly speak for himself.

“Contrary to the example afforded by my predecessors, I have preferred blank verse to rhyme; not, however, from any dread of superior labour, but from a persuasion that, in mixed subjects of description and scientific precept, it possesses a decisive advantage over the couplet. It lends more readiness to the topics introduced, it exhibits more dignity from its unshackled freedom, and displays more harmony from its greater variety of cadence. I have also attempted, what ought, indeed, to be the attempt of every translator, to give the manner, as well as the matter, of the original, to catch its characteristic style, and delineate its terms of expression.

“The translation is accompanied with a perpetual commentary, in the form of subjoined notes, and a correct copy of the Latin text. With respect to the propriety or advantage of the latter, I was for some time doubtful. Mr. Wakefield was the first who proposed it to me; the plan was afterwards strenuously advised by many other literary friends of the first eminence, and I at length resolved to adopt it. In the choice of an edition, I found no difficulty: the intrinsic excellence, and pre-eminence of Mr. Wakefield's own, precluding all hesitation upon the subject. I have at present, however, a motive for reprinting this edition, of which, I could not, at first, be aware; for almost all its copies were unfortunately consumed by the fire that, about two years ago, destroyed Mr. Hamilton's printing-offices. To this edition, nevertheless, I have not, in every instance, adhered in my translation; on some few occasions preferring the lection of prior expositors, and in two or three cases suggesting emendations of my own: yet, not choosing to break in upon the integrity of Mr. Wakefield's text, I have merely pointed out, and defended, such variations in the commentary.

"This commentary is composed of notes of different descriptions, which will, in general, be found equally original in their design and materials. It consists of parallel passages, or obvious imitations of Lucretius by other poets, whether Latin, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Portuguese, or English; together with original passages from Greek writers, to which our poet has himself occasionally referred, or from which he has manifestly borrowed. It consists, likewise, of casual observations on the different versions of Lucretius in our own, as well as foreign languages; and comparisons of the doctrines elucidated or animadverted upon in the course of the poem, with others of a similar tendency, which have been advanced or maintained by more modern philosophers. As I chiefly design this publication for the use of the English reader, I have, moreover, been punctilious in subfixing translations of all the passages from foreign writers, whose works I have found it necessary to quote. In cases where we have already adequate translations of such works in our own language, I have readily availed myself of such assistance: but in all other instances, as also where the version in common use is not sufficiently close to the original author to answer the purpose of the quotation, I have taken the liberty of giving a version myself. This, as will be obvious, has largely augmented my labours, but it was a trouble that seemed imperiously demanded."

Mr. Good however has not confined his researches to the writers of ancient or modern Europe: he is an oriental scholar, of no mean accomplishment; and has in various instances rendered the muses of the east, tributary to those of the west. From some instances of coincidence, he is not indeed uninclined to concede some probability to a supposition of the abbé de St. Pierre, which he allows to be only a conjecture, that Lucretius was not ignorant of the poetic books of the Jewish scriptures. Virgil, he observes, was indisputably acquainted with the prophecies of Isaiah. We cannot say that the coincidences which are supposed to exist between some passages of the poet, and the writings of the prophet, appear to us sufficient to establish the fact. Had the literati of Greece and Rome been acquainted with the Jewish scriptures more than by reputation, the references to them, and the mention made of them, would, we conceive, have been more frequent.

The preface is followed by a life of Lucretius. The materials are indeed scanty: they appear however to have been gleaned with great industry by the biographer. Lucretius appears not to have possessed any public station. It is not therefore surprising that the incidents of his life oc-

cupy a small space in the annals of Roman history. How little is indeed known of the lives of Virgil and Horace beyond what is incidentally recorded by themselves, or a few of their contemporaries similar to themselves in taste and pursuits! The name of Lucretius is traced in various periods of Roman history from the expulsion of the Tarquins. But though several persons occur, memorable on different accounts, who bore this name, no documents remain which enable us to trace the line of the poet's descent. His work however forms a nobler and more durable monument to his fame, than any honours of lineage and ancestry by which he may have been distinguished.

Whatever were the parentage of Lucretius, as his talents were eminent, his education appears to have been the most liberal that the age was capable of affording. The polite arts, as well as the severe studies of philosophy, had now made considerable progress in Rome. At no remote period the language, manners, and literature of the Greeks, had been the object of abhorrence or contempt to the stern patriots of the republic; who held no acquisition in estimation but that of military glory, and feared no danger but the introduction of such principles, tastes, and pursuits, as tended, in their opinion, to enervate the martial spirit of their countrymen. The voice of the philosopher was regarded as the song of the syren, charming indeed, but only calculated to lull men into inactivity and effeminacy. Yet when the severe Cato could so far prevail over the inveteracy of his prejudices, as in an advanced period of his life to become a student of the Greek language, it is not suprising that the pursuits of literature, of which Greece was the only accessible source, gradually gained ground, till that native tongue of poetry and science became a necessary part of the education of every Roman youth distinguished by rank, fortune, and promising talents.

It is evident from his writings that Lucretius must have applied himself with great ardour to the acquisition of the Grecian philosophy. His poem displays almost as much learning as genius. The sect under whose banners he enrolled himself, was that of Epicurus; whose philosophy, however imperfect, when compared with that of the moderns, and however chargeable with some great and important errors, was perhaps on the whole the most rational system, at least of

physics, dialectics, and morals, which had then been introduced. The schools of this philosophy were at that time distinguished by some of the most eminent names of which the age could boast.

To explain the principles of this system in the Latin language, in the form of a didactic poem, was an undertaking at once novel and arduous. A didactic poem was perhaps a production hitherto unknown in the Latin tongue; and the prose writers, who had applied themselves to the illustration of philosophy, had altogether failed of success. Cicero treats with contempt, with respect at least to their style and arrangement, the philosophical treatises which had preceded his own writings in that branch of science. Greece indeed abounded with examples of this species of composition, which it would be a vain attempt to number, and comparatively few of which have survived the ravages of time. Some of the elder philosophers, as Empedocles and Parmenides, had also presented their systems under a poetic garb; and in a subsequent age didactic poetry had received from such writers as Nicander and Aratus, a more polished language, and appropriate tone. With respect however to the state of Roman literature, Lucretius might justly indulge the boast:

*‘Juvetque novas decerpere flores,
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,
Unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musæ.’*

The Latin language was undoubtedly much less tractable than the Greek to the employment either of the poet or philosopher. Cicero frequently complains of the difficulty of conveying philosophical ideas by means of a language not yet disciplined to the admission of terms correspondent to them, and he appears to have been frequently reduced to the necessity of inventing terms for the purpose of expressing his Greek original. Lucretius had a still greater reason to complain of the hardship of accommodating philosophical ideas at once to a language, to which they were hitherto unknown, and to the mechanical structure of verse, and laws of poetical description; a difficulty which he does not fail to point out to the friend to whom his work is inscribed.

*‘Nec me animi fallit, Graiorum obscura re-
perta
Difficile illustrare Latinis versibus esse;
Multa novis verbis præsertim quom sit a-
gendum
Propter egestatem linguæ, et rerum novita-
tem.’*

Another difficulty which Lucretius himself mentions as incident to his work, was the necessity which it imposed on him of combating the popular prejudices of his age, and the imputation of impiety to which it was likely to subject him. Yet we cannot help thinking that this difficulty is overrated by Mr. Good, when he says, ‘it is impossible to conceive that any man could, without personal danger, encounter the animosity of so numerous and powerful a body as those religious orders must have formed, by the propagation of doctrines avowedly subversive of their entire constitution.’ The hold of the pagan system of theology on the minds of men was already much relaxed in the age of Lucretius; men of education, among whom alone his poem was likely to be circulated, were commonly unbelievers in it; and many of the pontiffs who performed in public the solemnities of their religion, in private ridiculed its absurdities without reserve.

Having satisfactorily defended the doctrines of Epicurus, and the philosophic poet his disciple, from the charge of immorality and licentiousness, which has been thrown upon them by the ignorant or the disingenuous, Mr. Good next enters upon a more arduous task, that of clearing the Epicurean system from the imputation of atheism, which has in every age been affixed to it. The undertaking is bold, and ingeniously supported; we cannot say that it appears to us equally successful. Our limits permit us to extract only a small part of Mr. Good's apology.

He first shews, what indeed no one will deny, that Epicurus allowed the existence of intelligent beings superior to man in happiness and dignity of nature. In some passages Mr. Good imagines that he discovers the mention of one supreme intelligence, of incomprehensible majesty, who by his inscrutable decrees governs the universe, and regulates the tenor of events.

“This magnificent and tremendous Being he no where attempts to describe: but, to prove his existence, he adverts, in a variety of places, to those arbitrary and mysterious events which are perpetually recurring through all nature, baffling the expectations of the most prudent, and elevating us to the contemplation of a Divinity, supreme, individual, and omnipotent:

“So, from his awful shades, some POWER
UNSEEN
O’erturns all human greatness; treads to
dust

Rods, ensigns, crowns, the proudest pomps
of state,
And laughs at all the mockery of man.

"The *unseen, incomprehensible, or mysterious POWER*, is a phrase not unfrequently applied to the Divinity in most languages, but in none, perhaps, with so much appropriation as the Latin, in which the term *Vis*, or *POWER*, even without an adjunct, is put in apposition with *Numen*, *MENS DIVINA*, or the *PRESENT GOD*, and often used synonymously for these appellations. Thus the author of the Panegyric to Constantine Augustus: 'O supreme Creator! whose names are as numerous as thou hast willed there should be languages among the nations: whom, for thou authorisest it to be said, *it is impossible for us to know*—dwells not in thee that *CERTAIN POWER*, and *DIVINE MIND*, which is diffused through the whole world?' The writer has selected the very words of Lucretius, *VIS QUÆDAM*, but has, at the same time, omitted his truly elegant and appropriate epithet of *abditæ*, *unseen, inscrutable, or mysterious*:—*VIS ABDITA QUÆDAM*. Cicero, in his Milonian oration, has a passage still more to the point: 'Nor can any one,' says he, 'think otherwise, unless he disbelieve that there exists a *POWER* or *DIVINE ENERGY*. But there does, there does exist this *POWER*; nor is it possible that a *SOMETHING*, which perceives and actuates, should be present in these bodies, even in the midst of their infirmities, and not be present in so grand, so excellent a movement of nature: unless, indeed, such a *POWER* be to be denied for the sole reason that it is *not seen, or perceived*; as though we were able to behold this mind of ours by which we determine, by which we foresee, by which, at this moment, I myself act, and speak, or could plainly ascertain of what it consists, or where it resides. This, this, then, is the *POWER* that has so often favoured this city with an incredible prosperity and happiness.' Let not, therefore, the theism of Lucretius be suspected, because, in conjunction with his countrymen in general, he represents the great author and arbiter of all things as an *UNSEEN* or *INSCRUTABLE POWER*. Even in the present age of the world, we only know him from his attributes,—from his word and from his works, for no man *hath hitherto seen God, or can see him*. The sacred scriptures are full of the same representation. Thus, Moses, in the very midst of an intercourse with which he was favoured by the Almighty, inquires what is his *name*, that he might inform the Israelites of it. To the same effect, Zophar, in his interview with Job:

"Canst thou by searching find out God?
Canst thou completely find out the Almighty?"

"With which, the following sublime apostrophe of Job himself is in perfect unison:

"O that I knew where I might find him:—Behold! I go forwards, but he is not there; And backwards, but I cannot perceive him:

On the left hand I feel for him, but trace him not,
He enshroudeth the right hand, and I cannot see him.

"So the devout Asaph:

"In the sea is thy way,
And thy path in the deep waters,
And thy footsteps are not known.

"And hence the Athenians in future ages, erected an altar to this same inscrutable and *MYSTERIOUS POWER*, and inscribed it *ΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟ ΘΕΩ*, "TO THE UNKNOWN GOD." St. Paul remarked the inscription in his visit to this city, and particularly alludes to it in his address to the Athenians: 'whom, therefore,' says he, 'ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.' It was about a century before St. Paul's visit to Athens, that Lucretius was studying in the same seat of philosophy and superstition: and, as there can be little doubt that this altar was at that time in existence, it is no extravagant conjecture that our poet himself had repeatedly noticed it, and had its inscription in his recollection when composing the passage before us."

The passage on which Mr. Good lays this stress, runs thus in the original:

"Usque adeo res humanas vis-abditæ quædam
Obferit; et pulchros fasces, scevasque securus,
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur."
V. 1232.

We imagine that few readers of Lucretius will discover in this description any thing more than the power of chance, to use popular language, or, speaking more strictly, the agency of causes respecting which we possess too little experience to be able to foresee their time and extent of operation.

Mr. Good next represents the atomic philosophy of Epicurus as subordinate to a system of theism, and in support of this supposition quotes a few passages from Diogenes Laertius. We can only observe that in none of these passages, or in the whole circle of the ancient Epicurean doctrine respecting first causes, does there appear to us to be any mention, direct or implied, of intelligence. It is indeed the whole scope of their system of physics, to shew that matter is formed into systems of order by the operation of powers eternally and independantly inherent in itself. In the translation of one of the passages to which we have referred, it must be observed, that the word '*immediate*,' printed in Italics, is inserted, and that the word rendered '*creation*,' implies only origination or birth, or con-

edition, if with some editions, we read
F. STICH.

The appendix to the life contains a comparison of the Epicurean philosophy, with other ancient systems, and a history of its various revolutions in ancient and modern times.

We now proceed to the translation: and the extracts which we shall give, partly from the more strictly didactic and argumentative, and partly from the descriptive and more ornamented passages of the poem, will enable our readers to form their judgment of its merits.

The invocation to Venus, as the representative of nature, and parent of the Roman race, with which the poem commences, is a passage of celebrated beauty, and is well known to the English reader, by the translations and imitations of it, which are to be found in the works of our own poets.

"PARENT OF ROME! by gods and men beloved,

BENIGNANT VENUS! thou! the sail-clad Main,
And fruitful Earth, as round the Seasons roll,

With Life who swellest, for by thee all live,
And, living, hail the cheerful light of day:—
Thee, Goddess, at thy glad approach, the winds,

The tempests fly: dedalian Earth to thee
Pours forth her sweetest flow'rets: Ocean laughs,
And the blue Heavens in cloudless splendour deck'd.

For, when the Spring first opes her frolick eye,

And genial Zephyrs long lock'd up respire,
Thee, Goddess, then, th' aerial birds confess,
To rapture stung through every shiv'ring plume:

Thee, the wild herds; hence, o'er the joyous glebe

Bounding at large; or, with undaunted chest,
Stemming the torrent tides. Through all that lives

So, by thy charms, thy blandishments o'er-power'd,

Springs the warm wish thy footsteps to pursue:

Till through the seas, the mountains, and the floods,

The verdant meads, and woodlands fill'd with song,

Spurr'd by desire each palpitating tribe
Hastes, at thy shrine, to plant the future race.

Since, then, with universal sway thou rulest,

And thou alone; nor aught without thee springs,

Aught gay or lovely; thee I woo to guide
Aright my flowing song, that aims to paint

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TO MEMMIUS' view the ESSENCES OF THINGS:

MEMMIUS, my friend, by thee, from earliest youth,

O Goddess! led, and train'd to every grace.
Then, O, vouchsafe thy favour, power divine!

And with immortal eloquence inspire.

Quell, too, the fury of the hostile world,
And lull to peace; that all the strain may hear.

For peace is thine: on thy soft bosom he,
The warlike field who sways, almighty MARS,
Struck by triumphant Love's eternal wound,
Reclines full frequent: with uplifted gaze
On thee he feeds his longing, ling'ring eyes,
And all his soul hangs quivering from thy lips.

O! while thine arms in fond embraces clasp
His panting members, sov'reign of the heart!
Ope thy bland voice, and intercede for Rome.
For, while th' unsheathed sword is brandish'd,
vain

And all unequal is the poet's song;
And vain th' attempt to claim his patron's ear."

If we be not mistaken, this passage will be considered as a favourable specimen of Mr. Good's talents as a translator of Lucretius. The original, as we have before mentioned, has been imitated by Spenser; it was also translated by Dryden.

This introduction, beautiful as it confessedly is, presents, at first view, a kind of incongruity with the object of the work, which is to account for the nature of things by the operation of their own laws, and consequently to disprove the popular system of mythology. A poet is not to be bound by laws so strict; and when he takes advantage of the mythology of his country, as the foundation of some beautiful poetical description, he is not necessarily to be considered as subscribing to the creed which he adopts. The objection has, however, been urged by several writers, and especially by Hume. 'Lucretius,' he says, 'was plainly seduced by the strong appearance of allegory which is observable in the pagan fictions. He first addresses himself to Venus, as to that power, which animates, renews, and beautifies the universe; but is soon betrayed by the mythology into incoherencies, while he prays to that allegorical personage to appease the furies of her lover, Mars; an idea not drawn from allegory, but from the popular religion, and which Lucretius, as an epicurean, could not consistently admit of.' Effectually to defend the poet, some writers have contended that the whole description is allegorical,

and in support of this supposition, the baron des Coutures advances an abstruse philosophical hypothesis, too remote however to permit us to conceive that it entered into the mind of the author. The solution which Mr. Good proposes, though perhaps not necessary, is however much more obvious and probable.

"Now, allowing that the solution of De Coutures is somewhat too recondite, I can by no means perceive the incoherency complained of by Mr. Hume. The character of Mars is, in the present instance, altogether as allegoric as that of Venus; and the fiction of their union as correct and consistent with the true spirit of allegory, as any fiction that was ever invented. Venus is the poetic type of all female grace and excellence: Mars, of all the qualities of the hero: the one the goddess of beauty; the other the genius of war. What is there then incoherent in the loves of such ideal personages; in their mutual embraces; and the triumph of the former over the latter? The same fact is realized every day in the natural world. It is the very type of the connexion between Alexander and Thais, Marc Antony and Cleopatra, our own Edward and Eleonora. That such an allegory was consonant with the mythology of the Grecian people, is creditable to the consistency of that mythology itself. But, surely, Lucretius was not to relinquish a beauty of this description, merely because it coincided with the popular faith of his countrymen, or might even be founded upon it. In my mind, it was an additional motive for his having recourse to it; and nothing can, in a greater degree, demonstrate the delicacy of his taste, or the correctness of his judgment.

"It is true, he is commencing a poetical essay, with the express purpose of confuting the popular mythology of both Greece and Rome. He asserts repeatedly that the whole system is fictitious, and totally unworthy of credit; but he asserts at the same time, that so long as it is regarded as mere fiction, no evil can ensue, and that its beauties are numerous and apposite:

"Call, if thou chuse it, the resounding deep
NEPTUNE, and CERES term the golden
grain,
Be BACCHUS wine, its vulgar source forgot,
And e'en this globe of senseless EARTH de-
fine
PARENT OF GODS: no harm ensues; but
mark,
'Tis fiction all, by vital facts disprov'd."

Few passages have been more frequently or more justly applauded than the fine personification of superstition, which the poet employs in defence of his own philosophy. We are tempted, in this instance, to quote the original:

"Humana ante oculos sede quoniam vincti
ceret
In terris, oppressa gravi sub Religione,
Quæ caput a cæli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super adspectu mortalibus instans;
Primum Graius homo mortaleis adules
contra
Est oculos ausus, primusque obistere coacti
Quem neque fana dedim, nec fulmina, ne
minitanti
Murmure, compressit cæcæm; sed coacti
acrem
Irritat animi virtutem, exfringere et ata
Nature primum portarum claustra capiet.
Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
Processit longe flammantia membra mundi
Atque omne immensum peragravit motu
animoque:
Unde refert nobis victor quid possit orire,
Quid nequeat; finita potestas denique omni
Quânam sit ratione, atque alte terrarum
hærens.
Quâ re Religio, pedibus subjecta, vicinis
Ob teritur, nos exaquat victoria cæle."

I. 63-82

"Not thus Mankind. Them long the typical
power
Of SUPERSTITION sway'd, uplifted proud
Her head to heaven, and with horrid
Brooding o'er earth; till he, the man of
Greece,
Auspicious rose, who first the combat dar'd
And broke in twain the monster's iron rod.
No thunder him, no fell revenge pursu'd
Of heaven incens'd, or deities in arms.
Urg'd rather, hence, with more determin'd
soul,
To burst through Nature's portals, from the
crowd
With jealous caution clos'd; the fabled
walks
Of heaven to scale, and dart his flaming
eye,
Till the vast whole beneath him stood &
play'd.
Hence taught he us, triumphant, what might
spring,
And what forbear: what powers inherent
lurk,
And where their bounds, and issues. And
hence, we,
Triumphant, too, o'er SUPERSTITION rise,
Contain her terrors, and unfold the he-
vens."

In this passage the picture of Superstition is perhaps scarcely given with accuracy. In the original she is represented, not as lifting her head to heaven, but as residing in the skies enveloped in clouds, and displaying only her head and terrific features to the affrighted multitude beneath. The addition of the following words 'from the crowd with jealous caution closed,' rather tends also, we think, to weaken the effect of the description. For 'pursued' also, perhaps, detained

Would be more accurate. We doubt whether the additional circumstance, 'and broke in twain the monster's iron rod,' be justifiable. In other respects the translation is good.

The following passage contains one of the absurd peculiarities of epicurean doctrine, the declination of atoms. It is very accurately, skilfully, and successfully rendered by Mr. Good.

"This, too, regard intent : that primal seeds,
When down direct their potent path they
urge,
In time uncertain, and uncertain space,
Out from the right decline—yet so minute
Ver they, no fancy less can e'er conceive.
Without this devious curve primordial seeds
Would drop successive, like the crystal show'r,
Void of all contest, all re-active blow,
Whence nature sole her world of wonders
works

"Is, then, there be, who deem the seeds of
things
More pond'rous, as their rectilinear course
Speeds through the void, the lighter soon may
reach,
And thus the repercussive war commence,—
Far err they from the truth. For though,
when urg'd

Through the pure air, or clear translucent
wave,
Doubtless, all pond'rous forms more swift
descend ;

This, from the variance of resistance sole,
Flows, by such fluids form'd, 'gainst things
unlike,

The grosser quick-o'erpow'ring. But pure
space,

In every part, in every hour the same,
Throughout resists not, the demanded path
Yielding submissive. Hence, in equal time,
Through the blank void, unequal weights
descend

Of every fancied variance : and hence, too,
The grosser ne'er the lighter urg'd below
Can gain, triumphant ; or the contest rouse
Whence spring new motions, and all nature
lives.

Hence doubly flows it why the seeds of
things

Should from the right decline ; yet, in de-
gree,

The least conceivably, lest we should deem
The line oblique which nature ne'er assumes.

For nought more obvious, as the sight con-
firms,

Than that all weights, their downward course
at will

Steering, obliquely never can descend ;
But what keen sight of man can prove pre-
cise

That the swift cadence ne'er declines at all ?
Had all one motion uniform, the new

TR anterior skilful copying, if throughout
Primordial seeds declin'd not, rousing hence
Fresh springs of action, potent to subvert

The bonds of fate, and break the rigid chain
Of cause on cause, eternal,—whence, re-
solve,

Flows through the world this freedom of the
mind ?

This power to act, though fate the deed for-
bid,

Urg'd by the will alone ? The free-born mind
Acts, or forbears, spontaneous ; its own time,
Its place, alike uncertain : these the will,
Doubtless, alone determines, and, at once,
Flies the fleet motion through the assenting
frame.

Dost thou not see, as down the barrier
drops

That reins the racer, instant though he dart,
Not half so instant darts he as his soul
Ambitious covets ? Deep through all his
frame

Th' elastic nerves must first the wish con-
vey

Ere yet the consentaneous flight succeed.

Hence, obvious, springs all motion from the
heart,

Rous'd by the mind's resolve, and instant
urg'd

Through every nerve, through every quiv-
ring limb.

A force far different this than e'er prevails
When aught without coerces. Passive, then,
Bends all the frame th' extrinsic power be-
neath,

Borne down reluctant ; till th' awakening
will

Unchains each member, and resumes her
right.

For, oft, though foreign force, with tyrant
sway,

Rule us, resistless, headlong hurrying down—
Say—lurks no adverse something in the
breast

Proud to withstand ? full oft, at whose con-
trol,

Swift flows the nervous tide from limb to
limb,

Bursting each bond—and, oft, as swift, re-
tires ?

Hence firm maintain we primal seeds some
cause

Must feel of rising motion unbestow'd
By weight, or blow re-active, whence alone

Upsprings this secret power by man possess :
Nought forming nought, as reason proves
precise.

For weight forbids the credence that alone
Things by re-action move ; yet, lest the
mind

Bend to a stern necessity within,
And, like a slave, determine but by force,—

Though urg'd by weight, in time, in place
unhixt,

Each primal atom trivial still declines."

The conclusion of the third book, a-
gainst the fear of death, is one of the
eminently beautiful passages of the
poem ; our limits forbid us to extract
the whole.

"But thy dear home shall never greet thee more!

No more the best of wives!—thy babes beloved,
Whose haste half-met thee, emulous to snatch
The dulcet kiss that rous'd thy secret soul,
Again shall never hasten!—nor thine arm,
With deed heroic, guard thy country's weal!—
O mournful, mournful fate!" thy friends exclaim,

"One envious hour of these invaluable joys
Robs thee for ever!"—But they add not here,
"It robs thee, too, of all desire of joy!"
A truth, once utter'd, that the mind would free
From every dread, and trouble. "Thou art safe!

The sleep of death protects thee! and secures
From all the unnumbered woes of mortal life!
While we, alas! the sacred urn around
That holds thine ashes, shall insatiate weep,
Nor time destroy th' eternal grief we feel!"
What then has death, if death be mere repose,
And quiet only in a peaceful grave,
What has it thus to mar this life of man?

"Yet mar it does. E'en o'er the festive board,
The glass while grasping, and, with garlands crown'd,
The thoughtless maniacs oft indignant roar,
"How short the joys of wine!—e'en while we drink

Life ceases, and to-morrow ne'er returns!"
As if, in death, the worst such wretches fear'd
Were thirst unquenched, parching ev'ry nerve,
Or deem'd their passions would pursue them still.

Not anxious, thus, mankind the world resign
At evening hour when soul and body rest;
Nor would they though that rest were ne'er to end:

Nor thus the day's desire pursues their dreams;
Though then the seeds of sense not wander far
From sensile movements, scarcely, oft, away'd,
And quick resum'd when starts the soul at morn.

Of much less moment, then, should death be held
Than sleep, if aught can less than that which ne'er

Moment excites whatever; for the crowd
Of senseless seeds are wider here dispers'd;
Nor wakes he e'er to action, and the day,
Whose frame once feels the chilling pause of life.

"Were then the Nature of created things
To rise abrupt, and thus repining man
Address—"O mortal! whence these useless fears?

This weak, superfluous sorrow? why th' approach
Dread'st thou of death? For if the time elaps'd

Have smil'd propitious, and not all its gifts,
As though adventur'd in a leaky vase,
Been idly wasted, profitless, and vain—
Why quit'st thou not, thou fool! the feast of life

Fill'd,—and with mind all panting for repose?
But if thyself have squander'd every hour,
And of the past grown weary—why demand
More days to kill, more blessings to pervert,
Nor rather headlong hasten to thine end?
For nothing further can my powers devise
To please thee;—things for ever succeed
Unchang'd,—and would do, though revolving years

Should spare thy vigour, and thy brittle frame
Live o'er all time: e'en ampler would'st thou then

Mark how unvaried all creation moves.—
Were Nature thus to address us, could we fail
To feel the justice of her keen rebuke?
So true the picture, the advice so sage!

"But to the wretch who moans th' approach of death

With grief unmeasur'd, louder might she raise
Her voice severe—"Vile coward! dry thine eyes—

Hence with thy sniv'ling sorrows, and depart!"

Should he, morrow, have past man's mid-day hour—

"What! thou lament? already who hast reap'd

An ample harvest? By desiring thus
The past once more, the present thou abhor'st,

And life flies on imperfect, unenjoyed,
And death untimely meets thee, ere thy soul,
Cloy'd with the banquet, is prepar'd to rise.
Leave, then, to others bliss thy years should shun;

Come cheerful leave it, since still leave thou must."

Justly I deem might Nature thus reprove:
For, through creation, old to young resigns,
And this from that matures; nor aught descends

To the dread gulphs, the fancied shades of hell.

The mass material must survive entire
To feed succeeding ages, which, in turn,
Like thee shall flourish, and like thee shall die;

Nor more the present ruins than the past.
Thus things from things ascend; and, life exists

To none a freehold, but a use to all.

"Reflect, morrow, how less than nought thou'st

Weights the long portion of eternal time
Fled ere our birth: so, too, the future weighs
When death dissolves us. What of horror, then,

Dwells there in death? what gloomy, what austere?

Can there be elsewhere slumber half so sound?"

An extract from the fifth book, which forms part of the description of the progress of men towards civilization, must close our specimens of the poetical department of this work.

"Then, too, new cultures tried they, and, with joy,
Mark'd the boon earth, by ceaseless care caress'd
Each barbarous fruitage sweeten and subdue.
No loftier still, and loftier up the hills,
Prove they the woodlands daily, broad'ning thus
The cultur'd foreground, that the sight might trace
Leads, corn-fields; rivers, lakes, and vineyards gay,
Or hills and mountains thrown; while through the dales,
He downs, the slopes, ran lavish and distinct
The purple realm of olives; as with hues distinct, though various, still the landscape swells
There blooms the daisied apple, mid the tufts
Of trees diverse that blend their joyous shades.
"And from the liquid warblings of the birds
Learn'd they their first rude notes, ere music yet
To the rapt ear had tun'd the measur'd verse;
And Zephyr, whisp'ring through the hollow reeds,
Taught the first swains the hollow reeds to sound:
Hence woke they soon those tender-trembling tones
Which the sweet pipe, when by the fingers prest,
Pours o'er the hills, the vales, and woodlands wild,
Hunts of lone shepherds, and the rural gods.
So growing time points, ceaseless, something new,
And human skill evolves it into day.
"Thus sooth'd they every care with music, thus,
Cloud every meal, for rests the bosom then.
And oft they threw them on the velvet grass,
Near gliding streams, by shadowy trees o'er-arch'd,
And void of costly wealth found still the means
To gladden life. But chief when genial spring
Led forth her laughing train, and the young year
Painted the meads with roseate flowers profuse—
Then mirth, and wit, and wives, and frolic, chief,
Flow'd from the heart; for then the rustic muse
Warmest inspir'd them: then lascivious sport
Taught round their heads, their shoulders, taught to twine
Foliage, and flowers, and garlands richly dight;
To loose, innum'rous time their limbs to move,
And beat, with sturdy foot, maternal earth;
While many a smile and many a laughter loud,
Told all was new, and wond'rous much esteem'd.
Thus wakeful liv'd they, cheating of its rest
The drowsy midnight; with the jocund dance

Mixing gay converse, madrigals, and strains
Run o'er the reeds with broad recumbent lip:
As, wakeful still, our revellers through night
Lead on their defter dance to time precise;
Yet cull not costlier sweets, with all their art,
Than the rude offspring earth in woodlands bore.

"Thus what first strikes us, while ourselves as yet
Know nought superior, every charm combines,
But when aught else of ampler boast succeeds
We slight the former, every wish transferr'd.
Thus acorns soon disgusted; the coarse couch
Of herbs and leaves was banish'd, and the hides
Of savage beasts deem'd barbarous, and uncouth.

Yet the vast envy such these first inspir'd
Their earliest wearer by the faithless crowd
Fell, and the garb, ferocious fought for still,
Rent into tatters, perish'd void of use.

"Then man for skins contended: purple now
And gold for ever plunge him into war;
Far slend'rer pretext! for, such skins without,
The naked throngs had dreaded every blast:
But us no ills can menace, though depriv'd
Of purple woof brocaded stiff with gold,
While humbler vests still proffer their defence.
Yet vainly, vainly toil earth's restless tribes,
With fruitless cares corroding every hour;
Untaught the lust of wishing where to bound,
And where true pleasure ceases; rend'ring time
One joyless main, where sail they, void of helm,
Courting for ever tumults, storms, and strife."

The choice which Mr. Good has made of blank verse for the translation of Lucretius appears to us very judicious. Several classical, didactic, and descriptive poems in our own language, seem almost to have consecrated this species of verse to the use of these departments of poetry. The greater liberty of phraseology, and simplicity and antique cast of diction, which it admits, peculiarly adapt it to the character of Lucretius, and afford indeed the only means which the English possesses of imitating, with success, the nervous and severe style of the philosophic poet, which borrows no ornaments, but from the ideas and sentiments which it conveys, and the pictures which it represents. Respecting the qualifications of Mr. Good as a translator, little is requisite to be said. He has not only studied the work of his author with diligence, but seems to have availed himself of every source of information which now remains for the illustration of the philosophical tenets which the poet inculcates. With the power of his own language he is well acquainted,

and can apply its riches with readiness and propriety to the ornament of the subject which he treats. His poetical taste has been highly cultivated by the careful study of the best works in that branch of literature, in a great variety of languages, ancient and modern; and to erudition and taste he adds that scientific knowledge which qualifies him for becoming the interpreter of that poet, whose theme is "the nature of things."

The present version is remarkably close and faithful, being comprized in a number of verses not greatly exceeding those of the original. This advantage is in a great degree owing to the species of verse which has been adopted, nor do we recollect that it has often been purchased by any sacrifice of perspicuity, fidelity, or requisite ornament. A few instances, perhaps, occasionally occur of phraseology either incorrect or unpoetical, but they are far from being numerous. Among these we cannot but object to the use of the word *linger*, for the verb, to long :

"Could tempt them once to linger for a change."—v. 177.

Rory for dewy (v. 479), is scarcely a word of authority; roscid from the Latin adjective, would be better. "Her full-blown lamp," applied to the moon, is an expression not very perspicuous; neither do we well know why the moon is described as rushing "rampant." (v. 772) But enough respecting little blemishes, where excellence is so predominant.

The copious notes by which the translation is accompanied, form a part of the work of too much consequence to be passed over without observation. Besides their merit as illustrative of the author, they comprise a collection of facts, poetical extracts, theories, and arguments, which furnish a highly entertaining miscellany. They are, for the most part, either philological, relative to subjects of taste, and poetical diction and ornament (or as the Germans would say, æsthetic), philosophical, and mythological. One or two specimens it is incumbent on us to produce.

The following note very well illustrates that bold, but not uncommon metaphor, by which the scenes and objects of nature, when presented under their most beautiful and joyful appearances, are said to laugh.

"In the original, '*rident æquora ponti*,' Creech, as I have already noticed, has translated the verb *ridens* by the English term

smile; as have also Evelyn, Dryden, and even Guernier in his prose version. But why this more feeble term should be adopted, instead of the true and forcible synonym, *laugh*, I am at a loss to determine. Even Marchetti, of whom I have not spoken in the preface with more approbation than he merits, has failed in this bold and beautiful figure. These are his words:

"Tu rassereni i giorni foschi! e rendi
Col dolce sguardo il mar chiara e tranquilla."

"Metastasio, however, has compensated for the coldness and injustice of his countryman. He has copied this passage of Lucretius into the version I have just spoken of, and has rendered it complete and spirited:

"A te fioriscono
Gli erbosi prati
E i flutti ridono
Nel mar placati."

"To thee the fields so gay
In sweetest flow'rets blow;
Laugh the hush'd winds, and play
The placid deep below."

"Chaucer has happily imitated the same nervous metaphor, but has applied it to the sun. Cant. Knight's Tale 1495.

"And fierie Phebus rysith up so bright,
That all the orient *laughith* at the sight."

"It is the more extraordinary that Dryden, in his translation of Lucretius, should, like Creech, have employed the tamer epithet of *smile*, because, in his borrowing the above passage from Chaucer, he has very justly retained the more manly expression of both Chaucer and Lucretius. Palanion and Arctæ, b. ii.

"The morning lark, the messenger of day,
Saluted, with her song, the morning gray:
And soon the sun arose *with beams so bright*,
That all th' horizon *laugh'd* to see the joyous sight."

"Thus, too, in the Berrathron of Ossian:
'When thou comest forth in thy mildness,
the gale of the morning is near thy course:
the sun laughs in his blue fields; the grey
stream winds in its vale.'

"The same manner, Gesner, in his 'Death of Abel,' b. i. Sey uns gegrußt du liebliche sonne! du giessest farb' und anmuth durch die natur, und jede schönheit *luchet* verjüngt uns wieder entgegen. 'Welcome once more, thou lovely sun! thou givest colours and graces to all nature; and every beauty *laughs* with renewed youth around us.'

"But the boldest copy I have met with of this image of Lucretius, is by the Spanish poet Lope de Vega, in his *Hermosura de Angélica*, cant. xiii.

"Mueve las hojas de la selva el ripto
Y la risa del agua fugitiva,
Conciertase con ellas de tal modo
Que parece que esta cantando toda."

Now shakes the grove's green foliage to the breeze,
 With laughter shakes the stream's perpetual flight:

In harmony throughout; and earth and seas
 In songs of loud festivity unite.

"These verses have all the force of Oriental poetry, and are, perhaps, only exceeded by the following energetic and parallel passage of the Psalmist:

Let the sea shout, and all its fulness;
 The world, and all its inhabitants;
 Let the floods clap their hands,
 And the mountains unite in extacy,
 At the presence of Jehovah who approacheth."

Of the philosophical notes we have selected the following specimen, though we cannot but regard it as rather fanciful. Mr. Good's admiration of his author (an admiration which in some respects it is difficult to carry too far) has, we think, sometimes seduced him into too high an estimate of his philosophy; and led him to discover in it affinities to modern and accurate science, which exist only in the imagination of the commentator.—The note to which we allude is the following:

"And here, the first thing I shall notice is the position of Lucretius, that the body derives the whole of its elementary heat, now denominated *caloric*, univocally with his own term *calor*, from respirable, or atmospheric air. The cause of animal heat was never fully or scientifically developed, till the celebrated treatise of the late Dr. Crawford appeared on this subject, about fifteen years ago. Prior to this era, it was attempted to be accounted for in various, and indeed contradictory ways: some attributing it to the reciprocal friction of the different particles of blood; others, to their friction against the sides of their vessels: some referring it to the action of the solids of the body against the solids; others, again, to fermentations, supposed to be perpetually occurring through the whole system. But none of these solutions were satisfactory, and every one in turn yielded to the rest. The experimenters, however, of Dr. Crawford, but more especially those of Lavoisier, who has perfected this theory, while they confute the conjectures hazarded by every former philosopher from Hippocrates to Cullen, establish, upon the firmest basis, the hypothesis advanced by our poet; and resolve the phenomenon of animal heat into atmospheric air, inhaled in the act of respiration, and chemically decomposed in its passage through the lungs.

"The atmosphere is a vast laboratory, in which innumerable processes of analysis, solution, precipitation, and combination, are incessantly taking place. The air itself is a confused mixture of particles ejected from

animal, vegetable, and mineral substances, and more especially from water, either entire or decomposed, through which the fluids of light, heat, and electricity, as well as an infinitude of other gasses, are continually passing and repassing. Vapour, therefore, of some kind or other, must, at all times, constitute an essential part of atmospheric air, yet the portion it constitutes is but small, seldom, in general, exceeding a hundredth part of the whole: the rest consisting of elementary heat, or caloric, a most active and volatile substance, largely diffused through all nature, of azotic gas, or mephitic, and of a most recondite fluid, which it is the boast of modern chemistry to have discovered characteristically; which, when separated, is found to be three or four times purer than atmospheric air in the gross, and will hence preserve combustion and animal life three or four times as long: This mysterious gas, though suspected by modern chemists, from the era of Van Helmont, was by no means fully traced, or its properties fairly specified, till the experiments of Dr. Priestley gave it 'a local habitation and a name:' for he obtained it from a variety of substances in a pure and uncombined state, and denominated it *dephlogisticated* air; adverting, in this appellation, to a system of his own founding, and known by the phrase of the phlogistic system. It soon, however, became a matter of great doubt, among contemporary chemists, whether there were any such thing as phlogiston in nature; and hence Lavoisier banished the name altogether from the French school of chemistry, and re-denominated the newly discovered aura, vital air, or oxygen. Oxygen, in its state of purity, and freed from every other substance, is never volatile, but remains fixed to the body it inhabits; yet, combined with the elementary heat or caloric of the atmosphere, it is volatilized instantaneously, and exhibits itself by a thousand magnificent and stupendous properties. It is this, indeed, that gives life and spirit to the whole atmosphere; for, when once abstracted, atmospheric air becomes totally unfit for the purposes of respiration, vegetation, or combustion. It occupies about a fourth part of the common air of the atmosphere: the remainder of which, as incapable of supporting the phenomena of animal life, is denominated mephitic, or azotic gas; and which, as filling nearly three quarters of the atmosphere, may be well entitled to the appellation of *air* alone.

"Respiration, then, is an action contributing to the renovation of life by the communication of atmospheric air to the precordia; the air so communicated, in a manner to the present moment undetermined, becoming hereby decomposed or separated into four, or perhaps a greater number of simpler gasses, of which each contributes, in a greater or less degree, to the preservation of life and sensation; and especially the caloric, which seems to afford that continual supply of heat that is absolutely necessary, from the freedom with

which every individual member parts with its heat to circumjacent and external substances; and more especially still, the oxygen, which, by Spallanzani and Girtanner, is supposed to stimulate the heart itself into action, and to be the immediate cause of all muscular irritability, and consequently of vitality itself. A small portion, however, of this important gas, we detect returning from the lungs in the act of expiration, combined with a substance generated in the blood; and which, from its resemblance to various properties of charcoal, the French chemists have named carbon; the fluid produced from this union, and discharged in expiration, is denominated carbonic acid gas.

"I pretend not to affirm what was the immediate aura understood by Lucretius as the fourth and most important substance in the composition of the animal spirit; and which, he tells us, was so recondite as to be incapable of being traced otherwise than by its effects. To the oxygenous and the galvanic gas it has an equal and an astonishingly

striking resemblance. If we suppose our poet intended something like the former, although he has not given it its modern name, he has described the very thing itself, endowed it with its characteristic properties, asserted its entire supremacy, and established in its immediate seat of empire, the heart and lungs. He has given us, indeed, whether to allow this to be a fact or not, as complete statement of the gasses of which the animal breath or spirit consists, as if he had lived the present day. And what is more extraordinary still, though he enumerates the three substances of heat, air, and vapour, as first rejected in the act of expiration, he makes mention of the return of this fourth, and, in his era, unnamed substance; while, nevertheless, as already observed, he deems it the most powerful agent in the composite spirit inhaled, and the sensorial faculty engendered. The following table of the Epicurean and Lavoisierian analysis of respirable air, will still more clearly point out the resemblance between them:

"Respirable air of Lucretius contains

Calor;

Vapor;

Aër;

Unnamed; but which is of far more importance than all the rest to the renewal and prolongation of animal life, eluding all sensible investigation, and only traced from its effects.

"Respirable air of Lavoisier contains

Caloric;

Vapour,—exhalation from water, and of substances;

Azote, occupying three-fourths of the whole atmosphere, and hence, more properly than any other simple fluid, denominated air.

Oxygen, without which it is impossible for life to subsist: the boast of modern chemistry, and which was totally devoid of name and generic character till the present era."

This comparison is no doubt conducted with ingenuity; this minute parallel with modern chemistry will however, at first view, be deemed by the cautious reader liable to suspicion; and it is necessary to observe that, whatever be the case with respect to the chemical analysis, the analysis of the Lucretian and Epicurean philosophy is not in this instance perfectly accurate: for Lucretius is speaking, not of respirable air, which has sensible weight, but of the soul, which has no sensible weight. His division of substances, moreover, is not calor, vapos, aer, et quarta quædam natura, nominis expers; but tenuis aura, calor, aer, and the unknown cause of sensibility, calor and vapor being in this passage terms perfectly synonymous, as will be evident to any one who peruses the original passage, and as they are interpreted by Lambinus and Wakefield. So also Plutarch, in a passage quoted by Mr. Good, describes the soul, according to the Epicurean doctrine, as *κρᾶμα ἐκ τεσσάρων, ἐκ ποίου πυρρῶδους, ἐκ ποίου αἰερῶδους, ἐκ ποίου πνευματικῶς, ἐκ τεταρτοῦ τινος ἀνα-*

τοιμαζατου, ὃ ἐν αὐτῷ αἰσθάνεται. Diap. phil. iv. 3. Part of this passage is thus strangely rendered by the interpreter, "ex quatuor qualitibus, ignis, ærea, aqua."

Amidst the multifarious mass of materials which constitute the notes of the present volumes, it will not be surprising if a few trifling errors have insinuated themselves, chiefly of such a nature as humana parum cavit natura, and which will be obvious to the author on a re-perusal of his work. Such is the chronological lapse of referring a sentiment in Lucretius to Isidorus, a christian father (1,180), of representing the age of Hippocrates as antecedent, by five centuries, to that of Epicurus (11,196): The epithet of boves Lucæ, applied to elephants, is not derived from Lugano, a town of the Milanese, but from Lucania, a southern province of Italy. It does not appear that Pyrrhus, in whose army the Romans first saw elephants, was ever in the north of Italy. The true explication of *ferro mactæ*, applied to these beasts, is not *ferro*

Fassus, but *ferro male habita*, as is justly remarked by Mr. Wakefield. The reference on this subject to that editor must have proceeded from too hasty an inspection of his note.

We take our leave of this translation with much admiration of its general me-

rits, and much respect for the ingenuity, learning, and taste of the translator. He has executed his labour in a manner highly reputable to himself, and filled a place which was vacant in the catalogue of English literature.

ART. VII.—*A Grammar of the Greek Tongue, on a new and improved Plan.* By JOHN JONES, Member of the Philological Society at Manchester. 8vo. pp. 360.

THOUGH the Greek language has been assiduously cultivated in the learned part of Europe for upwards of three centuries, yet such is the copiousness and richness of that tongue, combined with the disadvantages arising from its having ceased to be in oral use, that we have as yet no lexicon or grammar of it which can be deemed complete. To obviate the latter of these deficiencies, or at least to facilitate the acquisition of the Greek language, and to illustrate its rules, by the application of philosophical principles to its grammar, has been the object of Mr. Jones in the work which he has here presented to the public.

"The principles, which distinguish this Grammar, are such as were suggested by a study of the oriental tongues, especially of the Hebrew. The latter language is known by all competent judges to be the mother of the Greek. It cannot therefore be deemed surprising, that the origin of those qualities which characterise the child can be found only in the constitution of the parent. Proceeding on this ground the writer, conformably to the system of the great grammarian of our age, has traced the definitives, the prepositions, and many of the particles, to Hebrew nouns or verbs: and from those roots has deduced a primary signification, into which are resolvable all their figurative or secondary senses, however numerous and complicated.

"By considering the Greek terms, as existing in their primitives, and before they were modified by Greek terminations, the author has, moreover, been able to ascertain the exact meaning of the *cases*; and the application of their meaning, thus ascertained, to the syntax of the language, forms another peculiar feature in the character of this grammar.

"The Hebrew tongue, on account of its high antiquity, holds forth to the philosophical enquirer into the origin of language, the several steps which the human mind adopted in the formation of speech. Among these steps the following is worthy of notice. Words, denoting active qualities, i. e. those ideas, which the mind acquires by reflecting on its own operations in given circumstances, are no other than the names of the *subject* and *agent* in the same circumstances, combined into one

term; in other verbs are the names of sensible objects with the personal pronouns annexed to them.

"This principle, suggested by the Hebrew, is applied to the Greek: and hence all the variety of terminations belonging to the Greek verb, which, by their vast number load the memory, and retard the efforts of the learner, are reduced to six pronouns. The same principle has enabled the author to resolve the two classes of verbs, in *π* and in *μ*, into one common form; to account for the origin of the active, passive, and middle voices, and to assign to the two last the cause of their peculiar signification.

"This principle, eminently useful in a grammatical light, is yet more so in another point of view. Terms, denoting active or abstract qualities, as having no prototype corresponding to them in nature, a reference to which might serve to define and perpetuate their signification, are liable to endless fluctuations and misconceptions. But this is not the case with the names of sensible objects. These, continuing much the same in all ages and countries, convey, when impressed on the organs of sense, accurate ideas of themselves; and thus in general render the meaning of their terms correct and invariable, though transfused from one language to another. In order then to fix the primary sense of a verb, it is only necessary to have recourse to the noun whence it is derived; and what cannot be established by this mean, is likely to be effected by recurring to the primitive term, as existing in one of the oriental dialects."

In the execution of this plan Mr. Jones has displayed much learning and ingenuity. It is manifest, however, that in a practical grammar of any language, it is requisite to pay as much attention to its peculiarities and idioms, as to the general philosophical principles on which it is constructed. With much knowledge of abstract principles, and much facility in tracing them, we suspect that Mr. Jones does not combine all that minute accuracy in the historical and idiomatical part of language which its importance merits. P. 3, the contraction *y* of the diphthong *ui*, is of far subsequent date to the formation of the Latin character *y*, and of power widely different. Whenever there is occasion to express the diphthong in Latin, it is re-

presented, not by *y*, but by *yi*, as in the word *Ilithyia*.

P. 12. The Attic form of the second declension extended only to particular words, hence we do not find such forms as *ἄσπερος*, *ἱεράν*, &c.

P. 126. The word *ἔσται* has no appearance of a primitive form. The genuine root is, doubtless, *ἔω*; *ἔσταιμι*, with a reduplicated sigma, is for *ἔσταιμι*, the regular first aorist middle of *ἔω*.

P. 127. The rule respecting contraction is too general. "All contraction, whether simple or compounded, is the coalition of two short vowels." The attic contraction *εψα*, for instance, is formed by the coalition of a long vowel with a diphthong.

P. 325. *ὡς ταχὺς μετὰ σου λυσσάν*. We imagine that few persons will coincide with Mr. Jones's analysis of this passage, *ἔσου κραυγὴν μετὰ λυσσάν*, or hesitate to concur with that interpretation of Mr. Porson, which our author condemns as manifestly erroneous, insaniam sanitate puniti.

Mr. J. appears to us, in some instances, to rely on the hypothetical principles which he advances, with rather more confidence than is warranted by their evidence, and to be sometimes unduly influenced in his analysis of the Greek language by his partiality for oriental literature.

By the extract which we have given from the preface, our readers will perceive that he has adopted the system of Lennep and Schreidius, who consider the verbs as formed through all their inflections by the combination of a radical term with the various pronouns. This scheme, to a certain extent, is indeed not improbable, and it is countenanced by the oriental tongues. It however accounts only for the persons, not for the tenses or moods, and it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to trace it through the various

changes of the Greek verb. It is also to be observed, that some languages, the German for instance, and our own, possess varieties of termination indicative of the person, while the addition of the pronoun is still requisite.

Mr. Jones seems also to consider the noun too exclusively as the primitive part of speech. Hence in the chapter, entitled nouns converted into verbs, it is requisite sometimes to change the order of his derivation, *ἔμω*, *imago*, is evidently formed from *εἰω*, *similis sum*, not the verb from the substantive.

But it is on the subject of etymology that Mr. Jones appears to us to expose himself most to objection. He has adopted without reserve the hypothesis, in our opinion by no means fully established, of the derivation of the Greek from the Hebrew language, and accordingly never seems to be at a loss for the radical of any term. But who can rest with any confidence on such derivations as the following!

ὤνερ from *וְנֵר* a wing, *ἀμφε*, from *אֶפֶס* a round stone. There are indeed principles by which any language may be derived from any other, but we much doubt whether the clear instances of coincidence between the Greek and Hebrew ~~words~~ exceed an hundred, if they even equal that number. Some very just remarks on a similar subject may be seen in one of the appendices to the new edition of Bruce's *Travels*, Vol. II. No. 41. p. 467.

Impartiality has compelled us to make a few deductions on the ground of inaccuracy, which the author himself indeed candidly acknowledges, from the general merit of this volume. We cannot take our leave of it without remarking that it exhibits many proofs of ingenuity and extensive research, of a mind acute and vigorous, and habitually, and often successfully, employed in philosophical investigations.

Acc. VII.—*The Tomb of Alexander—A Dissertation on the Sarcophagus brought from Alexandria, and now in the British Museum.* By EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL.D. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. 4to. pp. 161.

THE fond regard with which mankind have ever viewed the relics of departed greatness needs not to be enlarged on here. Alexander himself viewed the tomb of Cyrus with singular respect: he bestowed a crown and placed his signet on it; and showed it similar honours to those which Augustus afterward bestowed on his. Yet surely, in these times, when the revolutions of states have been more frequent

than in former ages, and when traditions have been less coherently preserved, the authenticity of such a relic should be ascertained with mathematical exactness before it is admitted. So lately as the middle of the last century but one, the discovery of the supposed tomb of Moses, by some goat-herds, in the valley of Mount Nebo, filled the face of Europe with amazement, till a learned Rabbini proved

the sepulchre in question to have contained the body of a Moses long subsequent to him who was interred there by the ministry of angels.

Dr. Clarke and his friends have taken no ordinary pains to prove the curious chest, which is now at the British Museum, to be the actual depository of the Macedonian hero; and they have brought together a body of materials, which certainly does credit to their learning: they have arranged their evidence to the very best advantage; they have both studied and enlarged on every point that could bear, however remotely, on the question; and they have added to it all the embellishments with which the arts of printing and engraving could assist them. How far these exertions have been successful remains to be enquired. Even failure in this instance is entitled to respect.

In the introduction, among many observations on the portrait of Alexander, Dr. Clarke endeavours to prove, that in the various homage that was paid to him he was worshipped as an *Egyptian God*: and the type of his apotheosis, he observes, the Ammonian horn, appears, in almost every instance, where his portrait is represented, particularly on the medals of Ptolemy. And this typical representation he considers to be further confirmed by the collateral evidence of the hieroglyphic characters inscribed on the sarcophagus in question: a consideration which to us seems premature; because it is necessary that its connection with Alexander's body should be first established.

The chest at the Museum, it appears, at an early period after the invasion of Egypt, was shown to Denon and Dolemeu in the mosque of St. Athanasius, at Alexandria, where it had been preserved for centuries within a small enclosure, which few but Mahometans were allowed to enter. From the account which the former gave however, they do not seem to have been aware that it was the reputed tomb; they only considered it as one of the best spoils of antiquity that Egypt could be plundered of, and as exhibiting a finer and more numerous assemblage of hieroglyphic figures than any monument in their possession. The enthusiasm with which it is mentioned by Denon seems misinterpreted by Dr. Clarke, who thinks it curious to observe with what caution the traveller has touched upon the subject. His words, he says, 'like the hierogly-

phics which so much engaged his attention, contain a meaning beyond their common acceptance, reserved, doubtless, for the initiated. The tomb is no longer a theme of triumph to his countrymen. Enough has been said to convince them of its importance; and the rest may be reserved till the moment arrives, when, according to their moderate expectations, the invasion and conquest of this country shall have restored the precious relic to their hands.' But we have been assured, and that upon the best authority, that the French savans were unable to trace the most vague tradition in the country, as to the history of this sarcophagus, though repeated efforts were made of the best informed persons; and although the cunning of the natives are always ready to invent any story which may humour the fancy of a credulous traveller, not one even dropped a hint of Alexander's tomb. Dr. Clarke asserts too, that when taken from the little chapel in which it had been kept, it was borne away amid the howling and lamentation of its worshippers; that it excited insurrection among the people; and that after its removal the most cautious measures were used to conceal it from observation. But if we may be allowed to judge from Dr. Wittman's words, there certainly were travellers who, previous to its removal aboard the French vessel in the harbour, saw it lying quietly with other antique remains at the Rosetta gate of Alexandria. When it was removed on board the vessel to be conveyed to England, the natives, we believe, merely showed it that homage which they are accustomed to pay the finer monuments of their country, inscribed with hieroglyphic characters; they touched it with their hands, and kissed it.

After the assertions we have mentioned Dr. Clarke becomes a prophet, and foretells the vicissitudes that would have marked its history had it been removed to France.

"Other vicissitudes awaited this remarkable monument. A British army came to give life and liberty to the oppressed inhabitants of Egypt; and the tomb of the greatest conqueror the world ever knew devolved, by right of conquest, to their victorious arms. Had it been conveyed to the metropolis of France, instead of the silence which is now so cautiously observed respecting it, Europe would have been told; that an hieroglyphic inscription having recorded the actions of a Ptolemy,* the Alexandrian sarcophagus, in

* "Inscription on the Rosetta stone, in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, written in the hieroglyphic character subsequent to the time of Alexander the Great."

the same language, might also relate the expeditions, the conquests, and the glories of Alexander. A prodigious temple would have been erected in the midst of Paris; where, to complete the mockery of Buonaparte's imitation of the son of Philip, the same tomb that had once inclosed the body of that hero would have been reserved for the bones of his mimic."

Having introduced a narrative of the means by which it was found and recovered from the French, he endeavours to show that the uniform tradition of the inhabitants of the country, supported by historical evidence, clearly proves this interesting monument to be the tomb of Alexander the Great. But at the very outset of these observations a remark occurs, in which we cannot persuade ourselves to acquiesce. It will be necessary, we are told, to examine with particular attention the account given of the deification of Alexander, and the means used to preserve his body; as the notion of a gold and glass coffin has involved the history of his interment in some error, by being confounded with the *SARCOPHAGUS* which Ptolemy, according to the custom both of Greeks and Egyptians, prepared for its reception. But this is a most gratuitous admission. It is a fact given to us upon the authority of no one writer of antiquity. *Tomb*, the word used by Diodorus Siculus means a sacred inclosure, and applies more to the immediate building that contained the body, than to any sarcophagus or outer chest. *Conditorium*, the term Suetonius uses, though not equally extensive, cannot be translated a sarcophagus, and it is also the expression used by Pliny. But let us here, once for all, canvass the meaning of the sentence in Diodorus Siculus that is alluded to. It simply states, that the sacred repository prepared for Alexander's corpse, both in magnitude and workmanship (*κατὰ τὸ ΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΝ*) was worthy the greatness and the glory of Alexander. And will any one support the idea, for a single moment, that Diodorus Siculus had nothing more in view

than this (in comparison with his description) poor sarcophagus: *ten feet in length, five feet and a half in width, and four feet high*? But Dr. Clarke builds much upon these words, as may be shewn from various parts of his book, but particularly in the instances we here quote. The first is in the abbé Winkelman's description of the *breccia of Egypt*.

"Le vert est la couleur dominante de cette pierre; couleur dans laquelle on remarque des degrés et des nuances infimes; de sorte que je suis persuadé que JAMAIS PEINTRE NI TEINTURIER N'EN A PRODUIT DE PAREILLES: le mélange de ces couleurs DOIT PAROÎTRE MEILLEUX (*agreeing exactly with the words of Diodorus respecting the tomb*) aux yeux des observateurs attentifs des productions de la nature."

Again, in p. 43.

"We have thus a proof that the stone used in this sarcophagus was of a rarity and price equal to that of the most precious materials of ancient art.* The expence of working it could be undertaken only by sovereigns, who might procure, among the renowned artists of those times, talents and perseverance adequate to the achievement of such a surprising work. In these days, the substance itself, and the process by which it was wrought, being unknown, a notion of supernatural agency is excited in unenlightened minds;† while the refined part of mankind express their astonishment. If, at any period of the history of the antient world, a work of this nature particularly corresponded with the genius of the age and the wishes of the people, it must have been at that important crisis, when the body of the deified Alexander was received by Ptolemy, to be enshrined as the son of Ammon, by the priests of Egypt. That the construction of the tomb would command every thing admirable in materials and in workmanship cannot be disputed; but upon this subject we have sufficient proof from the testimony of antient historians. Diodorus, whose description of the funeral pomp seems to convey an adequate idea of the magnificence with which it was celebrated, represents it,‡ in magnitude and workmanship, worthy the greatness and glory of Alexander."

* "Instances have occurred in our own times of sovereigns who appropriated to their own use extraordinary products of the mineral kingdom. The late empress of Russia collected that beautiful substance called the Amazonian stone, or green Siberian feldspar; which, since her death, has found its way into the other cabinets of Europe."

† "The inhabitants both of Greece and Egypt attribute the prodigious works they behold to the agency of supernatural beings. More enlightened nations affect to ridicule the simplicity of their minds; yet it may be true that the combined talents of all the artists in Europe, stimulated by the patronage of all its sovereigns, could not equal the tomb of Alexander."

‡ Κατὰ μέγεθος αὖν τεύμενος κατὰ τὴν μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἀξίον. "Quapropter delubrum, cum magnitudine, tum structura, majestate et gloria Alexandri dignum, illi fecit." Lib. xviii. c. 28.

Even in the discovery of this curious tomb (if a square chest can be entitled to the appellation) there is an air of mystery and reserve that is inexplicable. Nor after all is it quite clear that he was told even at Cairo, where he affirms that he first heard of it, that it was the tomb of Alexander. His words are these :

"In the course of my enquiries respecting the Rosetta stone, which I was very anxious to have included among the articles to be surrendered, and of which, at that time, we had obtained but a faint and imperfect history, it was made known to me, that another stone, of much larger dimensions, was in the possession of the French, guarded with the greatest secrecy, and concerning which they entertained the most lively apprehensions : deeming it even of more importance than the stone found at Rosetta. The persons who gave me this information, and whose names it certainly would not be prudent to make known, while there is even a chance of their receiving another visit from the French, further added, that this stone, which they described to be of an astonishing size, and a beautiful green colour, was somewhere concealed in Alexandria.

"With this intelligence I set out from Cairo for the British camp, at that time stationed on the heights they had retained after the action of the 21st of March, 1801 ; and took the earliest opportunity of seeing the commander in chief. The distance was great, and the capitulation daily expected to take place. It is to the situation of Alexandria and Cairo with respect to each other, that the want of precision must be attributed which appears in the account given of this monument in the latter city."

In page 44, Dr. Clarke opens the series of testimonies which respect the actual tomb, with the death of Alexander in the 323d year previous to the christian era. But lest the reader should forget the sarcophagus at the Museum, it is introduced again. And in a few sentences he traverses the principal countries of the habitable globe, among whose rites of sepulture sarcophagi appear to have been used ; but in none does he pay any attention to chronology. This mode of interment, he says, belonged to persons of the highest rank, and as an illustration gives this note :

"So Joseph died . . . ; and they embalm'd him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt." Gen. chap. l. ver. 26.

Now this ought certainly to have been a key to Dr. Clarke, and to have informed him that the few sarcophagi, which it is at this day in the power of Egypt to produce, can only be ascribed to the earliest

ages of its history. The *onus probandi* is still his own : and we will venture to assert, that he is incapable of bringing forward one single proof that such sarcophagi as those which are now preserved at the British Museum were used in Egypt for sepulchral purposes in the days of Alexander. The practice had gone by even when Herodotus wrote, or he would never have told us that the Egyptians were accustomed to inclose their dead in wooden cases, and that they deposited them regularly in an upright posture. How inconsistent Dr. Clarke is with himself, we shall show in one single instance. He here acknowledges, that Joseph was put into a coffin of like form, and that similar sarcophagi are found in other countries, but in p. 75, he says,

"Let it also be remarked, that the Alexandrian sarcophagus bids defiance to the arts, at any other period than that of Ptolemy, and in any other country than that of Egypt."

After various remarks on the deification of Alexander, Dr. Clarke appears to take it for granted, that nothing Greek could possibly be expected to distinguish the place of his deposit. For that with the Egyptians, under such circumstances, it could not pretend to be the tomb of Alexander. 'For if the tomb of an Egyptian god should exhibit the letters of the Greek alphabet, instead of an inscription, ΕΝΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΞΙΝ, it would thereby contradict all our knowledge of history and of ancient Egypt.' But there is one fact, and it is a fact recorded by Pausanias, that militates very forcibly against these remarks. It is a fact too, which Dr. Clarke in the testimonies, and Mr. Henley in the additional remarks, have kept entirely from the reader's view. It is that Alexander was buried, not according to the funeral rites of Egypt, but *κατὰ τὰν Μακεδόνων, with Grecian rites*. Why was the following passage omitted in the testimonies ?—*καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς τάφους τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον νεκρὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέστειλεν αὐτὸν παραδιδόναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ΝΟΜΟ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ἐξάρπεν ἐν Μελφεί.* Yet, says Dr. Clarke, p. 49, 'We have sufficient proof of the indispensable necessity of hieroglyphic characters.'

But once more we resume the testimonies. The funeral procession, conducted from Babylon by Perdiccas, was met on the confines of Syria by Ptolemy ; its destination was changed ; till a sumptuous shrine could be prepared for its reception, it was conveyed to Memphis ; and, ulti-

mately, brought to Alexandria. Ptolemy Lagus, by whom the shrine had been prepared, placed it in a coffin of gold, in which condition it appears to have remained rather more than two hundred and fifty years, when the gold coffin was exchanged for a glass one by Ptolemy Cybiactes. That there was an outer coffin of marble, as Dr. Clarke asserts, (p. 55) we have no authority for saying or supposing.

The imperial visits which the tomb, from time to time, received, enable us to trace its history for about three centuries more with tolerable certainty; the first upon record was Caesar's, and the interest it excited in his mind was well described by Lucan. But Dr. Clarke's mention of the circumstance is slight. He has not quoted a single line from the poet. That was reserved for Mr. Henley, who has quoted him in a mutilated form. The three first of the following lines are *totally omitted* in p. 98. Caesar, we are told,

" — Nulla capitur dulcedine rerum,
Non auro, cultuque Deum, non magnibus urbis,
Effossum tuniulus, *cupide descendit* in antrum.
Filiæ Pellæi proles vetana Philippi
Felix prædo jacet : " —

LUCAN, Lib. 10.

The idea of a subterranean vault also was given two books before in the line

" Cum tibi sacro MACEDON servetur
in anro."

And if we compare these (in the former of which the sepulchres of the Ptolemies are afterward included) with the following note in page 54, we shall probably see the reason both of the omission and the mutilation.

"An account of extraordinary subterranean excavations, westward of Alexandria, may be expected from the French, in whose hands I saw very accurate and beautiful drawings of them. They were regarded by some as the sepulchres of the Ptolemies."

They who regarded these excavations as the sepulchres of the Ptolemies never could have looked for Alexander's tomb in the mosque of St. Athanasius. The authorities which Dr. Clarke has himself brought together, prove Alexander and the Ptolemies to have been interred in the same depositary.

"* At that time the whole of the Peribólus, called Σαῖρα by Strabo, bore the name of the tomb of Alexander."

† "Dio Cassius, lib. lxxv. c. 17. A most extraordinary error appears in Suidas, where this act is attributed to Severus the Sophist (see Lexicon, vol. iii. p. 294. Σοφιστής). His commentator, in noticing the mistake, justifies the author, by observing that the name of the Sophist has been inserted in a part of the text belonging to Severus the emperor."

‡ "Herodian Hist. lib. iv. edit. Histor. Rom. Script. H. Steph. 1568."

About thirty years before the birth of Christ, Augustus visited the tomb. He saw, says Diodorus Siculus, the body of Alexander, and touched it; so that a part of the nose, as they relate, was broken off. Stetotius, moreover, relates the veneration with which he viewed the sepulchre. When the body was taken from it (Dr. Clarke says from the sarcophagus, such is his translation of *prolatum e pectore*) he placed a golden crown and scattered flowers upon it. And when the priests asked him if he would not also see the bodies of the Ptolemies, and the shrine of Apis, his reply was, that he came to see a king, not the bodies of the common dead; and that in respect to Apis, he had been accustomed to worship gods, not oxen.

Rather more than two hundred and thirty years had elapsed from the visit of Augustus, when Septimius Severus came to Alexandria. Though in the interval Caligula had obtained the breast-plate, and wore it in his pantomimic triumphs.

"Severus, whose thirst of knowledge, and enterprising curiosity, caused him to penetrate into all parts of the country, and to visit whatever might illustrate the policy and literature of Egypt, collected, according to Dio Cassius, the sacred volumes, containing the writings of the priests and the explanation of their hieroglyphics; and having deposited them in the tomb of Alexander,* caused the monument to be shut; that the people might not, through their ignorance, be excited to sedition; and that for the future no person should have access to the shrine."†

Lastly, among the classical authorities, comes the visit of Caracalla.

"Caracalla, whose fondness for the name and ensigns of Alexander is still preserved on the medals of that emperor, made his veneration for him, and his desire to consult a God so much revered by the inhabitants, the pretext for his visit to Alexandria. Herodian relates,‡ that the magnificent preparations to receive him were greater than for any former emperor. They met him with the liveliest demonstrations of joy, sparing neither expence nor toil to render his reception splendid and honourable. As soon as he arrived within the city, he entered the temple, immolating victims, and heaping incense upon the altars. He then visited the

summent (Μνημα) of Alexander, and placed upon the tomb (τῷ Σοφῷ) a purple vest, together with splendid rings set with the most brilliant gems, a rich girdle, and various other costly offerings.* The Alexandrians, duped by his hypocrisy, and believing the shrine which his father had closed would be again open to their adoration, as well as protected by their emperor, gave way to the most extravagant joy, and passed whole nights and days in festivity; not knowing, says the historian,† the vindictive machinations of the king."

The venerable records from which evidence is thus far obtained, now fail us. The time was approaching when a revolution, producing a total change of religious sentiments in Alexandria, materially affected the safety of the tomb. In consequence of the insults which Theophilus, who then filled the archiepiscopal throne, offered to the pagan temples, the greatest disorder took place in the city. An appeal was made to Theodosius to decide the quarrel between the heathens and the christians, and the consequence was an imperial mandate in the year 389 for the destruction of the idols of Alexandria. The idols themselves, says Dr. Clarke, were speedily demolished; and, doubtless, the body of Alexander was not spared when the statue of Serapis was destroyed. But if the statue of Serapis was destroyed, what reason have we to suppose that the tomb of ALEXANDER would be suffered to remain? Indeed we have something more than an inference to produce that it must have been destroyed; for eight years after, when Chrysostom reproved the people of Antioch for wearing the image of the son of Ammon, he triumphantly exclaimed, "Where is now the tomb of Alexander? show me!" the words are remarkable.—Που γὰρ εἶπε μὴ τὸ ΣΗΜΑ Ἀλεξάνδρου; δείξον μοι.

This passage, with the words that

follow, are supposed by Dr. Clarke only to contrast the *fallen dignity* of the tomb with the veneration paid to the sepulchres of the martyrs; but with us, if they mean any thing, they imply that the tomb of Alexander was in the time of Chrysostom no longer to be seen.

Other annals, we are next told, not less respectable, nor less entitled to attention, preserve the memory of Alexander's tomb. These are the oriental historians. But Dr. Clarke has not found a single original writer from whom he could even glean a solitary sentence. The Arabian, the Persian, and the Turkish writers, who have recorded the conquests and the actions of Alexander, are carefully enumerated; but Dr. Clarke has very wisely given us no history of their contents. For *they say nothing of the tomb*. He only observes at the close,

"The Arabians had a peculiar claim to the knowledge of Alexander. It is recorded by Arrian,‡ that he had endeavoured to hold the third place in the list of their gods; and among the surprizing revolutions of empire and opinion, they were ultimately destined to become the guardians of his tomb."

The invasion of the Saracens, and the conquest of Alexandria, in the year 640, forms the next object of attention.

"With the entrance of the Arabs we look once more to the tomb of Alexander; and we find that almost one of their first measures, upon gaining possession of the city, connects itself with the sarcophagus. The peribolus which inclosed this monument, together with the tombs of the Ptolemies, had been converted, at the downfall of paganism, to a christian church, bearing the name of St. Athanasius. The same building, at the conquest of the Arabs, once more changed its nature, and became a mosque; but the name of the saint to which it was dedicated by the christians was still annexed to it by the mahometans, and it was called the mosque of St. Athanasius.§ By this fortunate circumstance

* Ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πρῶτον εἰς τὸν νεὺν ἀνελθὼν, πολλὰς ἐκατόμβας κατέβησε, λεβάνῃ τε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐσώρευσεν. ἐκείθεν δ' ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ΜΝΗΜΑ, τὴν τε χλαυῖδα τὴν ἔφερεν ἀληγρῆν, δακτυλίους τε οὓς εἶχε λίθων τιμίων, ἡστέγρας τε καὶ εἰς πολυτελεῖς ἔφερε, περιελθὼν αὐτοῦ, ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου ΣΟΡΩΙ. "Sed ubi in urbem jam pervenit, primò quidem templum ingressus est, multisque victimis immolatis, ac thure cumulatè altaribus, ad Alexandri Monumentum se contulit, paludamentisque purpureum, et claris speciosisque gemmis anulos conspicuos, balteumque et siquæ alia gestabat elegantiora, dempta sibi, tum illis imposuit tumulo. Herodiani Hist. lib. iv. Ibid."

† "Ibid."

‡ Οὐ μὲν ἀπεχθὺν καὶ αὐτὸν τρίτον ἀννομισθῆναι πρὸς Ἀράβων θεόν. "Quapropter non indignum censebat ac, qui pro tertio Deo apud Arabas haberetur. Arrian. Gronovii. L. Bat. 1704. lib. vii. p. 300."

§ "The mosque of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, is another instance of the same kind; and other christian churches in Turkey preserve their original name, though converted to mosques."

we are enabled to keep our view faithfully directed, in all the periods of its history, to the particular building in which the body of Alexander was placed; and, having found the tomb stationed exactly as historians have described it, meet with an ultimate consummation of the evidence in the tradition and records of the Arabs; who, while they professed themselves to do it homage, declared it to be the tomb of Alexander, the founder of the city of Alexandria."

But where are the authorities for all these strong assertions? Let the reader only turn to the view of the great court of the mosque that is copied from Denon, and he will see in one moment that the arabesque colonnade that surrounds it is of a period very long subsequent indeed to the conquest of Alexandria in 640. We doubt if it has stood four hundred years.

Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveller of the twelfth century, is the next testimony that is brought; and he, it appears, saw a large sarcophagus upon the margin of the sea. It was engraved with the figures of animals and hieroglyphic characters; and was conjectured to have contained the body of some king before the deluge. Its breadth was six, and its length fifteen spans; and Dr. Clarke, without entering into any inquiry as to the nature of the span, though at the same time aware of the general coincidence of the sarcophagus with that at the Museum, conjectures it to have been one of the tombs of the Ptolemies removed from the SOMA to the sea-shore, and neglected among the ruins.

Then we have the authority of Leo Africanus, who visited Alexandria in 1491, and whose text is literally translated in these words.

"Neither ought it to be omitted, that in the midst of the ruins of Alexandria, there still remains a small edifice, built like a chapel, worthy of notice on account of a remarkable tomb, held in high honour by the mahometans; in which sepulchre, they assert, is preserved the body of Alexander the Great, an eminent prophet and king, as they read in their koran. An immense crowd of strangers comes thither, even from distant countries, for the sake of worshipping and doing homage to the tomb; on which, likewise, they frequently bestow considerable donations."

Marmol the Spaniard gives a similar account; but almost in the very words of Leo: and immediately afterwards we have an extract from the *Dictionnaire Orientale* of D'Herbelot, who mentions,

from a Persian writer of the sixteenth century, a fact which even Dr. Clarke's ingenuity cannot reconcile with his other testimonies. For it is there asserted, that the coffin of gold was *exchanged by Alexander's MOTHER* for one made of *Egyptian marble*; and this even in the life-time of Ptolemy Lagus, who had built the shrine. But, on this incoherent evidence, Dr. Clarke does not condescend to offer a single observation.

Sandys, who went to Egypt in 1611, mentions the tomb as reported to be in the possession of the musselmen, but in such a way that he has been shrewdly conjectured to have borrowed his remarks from Leo. Their coincidence indeed is great; for they both speak of Alexander's body being preserved there: but, in Dr. Clarke's mind, this part of their evidence is immaterial. He takes what concerns the tomb, but leaves the body; having considered that *that* was probably demolished with the idols in 389: yet surely their testimonies must be as good upon one fact as upon the other. All this only serves to show that Dr. Clarke must himself have found insuperable difficulties in the compilation of his Memoir.

The principal of the modern travellers are next cited. They form a sort of chronological cavalcade; and follow each other for no better purpose than to swell the pomp of seeming 'testimony': for though the quotations from the different voyages, during a course of seventy years, from Pococke to Denon, occupy just twelve quarto pages, yet not one affords a single *iota*, either of evidence or conjecture, that the sarcophagus which forms the subject of the dissertation, and which was seen and minutely described by several of them, had any relation to the tomb of Alexander. The greater part of these travellers, with one or two more who have been omitted, expressly tell us that, though they made every inquiry possible about the real tomb, not even the wreck of a tradition could be discovered in the country that might relate to it. Yet does Dr. Clarke assert, at the close of his introduction, in the words of Gibbon, that "*The guardians of the most holy relics would rejoice if they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as may be alleged upon this occasion*;" a sentence which strongly reminds us of what we once heard in the court of chancery. A counsel had addressed the lord chancellor on the subject of a legacy for an hour and ten minutes, without making out even

the shadow of a case. On the side of the question he supported, he had six or seven juratory affidavits: and, in the warmth of winding up his speech, he said, "in short, my lord, I feel myself supported by such a cloud of witnesses, that I am sure your lordship will be convinced I feel as confident as if I had Moses and his prophets to support me."

Throughout the work we cannot but observe that Dr. Clarke shifts his ground so frequently. When it suits his purpose, the sarcophagus may be as old as the time of Joseph. (See p. 47, note t.) When it bids defiance to the arts at any other period than that of Ptolemy (p. 75.); and, in the very next page, after mentioning the gold coffin, he speaks of the sarcophagus as being *afterwards* constructed: and in a fourth place (p. 81.), it is referred to Olympias, Alexander's mother. All these little incoherencies may pass very well with superficial readers; but never can be expected to elude the discrimination of scholars. His testimonies, in this point of view, are too frequently deficient.

The ruins of Sais, which form so long and so irrelative a digression, never were either lost or doubted; so that the disco-

very of them ranks with that of the Vienna manuscript in the first number of the appendix, which, as it had been printed more than once, Dr. Clarke needed not to have gone so far to find.

Mr. Henley's Remarks on the Sarcophagus, in a great measure, contain a repetition of the facts we have already noticed. Still, however, they are curious, and are intitled to the reader's attention.

Professor Hailstone's letter is very minute in regard to the composition of the stone of which the sarcophagus is formed. We can only say that, if it had been shorter, it would have pleased us more.

These are the 'testimonies,' on the strength of the weakness of which we are called to decide. The sarcophagus which forms the subject of the work we readily admire; its beauty and its workmanship are exquisite; and we must own we should be better pleased could we subscribe to Dr. Clarke's hypothesis: but that, upon the evidence which he has brought together, it is impossible to do. The words of Chrysostom are as applicable at the present day, as when they were first spoken to the men of Antioch.

ART. IX.—*A Description of Latium; or, la Campagna di Roma.* 4to. pp. 268.

EVERY scholar and reader of taste must have experienced the great additional pleasure which is, in many instances, communicated to the perusal of the ancient writers, by an accurate knowledge of the historical facts to which they allude, and particularly of the objects of nature which they describe. Without this the impression made by many of their finest passages is vague, unsatisfactory, and feeble. The works of Virgil and Horace are early put into our hands; they are employed to form and refine our taste, and repeated study has rendered us familiar with their contents. But we deprive ourselves of one great source of satisfaction in reading their poems, if we have not familiarized ourselves, in imagination at least, with the scenes to which they perpetually refer, from which their works receive their colouring, and without some knowledge of which many passages are indeed scarcely intelligible.

No spot on the face of the earth can be more interesting from ancient recollections and associations than the immediate environs of Rome. Some trace of those pleasing fables, or those splendid histories, our acquaintance with which is coincident with the first exercises of the mind, is im-

pressed on almost every object. Rome still retains her empire. Her sovereigns indeed no longer sway the sceptre of the world; her pontiffs no longer give law to sovereigns themselves; but she is still the centre to which a great part of the history of mankind tends, her name is repeated with enthusiasm in every quarter of the globe, and the most distant traveller who arrives on that classic ground, treads the seven hills with the feelings of a citizen, and views the majestic ruins, the monuments of ancient fame, with mingled feelings of awe and delight.

The author of the work before us, whom we understand to be Miss Knight, author of *Dinarbas* and *Marcus Flaminius*, justly remarks, that however satisfactory and complete may be the accounts given by different authors of the city of Rome, and its more immediate environs, little has been said on a subject scarcely less interesting in any point of view, and undoubtedly in a peculiar manner grateful to the classical scholar, no less than to the painter and antiquary.

"The Campagna di Roma, or ancient Latium, comprises cities, towns, and villages, which date their existence from the earliest periods of history: many of them may yet

boast, in addition to the charms of situation, objects highly deserving the observation of travellers, although many of our own nation; who visit Italy with a desire of treading that earth which their early studies have taught them to love and respect, either from want of time, or from not being sufficiently apprised of the scenes still worthy their attention, leave the country without having seen more than two or three of the little towns at a short distance from the capital; and perhaps, having passed only a few hours in each, have not had an opportunity of viewing even these with advantage."

The object, therefore, of the present work, is to give an account of the present appearance of the Campagna, of its ancient state so far as it is deducible from the remaining monuments of its former greatness, compared with the descriptions of the Latin writers; interspersed with many anecdotes of history connected with the subject, chiefly relative to the ancient and middle ages.

The topographical part of the work is preceded by an introduction, containing a description of the situation and climate of the Campagna; an account, so far as can be collected from the dark and uncertain traditions which have descended to us, of the original inhabitants and early colonists of Latium; and the cities, roads, and villas, of the ancients. The following is the description of the rural amusements of the present Romans, during their annual absence from the capital in the season of autumn, and especially in the month of October.

"Most of the nobility, and indeed all who are in easy circumstances, either possess or hire houses for this month, at one or other of the little towns within ten or twenty miles of the capital. This is called going into *villeggiatura*; and it forms one of the principal pleasures of their existence. They esteem it not only necessary for their health, but essential to their making a respectable appearance in society; and individuals who have not the advantage of possessing a *casino*, hire lodgings in convents or private houses, for as much of the month of October as their finances will allow.

"Ecclesiastics, lawyers, physicians, and others who dress as *abati*, in black, with short mantles over their shoulders, for the rest of the year, wear coloured coats during this month; and even cardinals change their usual habit for a purple frock. Towards the end of September every Roman appears with a countenance enlivened by the expectation of an agreeable *villeggiatura*, except the few whom business or want of money detains in the metropolis; and these endeavour to console themselves, by wearing the habit of *vil-*

leggianti, and walking in the beautiful villas and vineyards which surround the city.

"None, however, anticipate with so much ardour, or enjoy with so much avidity, the pleasures of the month of October, as the scholars, and we may add the masters, of the different colleges and seminaries in which Rome abounds. Each of these houses has a *casino* at or near one of the *castelli*, as the little towns are usually denominated. On the happy day appointed for the change of habitation, a long train of coaches conveys the youthful *villeggianti* to the scene of delight, where, under the eye of their preceptor, they join in all the amusements which the country affords. Their studies are not, however, totally neglected; for, besides the lessons they receive on mineralogy and botany during their excursions, it is remarked, that some of their best exercises are composed spontaneously at these seasons of recreation.

"The time of *villeggiatura* is indeed short, but that very reason contributes to render it more delightful. The mornings are usually employed in walks or friendly visits; in the evening, those who have carriages take an airing; and afterwards, all assemble at one or other of the houses, where conversation and music for the young, and cards for the elder, engage their attention. On these occasions the nobility sometimes mix with those of an inferior class, particularly where balls or concerts are given. Races, and other amusements appropriate to the country, form also a part of their pleasures."

Deviating slightly in one or two instances from the order observed by the author, we shall proceed to give an analysis of the contents of this work under six principal heads.

1. The Appian way, and the adjoining objects. This celebrated road, one of the most remarkable monuments of Roman grandeur, in a species of public works in the construction of which they excelled all nations ancient or modern, extends from Rome towards the south. One of the first objects which occurs, is the small temple of Fortuna Muliebris, at the distance of four miles from Rome; said to have been erected in honour of Veturia the mother of Coriolanus, and the Roman matrons who accompanied her, when by her entreaties she prevailed on her son to desist from the enterprize which he had undertaken at the head of the Volscian armies, against his native city. It is now in ruins, but considerable fragments of it remain. At the seventh mile, the Claudian aqueduct crosses the way. In a vineyard at Castel Gandolfo, is an ancient tomb, which tradition assigns to Tullia, the daughter of Cicero.

The Alban lake is situated a little to the

left of the Appian road. Its modern name is Lago di Castello. The Emissario, if its antiquity is sufficiently ascertained, must be one of the most remarkable objects which have been saved from the ravages of time. It is said to have been erected three hundred and ninety-seven years before the Christian era, and is still in perfect preservation.

"This truly interesting monument of antiquity was constructed, as is well known, during the celebrated siege of Veii, for the emission of the superfluous waters of this lake which had risen to an astonishing height, when the country was afflicted with an uncommon want of rain, which occasioned a failure of almost all the lesser streams. The oracle of Delphos and those of Etruria having also declared that Veii could not be taken till the waters of the lake were carried off into the fields, and then confined into rivulets; the work was soon terminated, and Veii was taken.

"This 'Emissario' presents an arch of considerable height, seven feet in diameter, composed of large square stones. It forms the entrance of a channel which conveys the water under the hill on which Castel Gandolfo stands, about three hundred feet above the level of the lake.

"This channel is a mile and a half in length, and terminates in the fields near Albano, where is a mill for grinding corn, and the water afterwards runs into the Tiber, at a place called 'Aque Salvie.' There are sometimes five feet of water, and at others only two: by placing a lighted taper on a board, and letting it swim through the arch, the eye can follow the stream to a very considerable distance, and the board floats along the channel till it makes its appearance at the mill."

The present town of Albano, situated near the lake, derives its name, though its site is different, from the ancient city of Alba, a name closely connected with the origin of Rome:

"Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ."

Among the numerous villas erected in the neighbourhood of Albano by the Romans, the most conspicuous was that of Pompey, of which considerable vestiges are still in being. "The remains of antiquity near Albano in all directions are very numerous. In a vineyard about a mile distant from the northern gate are vestiges of walls, which appear to have been built during the time of the republic, or during the reign of the first Cæsars. Six rooms with beautiful mosaic pavements were discovered here some years ago."

The small town of Palazzolo, on the east of the lake, and at the foot of the

Alban mountain, is supposed to present the site of the ancient Alba Longa. It is marked by some insignificant ruins.

Laricia, on the Appian road, about a mile from Albano, is the Aricia of antiquity, the seat of an Italian fable, beautifully described by Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 761—782.

"Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello
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This town appears to be distinguished by the beauty of its situation; and contains a fine modern palace, possessed by the family of Chigi.

The small lake of Nemi, about four miles in circumference, succeeds that of Albano at a short distance, lying also on the left of the Appian way. Gensano, said to be corrupted from Cynthianum, preserves the memory of the worship of Diana, celebrated in this territory, which was peculiarly consecrated to that goddess.

"In the principal street, which is not inconsiderable, is annually performed an exercise entitled *il Saraceno*. This takes place on the anniversary of their tutelar saint, and follows a race of Barbary horses, which is previously exhibited in the avenue before the palace. A long space of ground is enclosed by pales, ornamented with branches of trees; at one extremity is a figure representing a Moor in armour, with a sprig of laurel in his hand, and a silver star on his forehead. The magistrates place themselves on a scaffold erected for the purpose, and adorned with crimson damask fringed with gold. They sit as judges of the game.

"Young men on horseback, attended each by a running footman holding their lance, enter the lists, and, after making their obeisance to the magistrates and spectators, run full speed at the Saracen's head; and he whose lance strikes the star, or comes nearest to it, gains the prize, which is a silver knife, fork, and spoon, tied with red ribbands. This game was introduced by the Saracens, and is practised in other parts of Italy: it gives some idea of the warlike amusements of the Arabs, as described in the history of Granada, and other works translated from their language; but the traces of their magnificence and chivalry are still more visible in the Sicilian festivals."

The name of Nemi has descended from Nemus Aricinum, a grove of great celebrity, dedicated to Diana, in a situation of singular beauty. Naval combats were exhibited by the emperor Claudius on the lake; at the bottom of which, in the fifteenth century, a Roman vessel was dis-

boast, in addition to the charms of situation, objects highly deserving the observation of travellers, although many of our own nation; who visit Italy with a desire of treading that earth which their early studies have taught them to love and respect, either from want of time, or from not being sufficiently apprised of the scenes still worthy their attention, leave the country without having seen more than two or three of the little towns at a short distance from the capital; and perhaps, having passed only a few hours in each, have not had an opportunity of viewing even these with advantage."

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The small lake of Nemi, about four miles in circumference, succeeds that of Albano at a short distance, lying also on the left of the Appian way. Gensano, said to be corrupted from Cyndlianum, preserves the memory of the worship of Diana, celebrated in this territory, which was peculiarly consecrated to that goddess.

"In the principal street, which is not inconsiderable, is annually performed an exercise entitled *il Saraceno*. This takes place on the anniversary of their tutelary saint, and follows a race of Barbary horses, which is previously exhibited in the avenue before the palace. A long space of ground is enclosed by pales, ornamented with branches of trees; at one extremity is a figure representing a Moor in armour, with a spray of laurel in his hand, and a silver star on his forehead. The magistrates place themselves on a scaffold erected for the purpose, and adorned with crimson damask fringed with gold. They sit as judges of the game.

"Young men on horseback, attended each by a running footman holding their lance, enter the lists, and, after making their obeisance to the magistrates and spectators, run full speed at the Saracen's head; and he whose lance strikes the star, or comes nearest to it, gains the prize, which is a silver knife, fork, and spoon, and with red ribbands. This game was introduced by the Saracens, and is practised in other parts of Italy: it gives some idea of the warlike amusements of the Arabs, as described in the history of Granada, and other works translated from their language; but the traces of their magnificence and chivalry are still more visible in the Sicilian festivals."

The name of Nemi has descended from Nemus Aricinum, a grove of great celebrity, dedicated to Diana, in a situation of singular beauty. Naval exercises were exhibited by the emperor Claudius

In a small town of Palazzolo, some

covered. The fountain of Egeria remains under the name Fonte Gerulo.

Ardea, the capital of Turnus, is on the right of the Appian road, not far distant from the sea. It is frequently mentioned in Roman history; but appears in the flourishing ages of the republic to have been deserted, and is now very thinly inhabited, on account of the insalubrity of the air.

Civita Lavinia is the ancient Lanuvium, of which Milo was dictator. "The town is very interesting, every thing bearing marks of the most remote antiquity. Many beautiful fragments of ornamental sculpture in stone and marble, lie scattered about in the streets; and in most of the walls are stuck pieces of cornices or columns."

Velitræ is the last-mentioned town in this route, lying on the modern road to Naples, twenty-six miles distant from Rome. It is celebrated for the birth, or at least the education, of Augustus; but appears to be more distinguished by its modern palaces, than its remains of ancient edifices. The Pontine marshes are in its vicinity.

2. Towns and objects on the coast. At the mouth of the Tiber are situated Porto and Ostia; the former on its right, the latter on its left bank. These places retain some traces, though not very considerable, of their former maritime importance. The remains of the ancient Claudian port are visible under water on a calm day. The magnitude of this work may be estimated from the descriptions of Juvenal and Suetonius.

Torre di San Lorenzo, about seven miles to the south of Ostia, is conjectured to represent Laurentum, the city of Latinus. Of the villa of the younger Pliny, situated near this town, it does not appear that any remains are extant. Heyne, in his third *Excursus* on the seventh book of the *Æneid*, controverts the claims of San Lorenzo to the honours of ancient Laurentum; he concurs with Cluverius and Fabretti in fixing it at Torre di Paterno. Lavinium, the first seat of the supposed monarchy of Æneas in Italy, is supposed to have stood on a little eminence at the source of the river Numicus; about three miles from the sea.

The vicinity of Antium is still interesting. The ancient name is preserved in the present Porto d'Anzo; while the adjacent maritime town of Nettuno gives testimony to the temple and worship of the deity of the sea, by which this place

was celebrated. Antium was the capital of the Volscians, and was not reduced, till after many contests, under the power of Rome. Under the empire it was distinguished by the splendour of its buildings. Among its public edifices, the temples of Neptune, Æsculapius, and Fortune, were eminent. To the latter Horace alludes in the well-known ode which he addresses to the mutable goddess:

"O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium!"

Some of the master-pieces of sculpture, particularly the Belvedere Apollo, were discovered among the ruins of this city.

Monte Circello, a bold eminence, projecting into the sea, and connected with the continent by a low and narrow neck of land, is the ancient *Æea*, or island of Circe. It is not improbable that, in remote ages, it may have been actually separated from the shore. Classic superstition points out the tomb of Elpenor with as much exactness, as in Palestine religious superstition assigns the situation of every remarkable event connected with the origin of Christianity.

3. Tusculum, with the surrounding country. No name can be dearer than this, to the admirers of ancient genius and learning. It was to this favourite retreat that Cicero withdrew from the business and turbulence of Rome, to enjoy the elegant pursuits and calm satisfactions of literature and philosophy, in secret study, or in the society of friends of taste and attainments similar to his own. From some remains of antiquity which have been there discovered, it is conjectured, though rather precariously, that the monastery of Grotta Ferrata presents the exact site of Cicero's villa. The modern name of Tusculum is Frascati. The ancient city was on an eminence, at the foot of which the present town is built. The nominal cardinal of York is bishop of this diocese, in which he usually resides.

Lucullus possessed a splendid villa in the vicinity of Tusculum. "Considerable vestiges of porticos, grottos, and other buildings, in which inscriptions with the name of Lucullus have been found, occur frequently between Marino and Monte Porzio, above Frascati; but it is impossible to distinguish how much of these buildings belonged to Lucullus, or to discover how many other dwellings were erected on the ruins of his villas, or near them, during the course of so many centuries."

The monastery of Grotta Ferrata is remarkable for the use of the Greek ritual.

"The service is performed in Greek; and the Missal and book of Psalms, printed in that language with accents, are read and sung by the monks according to the modern pronunciation. They are chiefly Calabrians of respectable families; their hospitality is great; and on the 8th of September, the day of the Madonna, when a fair is held under the elms before the abbey, they entertain some of the first nobility of Rome with great propriety. In the court of the monastery are then erected shops and booths, where linen, shoes, fans, and trinkets are sold: little arbours are formed of branches of trees (in which art the people of Frascati excel), and others, of a larger dimension, for dinner-parties in the meadow: horses, oxen, and indeed cattle of all descriptions, are brought hither to be sold; and the meadow is filled with company of all ranks, whose various dresses, with the picturesque appearance of the place in general, compose a scene of the most agreeable and cheerful nature. Music is always introduced on these occasions, and at night the lamps, placed on the different tables where the people are assembled in convivial parties, sparkle between the trees, and give an appearance of festivity which is truly delightful. Between ten and eleven in the morning of the great day (for most of the people assemble on the eve), high-mass is sung in Latin, as well as Greek, by the regular father abbot of the monastery with a mitre and crosier, which he has the right of wearing on this occasion; his dress, and those of the other officiating priests, are magnificent. The abbey is in the diocese of cardinal York, as bishop of Frascati."

4. The description of the Alban mountain we present entire.

"MONTE CAVO, MONS ALBANUS.

"Ascending from this place to the summit of *Monte Cavo*, anciently *Mons Albanus*, at the distance of little more than a mile, the traveller follows a most difficult path over rocks, whence the views are surprisingly extensive and beautiful; the lake of Albano appearing at his feet. Above *La Rocca* are the ruins of some Gothic buildings, and the peasants suppose them to have been once a fortress; which is highly probable, from the many advantages of the situation. The road now opens into a large plain nearly enclosed by a circular chain of mountains, amongst which the most remarkable is Mount *Algidum*. This place bears the name of the plains of *Hannibal*, as it is imagined to be the spot whence that general pointed out to his army the city of Rome, and promised to his officers, for the ensuing evening, a supper in the Capitol: others place it lower.

"From this plain we ascend a most enchanting road shaded by a variety of trees,

and particularly by oaks and laurels. It leads winding up to the summit of the mountain. This road is of the time of the republic, and near the summit is in perfect preservation: it commences round that part of the hill nearest Albano, and is composed of large flat stones, supported on each side by a pavement about a foot higher: it is broad enough for the passage of a modern carriage: in many parts of it are seen engraved the two letters V. and N., which antiquaries interpret *Viu Numinis* (the road of the deity).

"Hither the Roman conquerors used to come a few days after their triumph, to offer up a sacrifice of thanks in the temple of Jupiter Latiaris; and those who, after having gained a victory, could not obtain from the senate the decree which entitled them to the honour of a triumph, often made one at their own expence in this place, followed by their army, with a pomp equal to that of Rome.

"This temple of Jupiter was the object of general veneration: in the first times of the republic the different states of Latium sent annually hither deputies to renew their league of amity, and offer up a sacrifice to Jupiter. On a stated day they met in this place, and each deputy partook of the victim. The Romans considered it as the chief object of their devotion after the capitol: and prodigies supposed to happen here were expiated with the most rigorous superstition. That singular appearances should strengthen their belief in such wonders is not astonishing, when we consider the volcanic nature of this celebrated mountain. The Alban lake was the crater of a volcano; and the accounts given by Livy, and other historians, of its having rained stones, and other similar phenomena, on Mount Albano, are as easy to be explained by naturalists, as the death of Acis and other mythological events, the scene of which was the neighbourhood of Mount Etna.

"Arriving at the summit of *Monte Cavo*, it is impossible not to experience sensations at once awful and delightful; the recollection of the important events which led the masters of the world to offer up at this place their homage to the Deity, is assisted by the great quantity of laurels still growing here.

"It is a small plain belonging to an order of friars called *Passionisti*, who subsist well on the charity of the circumjacent towns and villages. Their dress is black, with a large red cross on their breast, and they are under the protection of cardinal York, who assisted them in building a new church in the year 1784. Their convent is a building of considerable size, and opposite to it is a stone table shaded by two fine chesnut-trees; this is supposed to have been the place of the altar of Jupiter, as it is in the centre of the plain, and great part of a circular wall of some extent is yet visible, and was, no doubt, that of the ancient temple. On the ground were seen several fragments of cornices of good sculpture; and, when we were on the hill,

the masons were employed in making a shell for holy water out of part of an antique altar.

"There are two moments in which this spot is more peculiarly interesting. One, on a clear day, when the eye can enjoy the most extensive and the sublimest view that is known in the papal dominions. It takes in a vast tract of country, and a large portion of the Mediterranean, with the various objects which render this scene one of the noblest in the world. It almost extends to the Adriatic, and comprehends part of the Neapolitan territory, with a long chain of the Appenines.

"The other moment, though not so beautiful, has in it something extraordinary and awful that is truly deserving of observation. It is, however, frequently a great disappointment to many travellers. A mist covers the whole of the prospect below, and the circular plain alone is visible to the person who has ascended the hill in search of the view. It has then the appearance of an island in the midst of an immense lake, or of an edifice seated on the clouds. This mist scarcely ever extends its influence to a great distance. It appears, when seen from Albano, or any other town on the borders of the lake, in the form of a cloud which cuts across the upper part of the mountain, and is an indication of future rain. This gives rise to the expression, '*Monte cavo ha il capello—piovera*':—'The mountain has put on his hat—it will rain:' an expression which, probably, comes from the ancient Romans, as there is a mountain in France corruptedly called *Mont Pileu*, from *Mons Pileatus*, the Roman name given to it on account of its frequently appearing with this cloud across or above the summit.

"An excursion to Monte Cavo is not only pleasing to the painter and antiquary, but affords specimens of many curious volcanic productions to the mineralogist.

"The *feriæ Latine* were annual meetings of the states of Latium with the Romans, Hernici, and Volscians, established by Tarquin the Proud, who was desirous, by this arrangement, to make himself master of these several nations, and was too good a politician not to understand the use of festivals and banquets.

"Forty-seven cities partook of this feast, and each contributed its portion, by sending lambs, cheeses, milk, or other provisions. The common victim was an ox, a portion of which was given to the deputy of each town, the Romans presiding at the sacrifice.

"Only two communities of the Volscians, the Antiatres and the Echetrani, consented to join this assembly.

"The name of *feriæ*, which properly implies holidays, has remained to public meetings of a different nature, called by the Italians *fiere*, and by us *fairs*.

"As there was not space sufficient for so numerous a company on the summit of Mount Albano, it is probable these *feriæ* were held in the spacious plain above described, under

the name of the *fields of Hannibal*, although the bull might be sacrificed at the temple of Jupiter Latialis, and the forty-seven deputies might partake of it there. The plain is about three miles in circumference, and produces excellent pasturage; the mountains encircling it are covered with trees, and the oaks are some of the finest in this country.

"On the side of the Alban mountain stood a temple of *Juno Moneta*, erected by Caius Cicerius, in consequence of a vow he made in Corsica, where he gained a considerable victory in the year of Rome 578, destroying 7000 of the enemy, and taking 1700 prisoners. This temple was completed in 583, and was afterwards supposed miraculously to turn from the east to the north. It was not large, but appears to have been held in great veneration.

5. Præneste. This town, now called Palestrina, is distinguished by its antiquity, and by various circumstances of its history. The salubrity of its air, and the beauty of its situation, rendered it a favourite residence of the wealthy Romans. One of its most remarkable edifices was the temple of the goddess Fortuna, said to have occupied nearly the whole of the ground on which the present town of Palestrina stands, erected by Sylla on the scene of his greatest victory, in honour of the goddess by whose protection and regard he considered himself as peculiarly distinguished. The finest building of the modern city, is the castle or palace of its prince.

"The chief object of curiosity is the palace of the prince, in the highest part of the city, to which there is an ascent by an excellent coach-road to the right, by the Capucia convent, without entering the narrow street. Before it is a level space of considerable length, which formed the highest platform of the temple of Fortune.

"Two flights of steps lead to an amphitheatre, or semicircular staircase, in excellent preservation, which is the same that led to the sanctuary of the temple, on the foundation of which the palace is built: in the middle of the semicircle is a well; each step is about a foot and a half high (like the ancient steps of the capitol which led to the church of Ara Cœli, at Rome). Another short flight conducts to the hall of entrance, where are seen four elegant bronze cannons, a double staircase, and a recess, closed by iron grates, which contains the celebrated antique pavement, of which Pliny speaks in the following terms:

"The fine mosaic of small stones, placed by Sylla as a pavement in the temple of Fortune at Præneste, was the first thing of the kind seen in Italy.

"There does not seem to be the smallest room to doubt of this being the genuine mo-

hair he mentions: it is in excellent preservation, and appears to be about twenty feet by sixteen. It was found in the same cellar of the seminary, where is still the altar of Fortune, and may be considered as one of the most interesting relics of antiquity.

"Towards the upper part of it are mountains, with negro savages hunting wild beasts; animals of different sorts, with their names in Greek written below them—such as rhinoceros, crocodile, and lynx. Lower down are seen houses of various forms, temples, vessels of different constructions, particularly a gallery of 32 oars, manned with armed blacks, and commanded by a white man; a tent with soldiers, a palm-tree, flowers, a collation in an arbour, an altar of Anubis; in short, almost every circumstance imaginable in life. The scene apparently lies in Egypt. The figures are well drawn, the light and shadows happily disposed, and the colouring harmonious. The stones which compose this very curious pavement are remarkably small, which renders the effect peculiarly pleasing from the neatness of its appearance."

"This immense and magnificent building has not been inhabited for many years, and indeed it is much too large for the present modes of life. The length of it is 672 feet."

The towns of Gabii, Pedum, and Scaptia, with others in the vicinity of Præneste, do not appear to be much distinguished by any traces of ancient splendour.

6. Tibur, now called Tivoli, is well known as one of the most delightful situations in the environs of Rome, celebrated by its ancient poets, and the chosen resort of many of its most eminent citizens. In no place are the remains of ancient villas so numerous. One of its most beautiful objects is the celebrated cascade.

"From this place there is a steep descent to a grotto near the great cascade, the beauty of which baffles all description. It is called *La Grotta di Nettuno*. On the way are to be seen different petrefactions.

"Besides the great cascade, which is near the sybil's temple, there are smaller ones called *la cascettella grande*, and *le cascettelle piccole*; the last are near the villa of Mænas, and the other is at the extremity of the valley, and, at a certain hour, forms a beautiful rainbow: near it is a natural grotto, in which are three compartments; a little garden before it leads down to the cascade. The light spray of the water, which the inhabitants call *the dust of the cascades*, keeps up a de-

lightful coolness in the valley; and is very beneficial to the variety of flowers and shrubs which grow wild on the banks of the Tevere; the majestic and interesting ruins, the various trees, and verdure of the grass, the murmur of the waters, and the sublimity of the sheltering hills, give a mingled sensation of awe and delight, which it is impossible to describe."

Among the villas of distinguished Romans are enumerated those of Centronius, Piso, Cassius, Adrian, the Cæsonian family, Mænas, Varus, Ventidius Bassus, Munatius Plancus, Rubellius, Horace, and Catullus. Tibur also afforded a retreat to two royal captives, Syphax and Zenobia. Of the villa of Adrian, a building of great extent and sumptuous magnificence, considerable ruins are still remaining.

Near Vicovaro, at the distance of six miles from Tivoli, is San Cosimato, "a large convent of reformed Franciscans, in the most romantic situation imaginable, and highly celebrated for the beauty of its prospects." It stands on the banks of the Tevere, the ancient Anio. "On the opposite side is a steep ascent to a wood which covers the summit of a hill: the friars rarely venture to walk in it, as they know it is infested by wolves of an enormous size, descended no doubt from those described by Horace; and as they are not allowed to divert their fears by musing on the attractions of a Lalage, they prudently confine themselves to the safer bank of the Tevere, and count their beads to the hoarse murmur of its waves, in one of the wildest spots that is to be seen in this part of Italy."

This volume is very creditable to the taste and diligence of the author, and will be found useful in imparting to the classical scholar distinct and accurate ideas of the natural features and the antiquities of a country rendered interesting to him by its connection with the objects of his studies. The orthography of the word *Filostratus* leads us to suspect an Italian origin for some of the information conveyed. The materials have, however, been well employed, and evidently directed by personal observation. The work is illustrated by twenty etchings, delineating the most remarkable objects which it describes.

ART. X.—*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. Part the Second: containing an Account of the Navigation of the Ancients, from the Gulph of Elana, in the Red Sea, to the Island of Ceylon. With Dissertations.* By WILLIAM VINCENT, D. D. 4to. pp. 650.

WE are happy to congratulate the public and the author on the appearance

of the second and concluding volume of this valuable and laborious work.

Arabia and India are the subjects of the third and fourth books. The unknown author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, printed among the minor Greek geographers, furnishes the text, which is illustrated by a great variety of geographical and commercial information, collected by the learned author from numerous sources both ancient and modern.

"The commerce of the ancients between Egypt and the coast of Africa, with all that concerns their discoveries to the south, has been traced in the preceding pages; and we now return again to Egypt, in order to take a fresh departure, and prosecute our inquiries till we reach their final boundary on the east. The present book will comprize all that concerns the commerce of Arabia, both in the interior, and on the coast.

"The *Periplus* is still to form the basis of our investigation; but as the object proposed is to give a general account of the communication with the east, no apology is requisite for detaining the reader from the immediate contemplation of the work itself. A variety of scattered materials, all centring at the same point, are to be collected, before a comprehensive view can be presented, or an accurate judgment formed; and if this task can be executed with the fidelity and attention which the nature of the subject requires, the general result will be preferable to the detail of a single voyage, in the same proportion as a whole is superior to its parts.

"The commencement, then, of this second voyage is again from Berenikè, and from this port there were two routes practised in the age of the author; one, down the gulph to Mooza and Okèlis direct, and the other, first up to Myos Hormus, and then across the gulph by the promontory Pharos, or Cape Mahomed, to Leukè Komè in Arabia. This latter route is the immediate object of our consideration."

The first position discussed is that of Leukè Komè, or the white village. Leukè Komè was one of the marts established by the ancients for the trade of the Red Sea. The following is the account given of it by the ancient geographer. "It was the point of communication with Petra, the capital of the country, the residence of Malichas the king of the Nabatæans. Leukè Komè itself had the rank of a mart with respect to the small vessels which obtained their cargoes in Arabia; for which reason there was a garrison placed in it, under the command of a centurion, both for the purpose of protection, and in order to collect a duty of twenty-five in the hundred."

Such is the account given of the state of commerce in this place under the Ro-

mans. At an earlier period, when the communication with Egypt was in the hands of the Arabians themselves, Dr. Vincent conceives it to have been much more flourishing; as Petra, the inland capital, was the centre of a trade, branching in every direction, to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, through Arsinoë, Gaza, Tyre, Jerusalem, and Damascus, Arabia being at a very early age the common channel of oriental commerce.

Petra the metropolis, of which Leukè Komè was the port, appears to have been the point to which all the Arabian traffic tended. To this mart is to be referred all that we hear of the commerce of the Ishmaelites, of Idumea, Nabatea, or Arabia Petræa. Several traces of the mercantile wealth of this district occur in the Scriptures. "In the reign of David, Hadad, the prince of Edom, was driven out, and Hebrew garrisons were placed in Elath and Ezion Geber, where Prideaux supposes that David commenced the trade of Ophir, which was afterwards carried to its height by Solomon."

Dr. Vincent takes this opportunity of briefly stating his opinion respecting the much agitated question of the situation of Ophir, the source of Jewish wealth under the prosperous reign of Solomon.

"And here, perhaps, it will be expected that the trade to Ophir should be examined, which has so much divided the opinions of mankind, from the time of Jerom to the present moment; but as I have nothing decisive to offer upon the question, I shall only state my reasons for acceding to the opinion of Prideaux and Gosselin, who confine it to Sabæa.

"For I neither carry Ophir to Peru with Arias Montanus, or to Malacca with Josephus, or to Ceylon with Bochart, because I consider all these suppositions as founded upon no better evidence than the finding of gold in those countries; but our choice must lie between the coast of Africa and Sabæa. Montesquieu, Bruce, and d'Anville, have determined in favour of Africa, principally, I think, because gold has always been an export from that country, while the precious metals were usually carried to Sabæa, to purchase the commodities of the east. I allow great weight to this argument, and I admit the probability of d'Anville's supposition, that the Ophir of Arabia might naturally produce an Ophir on the coast of Africa, which should, by an easy etymology, pass into Sophir, Sophar, Sopharah el Zunge, or Sophar: but I by no means subscribe to the system of Bruce, which he has displayed with so much learning and ingenuity; and which he thinks established by the discovery of an anomalous monsoon prevailing from Sofala to

Melinda. A sensible writer has denied the existence of any such irregularity, and appeals to Halley, Parkinson, and Forrest; and if the irregular monsoon is annihilated, nothing remains in favour of his hypothesis but the duration of the voyage. The duration it should seem easy to account for, upon a different principle; for the navigators were Phenicians, and we learn from Homer their method of conducting business in a foreign port. They had no factors to whom they could consign a cargo in the gross, or who could furnish them, on the emergence, with a lading in return; but they anchored in a harbour, where they were their own brokers, and disposed of their cargoes by retail. This might detain them for a twelvemonth, as it did in the instance to which I allude; and if the Phenicians traded on the Eastern Ocean, as they did in the Mediterranean, we may from this cause assign any duration to the voyage which the history requires.

"But my reasons for adhering to the opinions of Prideaux and Gosselin are, first, that Ophir is mentioned with Havilah and Jobab, all three sons of Joktan: and all of them, as well as Joktan, have their residence in Arabia Felix, most probably beyond the Straits; and secondly, because the voyage to Ophir seems in consequence of the visit of the queen of Sheba to Jerusalem: it is immediately subjoined to it in the same chapter; and Sheba is Sabæa, or Arabia Felix, as we learn with certainty from Ezekiel. It is particularly added, that the royal visitant brought a present of spices: "there were no such spices as the queen of Sheba gave to Solomon."

"I do not wish to conceal an objection to this supposition; which is, though they are taxed, that spices are never mentioned as an article of importation from Ophir. The produce of the voyage is gold, silver, ivory, almsg-trees, apes, peacocks, and precious stones. But as on the one hand this failure in the invoice will argue much more forcibly against any of the more distant Ophirs which have been assumed; so on the other, it is no proof against Sabæa, that several of these articles are not native; for these, and many more than are enumerated, would certainly be found in Sabæa, if the Arabians were navigators in that age, as we have every reason to suppose they were.

"The evidence that Solomon obtained gold from Arabia is express; and as our early authorities notice gold as a native produce among the Debæ of Hejaz, so may we conclude that the gold of Africa always found its way into Yemen through Abyssinia, as it does at this day. The import of gold, therefore, we carry up as high as the reign of Solomon, and bring it down to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; for we learn, from the testimony of Ezekiel and Aristæas, that spices, precious stones, and gold, were brought by the Arabians into Judea. I do not wish to lay more stress upon

this testimony than it will bear; but it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the circumstances of this commerce were similar, in an early age, to those of a later period. The removal of these difficulties will shew the inducement which persuades me to join in opinion with Prideaux and Gosselin, upon a question that has been more embarrassed by hypothesis, and distracted by erudition, than any other which concerns the commerce of the ancients."

A catalogue of the sovereigns of Idumea is collected from Josephus, from the year 309 B. C., till 36 after the christian æra. The period when a Roman garrison was introduced into Leukè Komè is uncertain. Petrea was reduced into the form of a Roman province under the reign of Trajan. The capture of Hagjr, probably the Hagar of the Hebrews, and Petra of the Greeks, was "the first successful attempt of the Mahometans beyond the limits of the Hejaz, and the prelude to the conquest of Syria by the immediate successor of the Prophet."

The fourth section specifies six different courses of the ancients in the Erythrean sea, mentioned by their historians or geographers.

"I. The first is the voyage, described in the two previous books, down the coast of Africa to Rhaptum; shewing that the Arabians had settlements in that country, before it was visited by the Greeks from Egypt.

"II. Secondly, we are informed of the two distinct courses within the gulph: one from Myos Hormus, across the head of the gulph to Leukè Komè, and thence down the Arabian coast to Mooza; and another, from Berenikè to the same port direct.

"III. Next to this, we collect a voyage from the mouth of the straits along the southern coast of Arabia into the gulph of Persia, extending afterwards to Bahrein, El Katif, and Oboleh, in the Shat-el-Arab.

"IV. Then follows a passage from the straits to India by three different routes: the first, by adhering to the coasts of Arabia, Karmânia, Gadrôsia, and Scindj, to the gulph of Cambay; the second, from Cape Fartaque, or from Ras-el-had, on the Arabian side; and the third, from Cape Gardéfán, on the African side, both across the ocean by the monsoon to Muziris, on the coast of Malabar.

"V. After this, we must allow of a similar voyage performed by the Indians to Arabia, or, by the Arabians to India, previous to the performance of it by the Greeks; because the Greeks, as late as the reign of Philomèter, met this commerce in Sabæa.

"VI. And lastly, we obtain an incidental knowledge of a voyage which confirms all that has been advanced concerning the early commerce of the Arabians, previous, in all

appearance, to every account we receive from the Greeks, and conducted, certainly, by the monsoon, long before Hippalus introduced the knowledge of that wind to the Roman world.

"It is the voyage between the opposite coasts of India and Africa, connected certainly with the commerce of Arabia, but still capable of being considered in the abstract, and proving, in my opinion at least, the possible existence of this intercourse in ages antecedent to all that history can reach. If it could be believed that the natives of India had been navigators in any age, we might more readily admit their claim in this instance than in any other; for the author mentions, that the imports into Africa are the production of the interior, from Barugaza and Ariaké; that is, from the coast of Cambay and Concan: and the articles specified confirm the truth of his assertion; for they are, rice, ghee, oil of sesamum, cotton, muslins, sashes, and sugar: these commodities, he adds, are brought sometimes in vessels destined expressly for the coast of Africa; at other times, they are only a part of the cargo out of vessels which are proceeding to another port. Thus we have manifestly two methods of conducting this commerce, perfectly distinct: one to Africa direct; and another, by touching on this coast, with a final destination to Arabia. This is precisely the same trade as the Portuguese found at Melinda and Quiloa, and the same connection with Arabia; and this is the reason that the Greeks found cinnamon, and the produce of India, on this coast, when they first ventured to pass the straits, in order to seek a cheaper market than Sabæa. Still it must be doubted, whether this commerce was conducted by natives of India, or Arabians; for Arabians there were on the coast of Malabar, and in such numbers at Ceylon, that Pliny represents them as masters of the coast, like the Europeans of the present day, who have confined the native sovereigns to the country above the Ghauts, and have possessed themselves of the level towards the sea; such also was their situation, though under the name of Moors, or Mahometans, when the modern Europeans met with them again upon their arrival at Calicut, where their influence over the native government long counteracted all the power of the Portuguese."

If Arabia presented, at an early period, the principal channel of communication between the eastern and western worlds, it is natural to suppose that it must have participated in that wealth which has always been the attendant of Indian commerce. The fact is, that the wealth of Arabia is proverbial among the ancient writers. A remarkable circumstance by which the disposal of their riches was distinguished, is thus considered by Dr. Vincent.

"But there is still one point in which the Arabians are essentially distinguished from all the surrounding nations, which, through their means, partook in the commerce of the east; which is, that however ostentation their neighbours might be, the riches of the Arabians were all applied to their private luxury and indulgence. In Persia, and Chaldaea, those vast public works and edifices arose, which astonished the travellers of the ancient world; and in Egypt, the ruins of the Thebaid are an equal cause of amazement at the present hour. In a secondary rank, Tyre, Jerusalem, Babelbeck, and Palmyra, surprise us with their magnificence; while in Arabia, history speaks only of one public work, which was the Tank at Maribab; and when the head of that once failed, there never was sufficient industry or public spirit in the country to restore it.

"No adequate cause is assignable for this national distinction, but that spirit of independence which broke the body of the people into parts too minute for a combination of interests, and too diffuse for co-operation. This spirit was never counteracted but for a short time by enthusiasm; and no sooner was that exhausted by evaporation, than they returned again to the state in which they are described by the ancients. They are still a nation of merchants and marauders, incapable of subjection, not less from their temper and habits than from the nature of their country; rarely formidable in a body, from their mutual jealousy and distrust; indifferent soldiers, but dangerous partizans.

"No other reason is discoverable, why a nation that at one time possessed almost exclusively the commerce of the east, never arrived at a character of dignity and respect; and no other cause can I trace, why Idumea became so easy a conquest to the Hebrews, Tyrians, Babylonians, and Romans. It is the influence over their government, and the possession of their harbours on the Red Sea by the Romans, which is now to be investigated; and if the command of the commerce obtained by this power continued with little interruption till the time of Justinian, and was not annihilated till the irruption of the Mahomedans, it is a duration of this commerce in one channel, longer than has fallen to the lot of any other people in whose hands it has been placed."

Leukè Komè, as we have before mentioned, was the port of Petra. Its situation is differently fixed by different writers. D'Anville places it at Haür, about three hundred miles from the head of the Ebnitic gulph. To this it is objected by Gosselin, that Haür, at the distance of three hundred and fifty miles from Petra, would not afford a ready communication with that capital, and could not be within the limits of Petrea.

M. Gosselin fixes upon Miglah, in lat

27° 50', "to which he is perhaps more particularly directed, by finding a name of notoriety, in a situation that is probable." A fact mentioned by Agatharchides, which may be considered as decisive if that author be accurate, induces Dr. Vincent to place Leukè Komè at the mouth of the bay of Acaba, the Elanitic gulph of the ancients, a situation which agrees with that of Moilah in several maps.

"This author, at the entrance of the Elanitic gulph, has three islands: one, sacred to him; and the two others called Sookabûa and Balydô. These islands, after having been lost for twenty centuries, have been restored to geography by M. Irwin. He is the only voyager, as far as I can discover, who has ever entered this bay; and if his chart may be depended upon, he went up it five-and-twenty miles: in consequence of this he saw these islands, and has named them Tirân, Sanafir, and Barkan. I have never seen them in any chart, previous to his, arranged in the same order: but they bear such testimony to the fidelity of Agatharchides, that he deserves credit when he adds, that 'they cover several harbours on the Arabian shore' [as the Zaffa, ten islands protect the port of Myos Hormos]; and one of these harbours, I conclude, must be the Leukè Komè of the Periplus; for he adds, 'to these islands succeeds the rocky coast of the Thamudeni, where, for more than a thousand stadii, there is no harbour, no road where a vessel can anchor, no bay to afford protection, no scrap of a projecting point, to which the mariner can fly for refuge in a moment of distress.'

"However the colouring of this picture may be heightened, the general description is true, as may be seen by a reference to M. Irwin's Journal, from the 22d of June to the 9th of July; where we have every day islets, breakers, shoals, sands, and sunken rocks, with the mention of only one cove where the shore could be approached. The refuge his Arabian boat found, was generally under islets; but a navigator who did not dare approach the shore, might well paint it in the same colours as Agatharchides has done. Irwin carries Moilah fifty miles more to the north than it appears in other charts, and within the Elanitic Gulph: if this be true, my conclusion is perfectly in correspondence with that of M. Gosselin; and if, by taking different methods, we both arrive at the same conclusion, it must be a strong confirmation that the point we have both fixed on is right; for a safe anchorage at Moilah, covered by the islands, and the unapproachable nature of the coast below, fix Moilah to a certainty for the Leukè Komè of the ancients."

From Leukè Komè to the mouth of the straits, a course of more than a thousand miles, only two places are mentioned, the Burnt island and Moosa. We have

here an analysis of the unfortunate expedition of Elius Gallus, on which however our limits will not permit us to dwell. 'The passage from Leukè Komè to the Burnt island, was conducted with a view of avoiding the coast throughout.' Gebel Tar, which now presents volcanic appearances, is marked in the chart as probably corresponding with the Katakekaumene of the ancients. Moosa was the mart of the southern tribes of Arabia, on the shores of the Red Sea. The mart of Yemen at present is at Mokha. 'Twenty miles inland from Mocha, Niebuhr discovered a Moosa still existing, which he with great probability supposes to be the ancient mart, now carried inland to this distance by the accretion of the coast.' A curious commercial table of the imports and exports at Moosa is extracted from the Periplus.

Okelis is situated on the straits; its present name is Ghella.

We now reach the straits of Babelmandel. The author here inserts a tabulated arrangement of the positions afforded by Ptolemy for the eastern side of the Arabian gulph, compared with Agatharchides, Diodorus, Strabo, D'Anville, Gosselin, and the author of the Periplus.

The first station occurring on the southern shore beyond the straits, is a village, to which the provincial name of Arabia Felix is applied. This, from the circumstances of the description, is supposed to be represented by the modern Aden.

The principal circumstance on which the arrangement of the geography of the Arabian coast on the ocean depends, is the position of Syagros. In the map of D'Anville, Syagros represents the modern Raselhad, the most eastern promontory of Arabia. With this common hypothesis, Dr. Vincent formerly coincided, 'and so much is there,' says he, 'to induce this opinion, that I abandoned it with great reluctance, and shall perhaps find great difficulty in persuading others that it is erroneous.'

"The Periplus notices Syagros as pointing to the east, and as the greatest promontory in the world. Omaa likewise is mentioned with it, answering to the present Oman; and Moscha, seemingly identified with Maskat, the principal port of that province. Under the influence of these resemblances and probabilities, if I had joined in the common suffrage, and called Syagros Ras-el-had in my former publications, wherever it occurred, it is conviction alone, and the abandonment of system for truth, which compels me to recall the error, and acknowledge that Syagros is not Ras-el-had, but Fartaque.

"This is a concession not made for the purpose of particular accommodation, but grounded on a general analysis of all the positions on the coast, on a combination of all the circumstances relative to the division of the provinces; and upon a painful re-consideration of all that was to be undone, and unsettled, after I had fixed my opinions upon the authority of the best writers, who had preceded me on the subject.

"The reader will expect proofs; and the proofs are, that the islands round the whole extent of the coast on the ocean will now fall naturally into their places, which cannot be effected by any other arrangement. The islands in Ptolemy will become relatively consistent with those of the *Periplus*; and the Bay Sachalites, which Ptolemy has been accused of transposing from the west to the east of Syagros, is reduced to the different application of a name, instead of a difference in point of situation.

"Sachalites is universally allowed to be the Greek form of expressing the Arabic Sahar. Now there are two Sahars on the coast of Arabia: one that is almost central between Aden and Fartaque; and another that lies to the east of Fartaque, between that cape and Cape Morebat or Merbat. In the first of these there is little variation of orthography; but the other is written Schahr, Schahr, Shahar, Cheer, and Seger. They are both frequented as places of trade to this day. And if we suppose that the first Sahar is the Sachalites of the *Periplus*, and the second Shahar the Sachalites of Ptolemy, the Syagros of Ptolemy will answer to Fartaque, as well as the Syagros of the *Periplus*, and the two authors will be in harmony with each other."

The port which succeeds Aden is that of Kanè, at the distance of two thousand stadia or more. Kanè is probably the modern Cava Canim.

In Section xrv, entitled, The Bay Sachalites, some fresh proofs are adduced of the identity of Syagros and Fartaque, particularly the relation of that promontory to the island Dioscorida, or Socotra, which appears to be a decisive circumstance.

The only difficulty which encumbers the position of Syagros-at Fartaque, arises from the following passage of the *Periplus*. 'Adjoining to Syagros, there is a bay which runs deep into the mainland of Omana, six hundred stadia in width; after this, there are high mountainous rocks, steep, and inhabited by a [wild] race, that live in caverns and hollows of the cliff. This appearance of the coast continues for five hundred stadia more, at the termination of which lies a harbour called Moskha, much frequented on account of the Sachalitic incense which is imported there.'

It is the mention of Moskha and Omana, observes Dr. Vincent here, that necessarily suggests the idea of Maskat, which is in Oman, and the principal port of trade in that province; the description of the mountainous coast is characteristic, and the distance, supposing Ras-el-had to be Syagros, not incongruous. The order, however, in which Moskha occurs in the *Periplus*, is perfectly inconsistent with the situation of Maskat. There does not appear to be any other trace of a district named Omana in the vicinity of Fartaque. The difficulty which arises from the mention of these two names, Dr. Vincent confesses himself unable satisfactorily to solve, while fresh and incontrovertible proofs arise with the progress of the voyage, that Syagros and Fartaque denote the same object. The Moskha of the *Periplus* is therefore conjectured to be Seger.

At the distance of fifteen hundred stadia, says the writer of the *Periplus*, are seven islands almost in a line, called the islands of Zenobius, at the termination of the district called Asikho. Four islands, corresponding in distance with these, are described by Al Edrissi; and represented in modern charts, in the bay of Curia Muria, Hasek being still the name of the principal town on the bay. The computation of seven, it is conjectured, may have arisen from some rocky or deserted islets attached to them.

At the distance of two thousand stadia from the islands of Zenobius, occurs an island of considerable magnitude, called Sarapis, identified with Mazeira. D'Anville, in acknowledging this coincidence, exposes his inconsistency in fixing Syagros at Ras-el-had.

Leaving the promontory of Ras-el-had, the islands of Kalaius are next mentioned, corresponding with those of Suadi, near the entrance of the Persian gulph. At the mouth of that gulph are the islands of Papias and the fair mountain.

Within this gulph the ancient geographer mentions only two particulars; the existence of a pearl-fishery, and a town called Apologas, which our author agrees with D'Anville in fixing at Oboleh. This book concludes with a clear and judicious, though brief account of the revolution of oriental commerce, for which we must refer to the work itself.

The Indian geography of the *Periplus* is the subject of the fourth book, introduced by some general remarks on the commerce of that celebrated country. The following reflections, applicable to

he state of our own dominion there, we transcribe with pleasure.

"It is a political consideration, awful to contemplate, and difficult to discuss, but still necessary to keep constantly in view, when we reflect how deeply all the interests of our country are concerned in the continuance of the pre-eminence we at present enjoy. Our possessions in India are almost become a part of our existence as a nation: to abandon them is impossible; to maintain them—a perpetual struggle with the native powers, and the powers of Europe to support them. It requires all the vigilance of government, and all the vigour of the controuling power, to make care that the natives should not be discontented under our empire; and that the nations of Europe should not be outraged by our approach to monopoly. These considerations, however, are totally distinct from the commerce itself, and totally foreign to the object of the present work: I touch them only as they arise, and return with pleasure to the humbler office of a commentator on the Periplus."

The narrative of the voyager is less distinct and accurate from the entrance of the Persian gulph to the mouth of the Indus, than in the rest of the route which he describes; in consequence of which

Dr. Vincent supposes that he did not personally visit this part of the coast, but proceeded at once from Arabia, either to the Indus, or Barugaza. Omana he places in Persis, which other geographers assign to Carmania or Gedrosia, and which must of necessity belong to one or other of these two provinces, according to the limit which is supposed to divide them.

Omana is followed by the bay of the Terabdi, answering to the Paragon of Ptolemy. There however appears to be no bay upon the coast. Adjoining to this supposed bay is a port named Oraia, standing by a small river, the situation of which it is difficult to decide.

Nothing remarkable occurs on the remainder of this coast before our arrival at Scindi, called Scythia by the writer of the Periplus, and Indo-scythia by Ptolemy. The marts on the Indus in the age of the Periplus, were two; one near its issue called Barbarikè, the other within the country named Minnagara. The latter was the capital of the country. Barbarikè is said to be situated on the middle channel of the Indus. The following is the list of its imports and exports:

"The articles imported at Barbarikè are,

Ἰματισμὸς ἀπλὸς ἱκανός,	-	-	-	Clothing, plain, and in considerable quantity.
Ἰματισμὸς νόθος ἢ πολὺς,	-	-	-	Clothing, mixed.
Πολύμητα,	-	-	-	Cloth, larger in the warp than the woof.
Χρυσόλιθον,	-	-	-	Topazes.
Κοράλλιον,	-	-	-	Coral.
Στάραξ,	-	-	-	Storax.
Αἰκάνος,	-	-	-	Frankincense.
Ἰατρά σκεύη,	-	-	-	Glass vessels.
Ἀργυρέματα,	-	-	-	Plate.
Σίγμα,	-	-	-	Specie.
Ὀίνος ἢ πολὺς,	-	-	-	Wine.

"The Exports are,

Κόστος,	-	-	-	Costus. A spice.
Βδέλλα,	-	-	-	Bdellium. A gum.
Λίκιον,	-	-	-	Yellow dye.
Νάρδος,	-	-	-	Spikenard.
Αἶθος καλλαινός,	-	-	-	Emeralds, or green stones.
Σάπφειρος,	-	-	-	Sapphires.
Σινικά δέρματα,	-	-	-	Hides from China.
Ὀπίονον,	-	-	-	Cottons.
Νῆμα Σιρικόν,	-	-	-	Silk Thread.
Ἰνδικὸν μέλαν,	-	-	-	Indigo, or Indian ink?"

The first remarkable object on leaving the Indus, is the bay of Cutch, called Canthi by Ptolemy, and Eirinon in the Periplus. The description of the voyager appears to be on the whole accurate. The

next bay is that of Barugaza on the east of the Guzerat, of which a very clear account is given. The tide at Barugaza flows with remarkable violence and suddenness.

"The circumstance of the tides is not peculiar to this place, though they are more violent here than elsewhere; for almost all the rivers of India are large, and have both the flux and reflux of extraordinary strength, conforming with the moon, new and full, as well as for three days after each, and falling off again in the intermediate space; but at Barugaza this violence is more remarkable, so that without warning you see the bottom laid bare, and the sides next the coast, where vessels were sailing but just before, left dry as it were in an instant; again, upon the access of the flood-tide, the whole body of the sea is driven in with such violence, that the stream is impelled upwards for a great number of miles, with a force that is irresistible. This makes the navigation very unsafe for those that are unacquainted with the gulph, or enter it for the first time. No anchors are a security; for when the vehemence of the tide commences, there is no intermission, no retreat: large vessels caught in it are hurried away by the impetuosity of the current, and thrown on their sides, or wrecked upon the shoals; while the smaller ones are completely overset. Many also that have taken refuge in the creeks, unless they have fortunately changed their place in due time, (which it is very difficult to do, on account of the instantaneous fall of the water,) upon the return of the tide are filled with the very first head of the flood, and sunk. But all these circumstances united concur more especially, if the new moon falls in conjunction with the night tide; for then, if you have been prepared to enter upon the first of the flood, and when the sea appeared perfectly calm, you shall hear, in a moment, a rushing sound like the tumult of battle, and the water driving forward with the utmost impetuosity, covers the whole of the bare shoals in an instant.

"It will immediately appear, that this description relates to that sort of tide which is called the Bore, and is common to many places in Europe as well as India. On the coast of Egypt, or in the Red Sea, the author could have seen nothing that resembled it, and he dwells upon it, therefore, with more minuteness than a modern observer would employ; but from this very cause it is that we have a picture which cannot deceive us, and a conviction that the author relates what he had himself experienced."

Of that part of the *Periplus* which relates to Barugaza, and the objects of the surrounding country with which it is connected, Dr. Vincent observes that there is reason, after tracing these several connections, to allow that there is no specimen of ancient geography so completely satisfactory, or so consonant to truth, as the portion now under contemplation. The principal relative situations are those of Ozene, Pithana, and Tagara, concluded by lieutenant Wilford, and our

author, to be Ougein, Pultana, and Desghir. The latter place, adjoining to Elore, and near the modern Aurungabad, is still distinguished by surprising ruins, spreading over a surface of two leagues in extent. Barugaza is without doubt Barroch, now possessed by the English.

From Barugaza the *Periplus* proceeds southward along the western shore of the peninsula of Hindostan. The division of this tract of country into six provinces, both in ancient and modern times, is remarkable. The modern names are Cambay or Guzerat, Concam, Dekhan, Canara, Malabar, and Travancore: the ancient appellations in the *Periplus*, are Barugaza, Ariakè, Limurikè, the kingdom of Pandion, Paralia, and the Pearl-fishery.

The province of Ariakè, though represented by the author of the *Periplus* as extending seven thousand stadia to the south of Barugaza, is supposed by modern geographers to have been nearly contemporaneous with the present district of Concam. The first places mentioned are Akabaroos, Oopara, and Kalliena. In regard to Kalliena, all suffrages are united to fix it in the neighbourhood of Bombay; for Bombay is upon an island, close to which, on the main, was an ancient city called Gallian, the ruins of which still remain. Oopara is thought to be the Soopara of Ptolemy, which was long a city of note, and supposed to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Surat. The situation of Akabaroos is undetermined.

On the succeeding part of the coast, our author finds reason, apparently with justice, to differ from D'Anville; who seems to confound the provinces, and the order of the positions given by the *Periplus*, for the sake of finding modern names, somewhat similar in sound to the ancient.

The termination of the Ariakè, the Concam or Pirate-coast of the moderns, Dr. Vincent considers as defined by the *Sesekreienai* of the *Periplus*, which are probably the Burnt islands off Vingora, not distinctly described till of late. The island of the Aegidii is commonly supposed to be represented by the Angedives. Our author, with greater probability, assigns it to Goa, as more conformable with the description, and more consistent with the divisions of the coast. He supposes Leukè, or the white island, to denote the chief of the Angedives.

In the province of Limurikè, which, though supposed by D'Anville to be Cancon, is demonstrated to be the modern

Canara, only three places are mentioned, Naora, Tundis, and Mooziris. The only data for the position of these places afforded by the Periplus, arise from that of Nelkunda, though in a different province.

"For the position of Nelkunda, I am obliged to major Rennell, who is the first geographer, as far as I have learnt, who has fixed it at Nelisuram. That he is correct in this, I am persuaded, admits not of presumptive proof only, but demonstration:

"For we may first observe, that Nelisuram is not only a mart itself, but gives name to a district. This district is not in Canara, but Malabar: the frontier of Malabar, the boundary wall which runs from the sea to the foot of the Ghauts, is at Dekly, or Dekully, immediately north of Nelisuram. This wall is still visible; and this in a peculiar manner makes it correspond with Nelkunda, which was the first port in the kingdom of Pandion.

"2. A second proof may be derived from the name itself, which Orme writes Neileaseram. Nella, according to Paolino, signifies *rice*, and Ceram a *country*; and if Nella-ceram be the country of Nella, Nelkunda must be the fort of Nella, resembling Golconda, Inna-conda, or Conda-poor, on this identical coast of Canara.

"3. But the last and best testimony is that of major Rennell himself, who mentions 'a large river, named Cangerecora, whose course is from the N. E. and which falls in about four miles to the north of mount Dilla; previous to which its course is parallel to the sea-coast for about eleven miles, being separated only by a spit of land. The forts of Nelisuram, Kamdilly, and Matteloy, are situated on this river, which is joined by several others that descend from the Ghaut mountains, which in this part approach within twenty-two miles of the coast. I cannot help considering this Nelisuram, which is situated twelve miles up the river, as the place meant by Nelcynda or Melcynda, by Pliny, and Ptolemy—a place visited by the Egyptian and Roman ships.'

"Let us then observe, that the Nelkunda of the Periplus lies actually the same twelve miles up the river; and after this ask, whether all these circumstances can be accidental: for if the correspondence is evident, it is but reasonable to assume this proof as a demonstration."

Naora is the first port of Limurikè, and Mooziris the last. The Periplus places Mooziris fifty miles to the north of Nelkunda, Tundis fifty miles north of Mooziris, and a third fifty north are assumed to Naora. These positions agree with Mangaloor, Barceloor, and Onoor. These stations are certainly assigned with much greater probability than those adopted by former geographers.

The kingdom of Pandion agrees with

Malabar. Its principal port was Nelkunda, the situation of which was before discussed. Its trade appears to have been nearly of the same nature with that of Calicut, the present mart of the province. The regular course of the commerce with the western world is supposed to have ended here.

An interesting disquisition occurs on this occasion respecting the discovery of the monsoon by Hippalus, and its influence on the commerce of the ancients, to which we refer the curious reader.

The name of the southern promontory has descended to us almost unchanged, being known to the ancients under the name of Comar. The following is the description of it by Paolino.

"Nothing can be more enchanting to the eye, or delicious to the senses, than is experienced in a voyage near the extremity of the peninsula. At three or four leagues from the coast, the country of Malabar appears like a theatre of verdure: here a grove of cocoa-trees, and there a beautiful river pouring its tribute into the ocean, through a valley irrigated and fertilized by its waters. In one place a group of fishing-vessel; in another a white church, peering through the verdure of the groves; while the gentle land-breeze of the morning wafts the fragrance exhaled from the pepper, cardamum, betel, and other aromatics, to a great distance from the shore, and perfumes the vessel on her voyage with their odours; towards noon succeeds the sea-breeze, of which we took advantage to speed the beautiful Calypso towards the port of her destination."

Kolkhi and the Pearl-fishery are connected by Ptolemy and the Periplus, and placed to the eastward of Cape Comorin. The account given by the ancient geographer of the situation of Ceylon is very inaccurate. Dr. Vincent however makes us amends, by collecting with great diligence and accuracy all the information which the ancients have left us respecting this celebrated island. They in general strangely miscalculated its situation and magnitude. The writer of the Periplus supposes it to stretch across the Indian sea, nearly to the coast of Africa. Ptolemy represents its circumference as two thousand four hundred and fifty miles; and carries its extreme southern point more than two degrees south of the equator. Yet the accuracy of his information with respect to some particular objects, according to the following account, is remarkable.

"And yet, in the midst of this darkness,

Ptolemy's information was such as, in one instance, to confirm the rank which he so deservedly holds in preference to others; for he gives the names of places more correctly, and more conformably to modern intelligence, than appear in any other author, Greek, Latin, or Arabian. This is a merit peculiar to him, not only here, but in the remotest and least known regions of the world: it proves that his inquiries were made at Alexandria of merchants or mariners, who had actually visited the countries he describes; but that they had not the means of giving true positions, because they had neither instruments for observation, or the compass to mark their course. The north polar star was not visible; and if they sailed by the Canopus in the southern hemisphere, as Ptolemy asserts they did, that star is not within fifteen degrees of the pole, and would give occasion to a variety of mistakes. Still, under all these disadvantages, it is something to have procured names that we can recognize; and these names at once put an end to the dispute formerly agitated among the learned, whether the *Taprobana* of the ancients were Ceylon or Sumatra. They prove likewise, that some merchants, or travellers, had reached the capital and interior of the island. By them the capital was found where Candy now is, and called *Maagrammum*, the great city, or metropolis, which was placed on the river Ganges, still called the *Ganga*, *Gonga*, or *Ma-vali-gonga*, the great river of *Bali*, which flows to *Trincomalee*. The *Hamall* mountains, among which is the *Pike of Adam*, are likewise laid down relatively in their proper position, and called *Malé*, the Sanscreeet term for mountains; and above all, *Anurod-grammum* is preserved in *Anurod-borro*, or *Anurod-gurro*, a ruin found by *Knox*, while he was escaping to the coast; which, he says, lies ninety miles north-west from Candy, and in a position correspondent with the account of Ptolemy. He found here three stone bridges; the remains of a pagoda or temple, such as no modern Ceylonese could build; and many pillars, with stone-wharfs on the river *Malwatuwa*. *Sindocardia* is another name, expressing the mountains of the *Hingoes*, the name by which the natives call themselves; and *Hingo-dagul* is their name for Candy; for Candy is a hill or fortress on a mountain; and *Hingo-dagul*, the city of the *Hingoes*, perverted by corruption into *Chingoo-les*, by which name they are at present known to the Europeans settled on the coast."

The information of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, who did not however visit the island, is considerably more correct than that of his predecessors.

The remainder of the narrative of the *Periplus*, as appearing to have been collected by the author from report, is given in a translation, accompanied by notes.

Three dissertations connected with

the subject of the *Periplus* follow the work.

The first is on the *Sinæ*, the *Seres*, and the termination of ancient geography on the east; in which the author attempts to prove, and in our opinion with great probability, that the *Thinae* of the *Periplus*, the *Sinæ* of most writers, the *Tzinistæ* of *Cosmas*, the *Seres* or producers of silk, all describe the same object, that is, China and its inhabitants, or rather the northern part of that great empire. The deductions of the author may be best expressed, within a short compass, by his own words.

"In the course of this investigation, then, we have learnt from ancient authorities, that the *Seres* are the *Thinae* of *Eratósthenes*—the *Sinæ* of the *Periplus*; that their country lies between *Tartary*, on the north, and *India*, extra *Gangem*, on the south; that it is the remotest region towards the east; that it is bounded on its eastern front by the ocean; that the ocean extends (in their opinion), without interruption, on the same parallel to the coast of Spain; and that silk was brought from this country, where it was originally found, to *India*, and out of *India*, by the *Red Sea*, into *Egypt*, and from thence to *Europe*."

The traffic with the *Seres* over land is rendered indisputably certain, and traced with as much precision as can be expected.

"*Cosmas*, as far as I can discover, is the first author that fully asserts the intercourse by sea between *India* and *China*; for he mentions that the *Tzinistæ* brought to *Ceylon* silk, aloes, cloves, and sandal-wood. The articles themselves are the specific exports of *China* still; and that the *Tzinistæ* are Chinese, cannot be questioned; for he expressly mentions their country, not merely as exporting, but producing silk; and specifies the distance from it by land as much shorter, compared with the voyage by sea. This circumstance can accord with no other country, at the extremity of the east, but *China*; for no other country is so situated as to have this double communication, consequently his *Tzinistæ* are Chinese: they have the same attributes as the *Seres*—they are the same people; first, by the means of approach; and, secondly, because they are surrounded by the ocean on the east, and because that beyond them there is no navigation or habitation. This is the one point, above all others, which I have laboured to establish by this disquisition; and though I obtain not my proof till the sixth century, the evidence is consistent in all its parts, and complete. The inference is justifiable, that the same intercourse existed by sea, as well as by land, in ages much earlier, though the account had not reached *Europe*, and though the proof is defective. It is in

vain that I have searched for any intelligence of this sort previous to Ptolemy, though I was very desirous to find it, and prepossessed in favour of its existence."

To the evidence collected on this subject, may be added that (referred to by Gibbon, II. 141, 8vo.) of the national historian of Armenia, Moses Chorensensis, who flourished in the fifth century. 'In the Armenian history, as well as geography, China is called Zenia or Zenistan. It is characterized by the production of silk, by the opulence of the natives, and by their love of peace, above all the other nations of the earth.'

The second dissertation is a commentary on the twenty-seventh chapter of *Ezekiel*, containing a prophecy against Tyre, and furnishing a curious and valuable record of ancient commerce.

The third dissertation is by the earl of Macartney, on the navigation and compass of the Chinese.

The appendix is very learned and valuable, containing a catalogue of the articles of commerce mentioned in the digest of the Roman law, compared with those in the *Periplus* of the Erythrean sea, suggested by a recommendation in the *Indian Disquisitions* of Dr. Robertson. The article on cinnamon we should be tempted to extract, did it not exceed our limits.

This work bears honourable testimony to the learning and talents of its respectable author. The subject which he has treated he seems almost to have exhausted, and he has certainly thrown much light on the obscurities of the ancient oriental geography.

CHAPTER V.

MODERN LANGUAGES.

An Essay on the English Elements, Accents, and Prosody: respectively derived from Principles common to every Language, ancient and modern. 8vo. pp. 205.

THE vocal part of language, the great instrument of that noble faculty, which had long remained in undeserved neglect, has of late years begun to experience that attention which its importance merits. The result has been a clearer arrangement of the elements of speech, the acknowledgment of the barbarous but incorrigible capriciousness of our own and some other modern alphabets, and the establishment of just and natural distinctions between the several accidents of vocal language, which had been strangely confounded by the inattention of grammarians. In no instance has this inattention been more conspicuous, than in the disputes which have been agitated respecting the proper mode of pronouncing the Greek language. The different partisans in this question were divided into the advocates for accent, and those for quantity; strangely forgetting that each of these qualities is incident to every word that is uttered; and that, when properly understood, there is not the least inconsistency between the modes of pronunciation which they require. The advocates for quantity however, as they termed themselves, fell into the greatest absurdities; for the whole amount of the reformation which they proposed, and in a great degree accomplished, is that of transferring to the Greek language the rules of Latin accentuation, while they continued in many instances, equally with their adversaries, to violate the laws of quantity. This subject was so little understood, even by grammarians of the greatest eminence, that even Valckenaer, while his learning did not permit him to doubt the genuineness of the Greek accental marks transmitted to us, yet asserts, that not a single verse of a poet, not a single sentence of an orator, is to be pronounced according to them. In our pre-

sent ignorance of the true pronunciation of antiquity, this rule may perhaps be admitted; as applied to ancient practice it is manifestly erroneous.

The author of the present tract, though we feel ourselves compelled in some respects to differ from him, has, on the whole, treated his subject with acuteness and ingenuity. His book is distributed into three parts: the first treating on elementary sounds; the second, on accents; the third, on prosody; chiefly that of the English language, but illustrated by frequent references to those of antiquity.

The following is the introduction to the first of these divisions.

" 1. The vocal and articulate sounds, which all human speech is composed, are of nature limited to a small number. To analyse a language, therefore, and ascertain the elementary sounds, which, by various combinations, constitute the whole of its vocabulary, would seem to be no very difficult undertaking. It is certain, however, that we have yet no perfect analysis of our own language; of which the investigation is perplexed by our very imperfect and irregular speaking.

" 2. Vowels, diphthongs, and consonants are names by which sometimes letters are meant, and sometimes the sounds of which those letters are respectively the arbitrary signs. But, surely, things in their nature essentially different ought to have distinct appellations. For the present, I beg leave to use these names constantly in one sense, to signify not letters, but sounds only, which are the elements of speech; and the principal reason of our present uncertainty respecting those elements, in our own language, is, that we have endeavoured to ascertain them by tracing the various powers of the letters which we read, instead of comparing and classing the sounds which we hear.

" 3. The vowels, in English, are represented sometimes by single letters, and often by two or more letters combined; and whether single or combined, the same charac-

ers frequently represent different vowels. but, however represented, every vowel in our language, except one, is subject to the distinction of *long* and *short*, independently of the other accidents of *tone* and *emphasis*. *fun*, for instance, is a short syllable, and *me* a long one; and hence the first has been considered as an example of the short, and the second an example of the long vowel.

So also *men* and *mene*, *moll* and *mole*, exemplify what have been called the short and long vowels *e* and *o*. Let the words, never, be compared, not as written characters, but as audible sounds; and if *men* and *me* be alternately pronounced with attention, they will be found to differ in nothing at the length of the vowel. So also *moll*, being only lengthened in sound, becomes *mo*; and by the same process, the short syllable *ban* is drawn into *ban*; *bin* into *bin*, &c.

4. By this simple experiment we shall find, that, however differently represented, by the letters, or otherwise, the vowels (always meaning the vocal sounds) in every word or syllable of the same class, in the following list, are constantly the same, excepting only the difference of *quantity*, which is marked in the same manner.

List of Words classed according to their respective Vowels.

1. Böt, böught; cöll, cäll; döñ, dāwn; not, naught; &c.

2. Pän, pälm; läp, läugh; rät, räft; Säim, psäim; päpä; &c.

3. Bän, bāne; däll, dāle; wrän, räin; &c.

4. Bän, brän; däm, deäm; däll, deäive; räll, räll; &c.

5. Nö, knöwn; jöcöse, möröse; &c.

6. Böök, böön; püll, pööl; lööse, löse; dö, dööm; &c.

7. Büt, bün, döne, sön, &c. always short.

Of these vowels, the last has been thought peculiar to the English tongue. It is, in one respect, an imperfect vowel, as it is capable of being prolonged, or forming a long syllable. It is, however, very nearly the same with the Italian *o chinso*, which is probably the same with the ancient *ο*; nor does it differ sensibly from the sound of *e* in the French monosyllables *je*, *me*, *te*, *se*, *je*, *le*, &c. and in the final syllables of the words *gloire*, *victoire*, &c. &c. when they occur in poetical composition. See, on this subject, a letter from Voltaire, subjoined to the *abbé d'Olivet's Prosodie Française*.

The author does not appear to us to be quite accurate in several of the sounds which he here classes under the seventh vowel; the *o* in *venöm*, the *e* in *thun-*der, the *u* in *büt*, all seeming, to our ears at least, to be distinguished by shades of perceptible difference, though too minute perhaps for classification.

The analysis of the diphthong *I* (p. 13),

as composed of the seventh, very rapidly melted into the fourth of the preceding vowel sounds, is not to us satisfactory. It appears rather to result from the combination of the second and fourth, the former element passing rapidly into the latter.

From vowels the author passes to diphthongs and triphthongs; of the former of which he enumerates eighteen, of the latter three, in our language. Under the former of these heads, the question respecting the power of the characters *w* and *y* is largely treated, and their vowel sound is very satisfactorily maintained.

The distinction between the sounds of the word *that*, as emphatic or unemphatic, gives occasion to a grammatical disquisition on the force and propriety of that word when employed as a relative. Its necessity, as subservient to any discriminations of sense, we do not perceive; to its use for the purposes of euphony and variety, we are ready to subscribe.

Accent is the subject of the second part of this work; by which term the author understands not emphasis, but intonation, some mode of which accompanies every syllable that we pronounce. The hypothesis which he adopts, is that of Mr. Steele, explained in a work entitled '*Prosodia rationalis*,' not, we believe, generally known, but in many respects deserving of attention.

The use of the Greek accentual marks our anonymous author gives up, as wholly lost, and incapable of being retrieved. The exact power, once lost, cannot certainly be restored. Two circumstances, however, seem strongly to imply that they were intended to denote the emphatic syllables of words; one, their application only to single syllables in each word; and the other, the uniformity of that application to a particular syllable. The slides of Mr. Steele and our author are perpetually varying, with the variation of circumstances and connection in which the words to which they are applied occur.

The remaining subject of this little volume is English prosody. The meaning of the word prosody is simply accent, and in this sense it was originally employed. It has however been gradually deflected by custom from that signification, and is now used to denote the laws by which syllables are arranged in metrical compositions.

The author first shews that the English, like the ancient languages, and in all

probability, like every other language that has ever been spoken, possesses distinctions of quantity in the syllables of which it is constructed. For practical purposes this distinction is denoted with sufficient accuracy by the ratio of two to one, and the ear of every one will enable him to decide that it exists in our own language.

Rhythmus, the Greek writers tell us, has its essence in arsis and thesis, or in plain words, in time-beating. What circumstance then is to determine the pulsations which distinguish it? Not the mere quantity of the syllables, answers our anonymous author, for verses occur in Greek, and may occur in other languages, composed altogether of syllables of equal length, and which therefore contain no indication of the rhythmus to which they are intended to be subject. The division of the words may however afford some indication; and it is at all events to be remembered, that the occurrence of these verses is so rare, that it is scarcely admissible to build any theory of prosody upon them. To such verses may be applied the observation of Herman, 'isti omnes numeri, quum certis formis careant, in singulis poetarum locis adnotandi sunt.' *De metr. Græc.* p. 370.

If the principle of rhythmus is not to be found in quantity, it can only depend, our author argues, on emphatic impulse. 'It is therefore manifest,' he concludes, 'that what has been hitherto commonly considered as a great defect, and a striking mark of inferiority, and even barbarism, in modern languages, has at all times been alike inherent in every language, namely, that in our versification, the rhythmus depends on emphatic impulse.'

To establish more fully the similarity between the ancient and modern systems of metre, he endeavours to show that the distinctions of short and long syllables were far from being so accurate as is commonly imagined. The ancient writers indeed tell us that of short syllables, some were shorter, of long syllables, some longer, than others. But the circumstance from which our author principally argues, is the law by which a short syllable in position is considered as a long one. 'It were absurd,' he says, 'to suppose that any real augmentation was ever effected by the simple collision of mute

consonants.' But this statement does not appear to us to be accurate. Even Dionysius, in his examples of *ὀδός*, *πόδος*, *τοός*, and *σποδος*, allows that some additional time accrues in consequence of the accumulation of consonants, though not sufficient to change the denomination of the syllable. But if this change results from consonants preceding a short vowel, will certainly result in a greater degree from their arrangement after that vowel, in consequence of the greater effort which, in that situation, they must be made to utter. Every one must be sensible that the syllable *ex* is properly long, the elision of the consonant requiring at least an equal tone with that of the vowel. The first four letters of the word *ἐξουβρύς* are the same with those of the word *ουβρύς*, yet who does not perceive a greater length of time, which, from the difference of their arrangement, is requisite in the latter case for their utterance. This subject is well illustrated by Mifford, in his 'inquiry into the principles of harmony in language.' p. 41.

The great difference which subsists between the ancient and modern metrical systems, appears to us perfectly obvious. In the ancient languages, not only are long and short syllables distinguished with sufficient accuracy from each other, but the laws by which they are arranged in the several species of verse are clearly ascertained, and the licences which in certain cases are admitted, are confined within determinate bounds, while the situation of the accent (or emphatic syllable) remains in most instances, nearly a matter of indifference. On the other hand, in modern versification, the long and short syllables may be easily distinguished from each other, yet no law can be devised for their regular recurrence; while the enaphatic syllables possess their determinate place in every verse, with the admission of a few known liberties. In other words, the modern rhythmic ictus is coincident with the emphatic syllables, and determines their position; in the ancient languages, the rhythmic ictus is commonly independent of the syllabic enphasis; and the only uniformity observable in the versification of those languages, is in the employment and arrangement of syllables according to their quantity.

CHAPTER VI.

BRITISH TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES.

OUR antiquarian and topographical list is of the usual length and of the average value. Much labour and time, as appears to us, is, if not absolutely lost, at least very ill employed, in what are called topographical researches. The only modern folios are county histories, which are executed for the most part with such tedious minuteness as to render them to the last degree wearisome and unprofitable; and the writers of them, in their eager ambition after the praise of *research*, have, in too many instances, entirely lost sight of a quality to the full as necessary and meritorious; we mean judgment in selection. At the hazard therefore of incurring the charge of herodoxy, we shall take the liberty of stating what appear to us to be the prominent errors that characterize the topographical histories of the present day. It may be said in general that the grand feature of all these works is prolixity, and that a rigorous compression may be introduced into every department with much advantage; depending to particulars, we should in the first place wish the ages of barbarism, and the few relics that they have left behind, to be dispatched in a very summary manner: circles of stones, barrows, places of encampment, whether British, Roman, Saxon, or Danish, have already received much more than their legitimate share of investigation, and may be abandoned without reluctance to oblivion and the ploughshare. Nor does it seem absolutely necessary to describe every old castle with the minuteness of a surveyor, or to relate in full detail every plundering expedition which it sent forth or resisted. England being the country in which that species of architecture, vulgarly called Gothic, has been brought to its highest perfection, and there being now no probability of its again recovering from the disuse into which it has fallen, no liberal critic will blame the topographer if he lingers with fond reluctance within the consecrated walls of our cathedrals, and describes at length those venerable structures, which, whether we consider the sublimity of their general effect, or the richness and fantastic variety of their minute decorations, may proudly and successfully enter into competition with the chaster but less impressive efforts of Greek and Roman genius. A similar indulgence will be conceded to the topographer while describing the remains of our monastic edifices: as architectural fragments, and as picturesque objects, many of them are entitled to high praise; but surely there is no necessity to dwell long on their former inhabitants; to investigate with scrupulous attention the local peculiarities of their government; to write critical dissertations on the succession of their abbots and priors; and to rescue from merited neglect their splendid impositions, their gaudy mummeries, by which the reign of ignorance, of slavery, and superstition, was so long upheld. For a *protestant* ecclesiastic to dilate with complacency on these topics, argues something more than bad taste.

The general reader would no doubt be pleased and benefited if the greater part of the genealogies, and what comes under the denomination of family and manorial history, was greatly compressed; but as the principal patronage of county histories, and the chief part of the readers, are to be expected from among the residents in the district described, a deviation from the usual practice in these particulars would we are afraid materially affect the encouragement which is required in so arduous an undertaking. A more restricted use of the church-registers, and a more select assortment of monumental inscriptions, might however be introduced without any disadvantage, and greatly to the benefit of the literary character of the work: the recension of parish-priests, clerks, and church-wardens; carpenters', glaziers', and plumbers' bills, and circumstances of similar importance; are in their proper place among the manuscript archives of each parish; but when occupying page after page of a county history, constitute mere waste paper.

But if our topographers are liable to the charge of prolixity on the above-mentioned topics, there are others, and those of no small importance, of which the reader may justly complain for their mortifying conciseness. Such is the case in general with all the branches of natural history. Sometimes a bare catalogue of plants, birds, and fishes, is thrust into some bye-corner of the book, accompanied by a few mineralogical details collected a century ago; but of real science and personal observation there is for the most part a total deficiency. The various and important topics comprehended under the general term statistics, are also treated of very unsatisfactorily; and in short every thing relating to the present state of the country; the information requisite for this purpose being not to be had by consulting written documents, but by laborious personal enquiry. Lastly, a greater accuracy both of plates and maps might be obtained at no great additional trouble, and with a very manifest gain both of beauty and usefulness.

ART. I.—*The History of the Orkney Islands: in which is comprehended an Account of their present as well as their ancient State; together with the Advantages they possess for several Branches of Industry, and the Means by which they may be improved. Illustrated with an accurate and extensive Map of the whole Islands, and with Plates of some of the most interesting Objects they contain. By the Rev. GEORGE BARRY, D. D. Minister of Shapinsay.* 4to. pp. 509.

THE present volume furnishes much important information concerning a portion of the British dominions which has hitherto been but little known. We shall therefore indulge ourselves, and at the same time, we presume, gratify our readers, by a copious account of the work, and of the islands it professes to describe.

Situated on the north of Scotland, surrounded by a tempestuous sea, and intersected by dangerous friths, the public attention has been seldom directed to this part of the British isles. While her legitimate sister, the Hebrides, can boast of a Johnson, a Pennant, and a Banks, as philosophic visitors; Orkney has been indebted chiefly to residents for any published descriptions of her scenery, produc-

tions, or commercial consequence: so that if we except Torfæus, who has given a history, and Wallace, who, about a century past, furnished a description, every thing that relates to these isles must be sought for in writers who have professedly written upon other subjects: and for this purpose their detached accounts must be collected and arranged. This Dr. Barry professes to have done; 'his intention being,' according to his own statement, 'to look back to early times, and, by means of those feeble and scattered rays of light, furnished occasionally by ancient writers, to point out who were their first inhabitants;' and 'having thus taken an extensive view from that period, and from facts traced the various changes they have undergone, and the effects of such changes,

o the time when they were granted un-
redeemable to a subject who sold them,
and they finally became a part of the
town of Scotland,' Dr. Barry then ad-
verts to their present state. This part of
his plan he considers of the greatest im-
portance, and as such he states, 'that he
has taken more than ordinary pains to
give the fairest statements, and place every
part in the clearest and most interesting
point of view.' But to the end that these
objects may be accomplished, he proposes
to give a particular description of the
islands which compose the group. The
history thus considered, he observes, nat-
urally divides itself into three books.—
1st, Contains a general view of the islands,
with a geographical description of each,
&c.—2d, An account of the early inha-
bitants; transactions and character of the
people who conquered them; monuments
of antiquity; and subsequent history.—
3d, Includes a statistical account of their
favourable situation, and the advantages
to be derived from them. Such is the
plan of the work as laid down by the au-
thor. How far he has succeeded in its
accomplishment, we shall endeavour to
show: by giving a faithful analysis, point-
ing out its excellences and defects; and,
while we notice valuable statements, en-
deavour to detect errors, and correct in-
accuracies.

We have thought it necessary to state
thus much of Dr. Barry's plan; but in
justice to ourselves and our readers, we
must observe, that there appears a want
of the "lucidus ordo," so necessary to
produce perspicuity and prevent tautology.
Thus, in the *particular description* of each
island, the Dr. anticipates what he again
repeats in his *general views*. Frequent
repetitions of vegetables, minerals, birds,
and fishes, occur throughout. The stones
of Steenis, and the dwarfic stone, might
have been left to the chapter on *monuments
of antiquity*; and the account of the an-
cient language might have been referred
to the description of the original inha-
bitants. Chap. VI. of Book II. surely
ought to have followed immediately after
the fourth chapter, or have been incorpo-
rated. Some additions also might have
been made to the historic part, of a highly
interesting nature; which would have
rendered the present body of information
still more valuable, without much in-
creasing the size of the work.

The Orkney islands, justly denominated
the archipelago of the northern sea, lie
north of Duncansby Head, the Cape

Orcas of the ancients, between 58 deg.
45 min. and 59 deg. 23 min. north lati-
tude, and 2 deg. 10 min. east, and 2 deg.
47 min. west, from the meridian of Green-
wich, according to the map here copied
from that of Mr. Mackenzie; who, in his
survey, places his first meridian through
the town of Kirkwall, in the island of
Mainland. Other maps, considered ac-
curate, state the latitude and longitude
a little different.

As to their number, writers have dif-
fered, from the earliest accounts to the
present time. By the ancient writers they
were reckoned from thirty to forty: Pom-
ponius Mela, the most to be depended
upon among them, enumerates thirty;
and it is probable both he and others took
their accounts from the principal of them
in point of size, whether inhabited or not.
Gyraldus mentions them under the title
of *Orchades* and *Leuchades*; but he does
not say he ever visited them. He quotes,
for authority, Orosius and Isidorus; who
observe there were thirteen inhabited, and
twenty desert; which account, at the
time they wrote, was probably correct.
Dr. Barry derives his information, not
from his own observations, but from a
survey made about half a century ago, at
the instance of the Board of Admiralty,
by Mr. Murdo Mackenzie; the accuracy
of which has been confirmed by subse-
quent observations. In addition to these,
however, any remarks of Dr. Barry's from
personal knowledge would have been a
desirable acquisition. According to this
survey, the number is fifty-seven; twenty-
nine only of which are inhabited, and
the remaining twenty-eight, denominated
holmies, are used for depasturing cattle.
Besides which, there are numerous rocks,
not devoid of herbage, called *skerries*.

The *etymon* of the name has no less
perplexed the minds of antiquaries: the
question is, whether the cape took its name
from the islands, or the islands from the
cape? In the former case the name is of
Gothic origin; but in the latter of *British*.
Those who side with the first, derive it
from the Gothic *Ork* strength, the cape
braving the violence of the waves; and
thence deduce, by the addition of another
Gothic word *Ey*, signifying an island,
Orcadeys, i. e. the islands of *Ork*, or *Ork-
ney*. Those who oppose this observe, that
the Romans, at a very early period, no-
ticed this cape, under the name *Orcadinum*,
and the opposite cape of Dunnet-head by
that of *Tarvedium*; and assert their ety-
mology to be really British:—thus *Orcad*,

without the Roman ending, comes from *Or*, a boundary or limit, and *Cadw* to preserve, i. e. the defensive boundary: while *Turwedum*, rejecting the *um*, is equally derived from *Tersyn*, a limit, and—to below; from the noise the sea makes round this headland, i. e. *Clanorons Cape*. Should these be thought unsatisfactory, they are at least as probable as the Scandinavian side of the question.

Dr. Barry commences the subject with some general remarks on the geological appearances of the islands, which tend to shew the general direction of elevated and depressed lands in this kingdom, and that the line of depression is uniformly towards the north-east.

The climate, according to our author, is much better than has been represented, or than might be expected from the geographical situation of the islands. But no regular and accurate register having been kept of the weather, no just comparison can be made. It may here be observed, that we are very generally, if not always, partial to our own country respecting weather; and though a royal author (Charles II.), who had travelled the continent, could assert, and perhaps with truth, “that there were more days in which a person could go out with comfort in Great Britain, during the course of a year, than in any country in Europe;” yet no one who has travelled would thence conclude that the climate or weather of Great Britain was superior to that of France or Italy.

The south-west winds are observed to be more prevalent than any other; and the weather, though rarely boisterous, is seldom calm: yet if we can judge from the statement of the quantity of rain, said on the average to fall annually (twenty-six inches), wet weather must be much less frequent than in some parts of our islands. The coldest weather is in the advanced part of our spring; and the month of June is represented as generally the coldest of any. This, Dr. Barry supposes, arises from the dissolving of the immense bodies of ice at this time in the northern ocean.

It is a very curious fact, that though these islands are situate so far north, yet the climate is peculiarly mild; and when compared with a similar latitude on the eastern or western continent, extraordinarily so. The weather is neither severe nor unpleasant. The longest day, according to Wallace, is about eighteen hours, and the shortest about six. It has been said, that from the hill of Hoy, the high-

est land of the whole, the body of the sun may be seen at *midnight*: which probably gave rise to the accounts we find in Solinus and others, that there was no night. It is however true, that in clear weather, for nearly two months, during summer, the twilight is sufficiently strong for ordinary sight to see to read through the whole night. The heat in summer, owing to the obliqueness of the sun's rays, and other causes, is not so great as with us; and from the sea breezes, the cold in winter is seldom so intense. “The extent of heat and cold,” the Dr. observes, “is on the average from 25 deg. to 75 deg. of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The spring is severe, the summer moderate, and the autumn mild: the range of the barometer is about *three inches*. A striking peculiarity is, that thunder and lightning, which in most other countries occur generally during the heat of summer or the sultry nights of autumn, are here most frequent in the winter months: and then attended with wind and rain, hail or snow. Though thus situated, they frequently enjoy an unclouded sky; and the mist and vapours, so often imagined to exist by foreigners or strangers, are but of short duration: for the land may be often described, even in the night, at *ten leagues distance*.”

But this is frequently owing to the *aurora borealis*, which is here seen to the greatest advantage; and though not confined to these high northern latitudes, the southern equally enjoy them, yet are, under Providence, an inestimable blessing. The author gives a pleasing account of them as they appear on the coast of Orkney.

“This is the *aurora borealis*, now very improperly denominated the northern lights, since, by late discoveries, they have been found to belong equally to both hemispheres. Here they happily appear, both more frequently and with greater splendour, than in most other regions; for during the harvest, winter, and spring months, they arise almost every unclouded night, and often shine with the most magnificent brilliancy.

“The light of the moon at her quadratures, sometimes, on such occasions, scarcely equals them, in illuminating the friths and the islands. Between the setting of the sun and the close of the twilight, they commonly make their first appearance in the north, issuing for the most part from behind the clouds, like a fountain of pale light, the form of which is undefined, and continue in this state a little above the horizon, sometimes only for a short period, and at other times for the space of several hours, without any mo-

tion that can be discovered. They form themselves one while into an arch, the height of which is about thirty degrees, and its breadth about sixty; and the pillars on which it is supported several times broader than the rainbow; and so long as they retain this shape, they are without any sensible motion. At another time they extend farther over the heavens, rise much higher, assume a greater variety of shapes, and discover a dusky hue, with a motion that is slow, but perceptible. Very often they exhibit an appearance quite different, and spread themselves over the whole heavens, diffusing every where a surprising degree of light, and exhibiting the most beautiful phenomenon.

"Their motion, in this case, is in various directions, extremely swift, and, as it were, in separate columns, resembling somewhat the evolutions of a great army. Their lowest extremities are distinctly defined, and deeply tinged with the colours of the rainbow; but their upper ones are tapering and fainter. In several places at once they kindle into a blaze, dart along in almost all directions, for some seconds at a time, and then, as if by the strength of their exertions they had spent their force, they are extinguished in a moment, leaving a brown track in the sky behind them. Near the place where they disappeared, in a short time they flash out anew, and with equal rapidity trace the same path in similar motions, and again expire in the same manner. This they often continue for several hours together, to the great satisfaction and amusement of the spectators on land, and advantage of the mariner, when they gradually die away, and leave through the whole heavens a colour resembling that of brass. If the night be uncommonly still, and their motion very rapid, a whizzing noise has been thought to have been distinctly heard from them at various intervals. This beautiful commotion, which has never yet been satisfactorily explained, is said to have appeared much seldomer eighty or ninety years ago than it does at present. It appears now, however, very often, and seems to occupy that space in the heavens which is between the region of the clouds and the summit of the atmosphere, as the clouds in motion never fail to eclipse it; and as it cannot be seen from two places greatly distant from one another at once, nor yet in conjunction with the same fixed stars, it evidently has no great degree of elevation."

The names of the present inhabited islands are given in a note, as enumerated by Torfæus and Buchanan, the principal of which is Pomona, or *Mainland*. Its greatest length from east to west is thirty miles; and of various breadth, owing to its maritime indentations, from two to twelve: though both Wallace and Mackenzie give a considerably less admeasure-
ment.

The following pleasing description of the surface, may serve as a specimen of the author's descriptive style:

"A ridge of hills, of no great height, rises towards its eastern extremity, which stretches westward along the north side of the parish of Holm, suffers an interruption at the bay of Scalpa, is continued again through a considerable part of the parish of Orphir (where the direction is suddenly changed toward the north at nearly a right angle), and extends through the parishes of Frith and Rendal, six miles distant from, and in a line nearly parallel to, the western boundaries of the island. Through this whole extensive tract the hills are generally green on the sides, many parts of which are very productive when cultivated; and the tops are covered with such an excellent mixture of various kinds of grass and heath, as affords almost constantly a secure haunt for multitudes of moor-fowl, as well as pasture for sheep, and black cattle, and horses. Its breadth is by no means so considerable; for though it reaches nearly sixteen miles on the west side, the east does not extend to above five or six; and near the middle it is so narrow as to form a neck of land, which comprehends little more than a mile in length, dividing the island into two peninsulas. The spacious and beautiful bay of Scalpa bounds the one side of this isthmus, and the bay of Kirkwall the other; and the ground that lies between them is at once so flat, so damp, and, in other respects, of such a nature, as to render it probable that the sea some time or other has occupied the whole space between them. The ancient town of Kirkwall stands on the north side of this tract of land, towards the south-east side of the bay of the same name; and by a little rivulet which runs through the middle of the town (over which a stone bridge of one arch has been built, for the convenience of the inhabitants) is divided into the old town, that bends along the bay, and the new that stretches a considerable way to the southward."

The town of Kirkwall bears strong marks of high antiquity, and many ancient buildings, now in ruins, remind us of its former greatness. Of these islands the Dr. gives us a further pleasing description; and if we could realize descriptions, we should almost be inclined to think, that this, and the circumjacent isles, were the *Fortunate ones* described by the *Roman poets*, in the vicinity of which, both the *Elysium* and *Tartarus* of the ancients were supposed to exist. A circumstance Dr. Barry however records, in his account of the village of Stromness, which, while it evinces a spirit still existing, arduous for emancipation from the rod of oppression, demonstrates the impolicy of all undue restraints on the energy or property of man; and

the wisdom of abolishing all *exclusive rights* in a free country, and for ever crushing the petty tyranny of corporate bodies.

"By means of several acts of parliament, enacted when the principles of commerce were but little attended to, and as little understood, the royal burghs had assumed the right of taxing the hamlets and villages that were in their neighbourhood in an arbitrary proportion of the burdens which they themselves were bound in law to sustain. Stromness suffered, or at least thought so, from the exercise of this right claimed by the neighbouring burgh, and therefore long murmured under a burden which was represented as disproportioned to her trade and her ability; and at length, after repeated remonstrances, refused to bear it any longer. The method of compulsion was instantly adopted, by a reference of the point in question to the Supreme Court, who pronounced this judgment: 'That there was no sufficient right in the borough of Kirkwall to assess the village of Stromness; but that the said village should be quit thereof, and free therefrom, in all time coming.' This sentence, which has every appearance of being founded in justice, no less than in law, was, in the spirit of litigation, appealed from, but happily confirmed in the house of lords. Thus a paltry village in the remote regions of the north, was at that period enlightened enough to know its own rights, and had spirit sufficient to reclaim them; while others of great consequence tamely submitted to the yoke, till emancipated by this memorable decision, they reaped the fruit of her spirited exertions. From that time Stromness became a place of more note, in consequence of the freedom she had obtained; and her trade, as trade always should be, neither curbed by absurd regulations, nor shackled by the corporation spirit, will probably soon enable her in her turn to acquire an ascendant over, and prescribe laws to, her former lordly superior."

In speaking of the island of *Swanay*, lying in the middle of Pentland Firth, which separates the Orkneys from Scotland; the author observes, that "3,300 ships used to pass *annually* through this strait, previous to the erection of the lighthouse, and many more must probably have passed since that improvement to its navigation."

We are decided, though Buchanan has conjured up an imaginary being, called *Pentheus*, to give name to this strait, that it took its name from the people who first crossed it, the Picts, i. e. Pictland frith. Long was this strait, through which the Romans under Julius Agricola

sailed when they surveyed the whole maritime coast of Britain, famed for its gorgons and its hydras, its currents and its whirlpools: but these phantoms of ignorance have disappeared; and so little danger is there now in navigating it, that small boats pass and repass to Caithness with perfect safety; and by the assistance of the lighthouse erected on Pentland Skerry,* a rock in the mouth of the frith, even at the dead of night.

The Dr. thinks the original inhabitants were some of the ancient Gaulish tribes, which settled in Scandinavia; but materially fails in what he calls a proof of this position. Nothing can fairly be stated from the present names of persons or places, many of which are of a mixed nature: the majority appear of Gothic origin; probably given and imposed by the invaders, as the names in South Britain were changed by the successful Saxons. The difficulty becomes greater on extending our inquiries; because from very early accounts we have of navigation and commerce, these islands are mentioned as inhabited. It appears from good authority that they were known to the enterprising people of Tyre: and even *Thule*, whether it be the Fula of the Orkneys or the Mainland of Shetland, is not unnoticed: and from them the knowledge is derived to the Greeks and Romans. This furnishes a strong argument from analogy, that they were peopled from Britain; and with the Britons had one common Celtic origin, afterwards denominated *Pights* or *Picts* by the Romans: not from their painting their bodies, which has been absurdly supposed; but, as Whitaker has plainly demonstrated, from *their lying without the pale of the Roman province in Britain: from the British word VICT or PICT, as the Pictoria in Gaul, and the Picturians in Caledonia*. And it is not improbable that this term, which signifies *Seceders*, might have been given them by their countrymen, who submitted to the Roman yoke. By this name they were recognized, when they made their irruptions to the south; and by this name they were distinguished by the Britons of the west. They are represented as a tall, fair, comely, fighting people; and so were the Britons. Their language was lost after they ceased to be a distinct people, though still a little of it is preserved in the ancient Erse or Norse: and Dr. Barry ob-

* Another lighthouse is now erecting in Sandey, on the Start point, one hundred feet above the sea, having revolving reflectors.

serves that there are villages yet, which speak a language not understood by the present inhabitants of other places. This origin is confirmed by various monuments similar to those visible in many parts of England and Wales; and more especially by those denominated *Picht* or Pictshouses, found by the northern hordes on their invasion; which still remain, though the present inhabitants are unable to account for their designation. If still further proof were necessary, the similar customs* of the Picts and Britons would be sufficient; particularly the striking one mentioned by Cæsar, and alluded to by Tacitus, *a community, as well as a plurality of wives*. The Dr. allows that the Picts of North Britain and the isles were the same; and though separated as they were from the seat of government, *they might at times wish and attempt to throw off the yoke*; yet there is testimony to shew, that they were tributary to the Pictish kings, till the union took place under Kenneth Macalpine. That these islands were early inhabited, appears from what Tacitus speaks of their having been subdued by Agricola; though Polydore says this was effected by Claudian. And Torfæus's account might be right, who informs us they were discovered 400, and inhabited 260, years before the Christian æra. The progress from families to tribes, and from tribes to communities, is in early population rapid; and under some able chieftain quickly leads to the establishment of monarchy. That they had a government, whether regal or not, is evident; and that they continued under their princes, whether tributary or not, till the subversion of the Pictish kingdom by the prowess of Kenneth II., is equally clear. And though little can be depended upon till after the conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity; yet from that period considerable light is furnished on the subject: and some confidence may be placed in the accounts we have of those times from the accordant testimony of collateral history. We are informed by Adamnan, that they were converted to the Christian faith by means of Columba, a monk of Irish extraction, who resided in St. Kilda. After furthering the extension of the gospel in Pictland, he turned his attention to the Orkneys; and sent Cormac, one of his attendant preachers, to accompany the prince

of Orkney, then at Luckness, the palace of Brude king of the Picts, making submission and giving hostages for his future fidelity: who enjoined him, on his leaving the court, to be kind to the *Christian missionary*. Dr. Barry however asserts, that "this event did not take place till after the *Norwegian æra*, under the government of Sigurd II., earl of Orkney;" and the mode in which it was effected, strongly reminds us of that adopted by the Spaniards for christianizing the inhabitants of South America.

"Christianity, some years before this period, had become the religion of Norway, by means of Olaus Frigueson, who then filled the throne. This celebrated prince, being in his youth converted in England, seems to have bestowed on it such attention, as enabled him to perceive its excellence; and he soon became inspired with all the zeal of a new convert, to spread its principles through distant lands. For this end he prepared five or six ships, on board of which he invited such wise and learned men as he deemed best qualified to diffuse the knowledge of his favourite system; and sailed directly for Ireland, with which his country had then an intimate connexion. His transactions there are foreign to our purpose; but on his return, he brought his squadron to anchor in one of the harbours of South Ronaldsay, where the earl then was, in readiness for some expedition. Sigurd was of an open and unsuspicious temper, which arose from confidence in the strength of his arms, and in the magnitude of his fame. He beheld, therefore, the Norwegian fleet without apprehension; nor did he hesitate to go on board as soon as he received the king's invitation, as he dreaded no harm, and supposed, perhaps, that a conference only was wanted, respecting some military enterprise, in which the interest of both of them might be equally concerned. The king's conduct, however, soon convinced him of his mistake; for scarcely had they met together, when Olaus, assuming an air of anxious dignity, opened his design in the following terms: 'It cannot have escaped you, that, as heir to Harold Harfager, I have an undoubted right to the sovereignty of these islands, over which you preside: and you must, moreover, be sensible that both you yourself, and your fortune, are now in my power: but I am so far from wishing to avail myself of these circumstances, that I am inclined to promote your best interest, and to unite you and myself together in still firmer bonds. For this end, my proposal is, that you, and all your people, shall instantly adopt the Christian religion, receive the holy rite of baptism, and acknowledge me as your liege lord: and, on condi-

* Dr. Barry has taken his view of the manners of this people from writers who have professedly written on different nations: and thus from Tacitus and Landanor Bok, Gildas, and Shoketiel, formed a motley robe that is neither appropriated to the Picts nor Scandinavians.

tion that you comply with this proposal, you shall secure my friendship ever afterwards; and, what is of far more consequence, the everlasting friendship of the sovereign of heaven. But if you and your people refuse compliance, I am determined to desolate your country, and inflict on all of you the punishment of death; and you will have just cause to expect, hereafter, a punishment infinitely more dreadful, from the hand of an offended God.

"The earl, though confounded at this unexpected overture, and still more at the menaces with which it was attended in case of refusal, yet retained his recollection, and made this firm and spirited reply: 'I cannot, O king, suffer myself to renounce that religion which has been sanctioned by custom, and which I received from my ancestors, as I consider myself as no wiser than they; and no reasons have as yet been offered to convince me, that the religion which you thus recommend for my adoption, is in any respect better than my own.'

"The king had neither time nor inclination to produce any other arguments than those he had used, on similar occasions, in his own country; the arguments of intolerant zeal and despotic power. He therefore drew his sword; and, laying hold of the earl's son, Hundius, whom his father had carried on board with him, declared, in the most determined manner, that he would instantly plunge it into the youth's bosom, if his father hesitated any longer; and at the same time added, that his fate should only be the forerunner of what all those should suffer, who refused to adopt the principles of this religion which he himself professed. Convinced that an absolute refusal, or even any longer hesitation or delay, would have been the certain means of involving himself, his family and country, in one common ruin, Sigurd yielded to the imperious dictates of Olaus, whom he now acknowledged as his sovereign; publicly professed his christian faith, and received baptism; and the people followed the example of their earl, with one accord. The king, exulting in the success of his pious enterprise, now returned home, carrying Hundius along with him as an hostage; and on his departure left some learned men to instruct the inhabitants in the nature of that religion which he had thus planted with the point of the sword. Hundius soon after died, while he was yet an hostage; and the earl, considering this event as dissolving entirely his connexion with that monarch, contracted an alliance in another quarter, by marrying, as his second wife, a daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland."

Here there appears a chasm, which we think the Dr. might have filled up from unquestionable authorities; and the account of the annexation of the Orkneys to the crown of Scotland under Kenelm, who drove numbers of the Picts of the Main-

land to take shelter in the isles, and there pursued them, would have been interesting information. This would properly have led to the introduction of the Scandinavian dynasty; and illustrated the unjust irruption, and consequent seizure, by *Harold Harefager*. The Picts and Scots had long, as neighbours, been in league; and intermarriages had frequently taken place between various branches of the two regal families. But what is intended to strengthen the bond of union among nations, is often seen to weaken it; and the root of alliance not unfrequently produces the germ of discord. The Scottish king Achaius had married Fargusia, sister to Hungus the Pictish king. By her he had a son, Alpin, who on the death of Dorstologus and Eogan, the two sons of Hungus, without issue, laid claim to the Pictish crown, by virtue of his maternal title: and Buchanan himself allows, "*that both by old law and right he laid it justly, being by consanguinity the nearest heir.*" The Picts long resisted the Scottish claim of succession; and they had taken the first claimant, Alpin, prisoner, and cut off his head. His son Kenneth pursued his father's track: but he met with numerous obstacles in his way, and many bloody contests took place between him and the Picts: nor was it till after a ten years military struggle, that he could get his title established, and obtain possession of the Pictish crown. However, having prevailed by force of arms, he took his seat; and nearly at the same time, after the death of Dungullus, ascended the Scottish throne. The obstinate resistance they had made, irritated the victors, and numerous were the cruelties and exactions exercised towards the vanquished: many of them fled, and took refuge among their allies in Orkney; which still opposed the title of Kenneth. After he had seized on Fife, Lothian, and other Pictish territories, and placed garrisons for their security, he turned his arms against the islands, which he soon subdued, and added them to his other dominions, A. D. 840. After the Scots had obtained the prevalence, it would be natural for them to cast contempt upon a nation that had so long been their rival in martial prowess; and they would readily countenance every thing tending to diminish the glory of the conquered Picts. But, notwithstanding what is found in the Scottish writers, the Picts were certainly an ancient and brave people; and from the few monuments remaining, they appear, after their con-

version, to have been as pious and punctual in their religious observances as their accusing neighbours. The period at which the Dr. commences the history, is from the arrival of the Scandinavians under *Harold the fair-haired* 876; and this was probably the first time the race of Odin had ever any footing in the isles. On his landing, he found *two distinct people*, under the names of *Peti* and *Papa*: respecting the first, our author finds no difficulty, as the Scandinavians call the Picts *Peti*; but is at a loss for the latter denomination. Nor does the idea of Pinkerton, that they were *Irish priests*, appear more satisfactory to him than to us. The islanders had been long, we have seen, converted to Christianity; and previous to the period of which we speak, the church of Rome had made large strides towards absolute dominion. She insisted that the new calendar, tunsure, and observance of Easter, should be adopted by all the western churches. Many, however, objected, and resisted the bull; and a consequent division took place between those who complied, and those who refused compliance. These would be distinguished by appropriate names; *Peti* or *Picts* would allude to the old sort; and *Pape* or *Papists* to the new: like *presbyterians* and *seceders* in the modern kirk. After many hard and desperate struggles, through the blind policy of Donald Bain, it became, in the reign of Olaus, tributary to Norway. Thus a country naturally calculated to defend the north of Scotland, and add greatly to its maritime strength, was ceded to a northern neighbour; which afterwards enabled him to become a formidable, and often successful rival. Boethius makes this cession to have taken place A. D. 1098: if so, the contest must have been sharp and long; and proves that the islanders did not tamely resign their rights to a foreigner.

This part of the history is merely, the Dr. confesses, abridged from *Torfæus*, with occasional remarks from some few other writers: and as *Torfæus* had the means of information, his account, allowing for the bias towards the court in which he was historiographer, *Denmark*, may be relied on as tolerably authentic.

The next æra treats of the transactions in the islands from that time till they became subject to the crown of Scotland. Here it is obvious, if the Dr. be not prejudiced, he has been grossly misled; when he observes, "though *Rodolphus* is certainly mentioned as a bishop of Orkney in

the reign of David; yet the title was then ostentatious only; and William was the first bishop of the see." This assertion however appears to be without the smallest shadow of authority. For if, as he observes, bishops had been appointed by the archbishop of York, it is presumed that they still existed in that character. That they did not reside does not annul their authority; and various circumstances arising out of the times might often occasion non-residence. Nay, if there existed bishops on the Mainland in the reign of Macalpine, is it not as reasonable to conclude, that Orkney, then a distinct government, had, if not bishops, at least *one diocesan*, subject, doubtless, to the archbishopric then removed to St. Andrews? Indeed we think the Dr. should have paid a more pointed attention to the ecclesiastical affairs of the islands, so intimately connected with the real state of a country, and the character of a people. The writers of the Scottish affairs in the time of Alexander, give us a different account. They state, that not only the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides, but also the *Orkneys* were, on the death of Haco, ceded by his son Magnus to the crown of Scotland, in a treaty between the two monarchs, 1263; for which cession Scotland was to pay Norway and Denmark 1000 marks sterling, and 100 marks annually, in compensation for the advantages they had received. Subsequent failure of the annual stipulation occasioned the future contentions, which often subsisted between the northern courts: till the Danes finally and formally relinquished all claim and pretension to the sovereignty of Orkney. From this period *Torfæus* appears to have possessed but few documents, respecting the future transactions in the isles: owing probably to the public records being now diverted to another channel, and finding a place in the archives of Scotland. The author therefore gives us merely a brief chronicle of the failure of the *male* line of the ancient earls of Orkney, in the person of Magnus V.

We have before stated the very imperfect account of ecclesiastical affairs, at which the reverend author only occasionally glances. We regret this the more, because he, from education, habits of life, and station, must have been eminently qualified to give such account; and from his candour in other investigations, we might have expected a considerable degree of impartiality. However confused the state of the times may have been, previous

to 1500, subsequent to that time, till the union of the two kingdoms in the reign of Anne, three aras were formed by events in which Orkney must have materially shared:—the Reformation,—the re-establishment of episcopacy,—and the means which led to establish the kirk; and to make the episcopal, a dissenting, church in Scotland. Information on this subject, connected with the isles, would have been gratifying.

In Book II. Chap. V. Dr. Barry treats of some monuments of antiquity. "Over the islands," he says, "are dispersed many single stones, rude as out of the quarry; in two places triads, and in one instance with one of the stones thrown down." These he allows to be the most ancient of this country; but he attributes them to a *Scandinavian origin*.

The *circular and semicircular monuments*, many of which are still to be seen, he supposes of *much later date*: and contrary to the generally received opinion, terms them *Gothic structures*: on this subject, he says:

"They have indeed been considered as druidical temples, according to a fashion which, for half a century past, has prevailed, to ascribe almost every monument of antiquity to that extraordinary order of man. But had these been the authors of such monuments, history would not have been silent on the subject; which constantly mentions their having no temples whatever, and worshipping the deity in groves only. Besides, had they been places of worship peculiar to that celebrated people, they would naturally have shared the same fate with themselves, and been razed to the foundation, as soon as the priests that had officiated in them were destroyed. That this had not been the case, is evident; for, in the south, as well as in the north, they remain still entire; and had they then existed, and had any connexion with that people, Tacitus, when he mentions the destruction of their groves, would not have failed to have taken some notice of them also.* The very date of some of them in Scandinavia is moreover well known;† and the use of them pointed out by the writers of that country, who inform us, that they are denominated, in popular language, *tings*, or courts; and that they are places appropriated for the administration of justice, and the oblation of sacrifices. 'A judicial circle stands there, where men were doomed to sacrifice.'—

* There Thorder Galler erected a court for one quarter, by the consent of all the men of that quarter.† These circles and semicircles, therefore, or the stones erected into these

forms, are to be considered as intended to serve the double purpose of temples and courts of justice, or places for assembling large bodies of people for various ends; and they are plainly to be ascribed to those nations that were of *Gothic origin*. Though their form is similar, they are very different in their dimensions, according to the purpose for which they were designed. In the largest class we may certainly rank Stonehenge in England, which is unquestionably the most superb and magnificent object of the kind; and which, if it be not the burial-place of the celebrated Saxon, as the name seems to import, might have been the place for the meeting of their national assembly, as they met in the open air.‡ To the same class may be referred that noble circle of *Classemis* in the *Lewes*,§ which may have been a court-house, in which affairs of importance might have been transacted, relative to the interest of the community. Their kings and chiefs were also sometimes elected in these large circles; while the lesser ones were used as temples of the inferior gods, and not unfrequently as family burying-places.¶ It might have been naturally expected, that some such objects would have existed here, as the country had been so long occupied by the same people who had erected and used them in other places. And accordingly in many places are seen small circles, but without stones around them now, whatever might have been formerly; and the islands possess also their *Classemis*, and even their *Stonehenge*, which, though often visited, and sometimes described, is still but little known."

Among these monuments, that called the stones of *Stennis* claims the principal attention. It consists of a semicircle nearly 100 feet in diameter, surrounded by a mound of earth; with single stones standing erect in the interior, and is situated on the eastern side of the loch *Stennis*. On the western side is a complete circle 300 feet in diameter, surrounded by a ditch twenty feet broad, and twelve deep; and on the inside, by a range of standing stones twelve and fourteen feet high, and four broad. These are accompanied by four barrows of considerable magnitude, and other erect stones on the margin of the lake. "Of the flat stone lying in the centre of the semicircle, there can be no doubt as to its use;" and the Dr. thinks, "the round hole discoverable in one, whose edges are worn, as with rope, was for the purpose of binding the victim, usually, we suppose, immolated on this very altar."

This is certainly a very curious monu-

* Tacitus. † So Mr. Thorkelin told Mr. Pinkerton. ‡ Islands Landnama Bok.

§ Tacitus. § Martin, Western Isles. ¶ Wormius, Olaus Magnus, and Dalberg Suecia ant. et hnd.

ment, and from its form evidently coeval with similar ones found in England and Wales; as Stonehenge in Wiltshire; Rollich in Oxfordshire; Buarth Arthur in Caermarthenshire, &c. &c.; if not with the stupendous and venerable temple at Avebury in Wiltshire. But when our author asserts that these, which have been supposed *Druidical*, must belong to the same people from whom all things else respecting this country are derived, i. e. the Scandinavians, we think he completely begs the question. For he allows, "that till centuries after the Christian æra, little of a certainty is known of the Orkneys." Had we known more, perhaps we might have found, that these Celtic priests, *the Druids*, had footing in these, as well as all other parts of the British isles. There is nothing contrary to such a supposition; and it is rendered highly probable by the existence of similar monuments in those parts, where they have been acknowledged as residing. We can have no objection to join the Dr. in supposing them *Tainings*, or *Courts of Judicature*, though not exclusively so: for we find in the early history of almost every people, that the sacrificial, legislative, and judicial characters, were often vested in the same persons. Long were the two last united, nor was it till very lately, that the government of this free country arrived at that rational system, where the enacting and executing powers were separated. Nothing can be justly inferred from the observation that the *druids worshipped in groves*; for these temples might have stood in extensive groves, before the country was deprived of wood: or, what is more probable is, that, terrified by the sword of the invaders, the peaceable ministers of religion retired into the fastnesses of the forests; both for the security of their persons, which were threatened, and for the purpose of quietly performing their devotions, and delivering their instructions. "But if they had been *Druidical*," Dr. Barry observes, "history would not have been silent." Has it then been silent, because they were Scandinavian? Not only on this, but on many other important points relative to early manners and customs, we have found history silent, or very imperfect in its details. Even the Dr. finds it will not furnish him with one single document to prove that they were the works or temples of the Druids. Had any thing of this kind been adduced which might have emitted one ray of light on this obscure subject, we should

have felt highly gratified. The matter is still *lis sub judice*: and though, after reading both sides of the question, and examining many of the monuments in dispute ourselves, we are of opinion, that analogical circumstances are in favour of the British origin: yet we hold ourselves still open to conviction: and solicit the lovers of truth not to be weary of investigating this early and interesting part of our history. That the temples must have shared the fate of the priests who administered in them, is absurd; because it is contrary to facts recorded in history on similar occasions: and because, if the objection be allowed, it will equally apply against their Scandinavian, as well as druidical origin: our author admits they were *religious temples*, for "sacrifices were offered up in them;" and we suppose by priests, whatever their origin or denomination.

Various *tumuli* or *barrows* are found in many of the islands, in which, when opened, have been discovered bones, urns, stone coffins, &c. These are of a mixed nature, and probably belonging to more than one people; this being a mode of burial in early times, whether of persons slain in battle or not. Stone coffins were not peculiar to the Britons; nor urn burial to the Greeks and Romans.

The *Pight* or *Pict-houses*, as they are termed, are more curious still, as they shew that the persons, to whom they must be attributed, were probably the original inhabitants, who were a race unknown to the people of the north. These are numerous, and are found on the holmes in the midst of lochs, with a stony ford or causeway attached, as a passage to them; on the points of very high lands; or on strands on the sea-shore, more especially near places adapted for landing with facility. Their situation points out their intention: they were evidently the barracks or habitations of those appointed for the defence of the isles against invasion, or the depredatory warfare of their roving neighbours; and what confirms this is, that they stretch in a regular chain from one headland to another, in a full view of the adjacent harbours, and distant ocean. Though many of them have been demolished, yet sufficient still remain to shew the nature of their structure, and demonstrate their use. As these ancient remains have been so little understood, and are singularly different from those objects which have principally engaged the attention of antiquaries, we shall give Dr. Barry's description of a large one (for

they vary in size) lately discovered at Quanterness.

"As works of that nature have never been clearly understood, though they have excited much curiosity in men who take pleasure in studying the progress of the human mind, by looking back to early ages, the utmost attention has been given to examine that Pict-house with care, to measure its dimensions accurately, and to delineate the form of all its parts with precision. Situated on a gentle declivity, under the brow of the hill of Wideford, it looks toward the north isles; has a full view of the bay of Frith, and the pleasant little island of Dansey, from which it is not far distant, and lies little more than a mile west from the road or harbour of Kirkwall. Like the rest it bears externally the form of a truncated cone, the height of which is about fourteen feet, and the circumference at the base three hundred and eighty-four; but whether, like them also, it be surrounded by one or two circular walls, the quantity of rubbish prevented us from discovering, though, that it is so, is very probable. In one respect it differs from most of them, as it stands alone, and at a distance from the shore; whereas in general, they are situated on the shores of the sea, and several of them at no great distance from, and in full view of, one another, as if they were some way or other connected, or had been intended for mutual communication.

"Internally it consists of several cells or apartments, the principal one of which is in the centre, twenty-one feet six inches long, six feet six inches broad, and eleven feet six inches high, built, without any cement, with large flat stones, the one immediately above projected over that below, so as gradually to contract the space within as the building rises, till the opposite walls meet at the top, where they are bound together by large stones laid across, to serve as it were for key-stones. Six other apartments of an exactly similar form, constructed with the same sort of materials, and united in the same manner, but of little more than half the dimensions, communicate with this in the centre, each by a passage about two feet square, on a level with the floor; and the whole may be considered as connected together by a passage of nearly the same extent from without, which leads into this chief apartment. So far as can now be discovered, there does not appear ever to have been, in any part of the building, either chink or hole for the admission of air or light; and this circumstance alone is sufficient to shew that it had not been destined for the abode of men. The contents were accordingly such as might have been naturally expected in such a gloomy mansion. None of those things which have been discovered in similar places, were found here; but the earth at the bottom of the cells, as deep as it could be dug, was of a dark colour, of a greasy feel, and of a fetid odour, plentifully inter-

mingled with bones, some of which were almost entirely consumed; and others had, in defiance of time, remained so entire, as to shew that they were the bones of men, of birds, and of some domestic animals. But though many of them had nearly mouldered into dust, they exhibited no marks of having been burnt; nor were ashes of any kind to be seen within any part of the building. In one of the apartments, an entire human skeleton, in a prone attitude, was found; but in the others, the bones were not only separated from one another, but divided into very small fragments."

A ground-plan accompanies the description, with admeasurements of the seven apartments.

In the natural history of the Orkneys, Dr. Barry observes,—"There would be no great difficulty in giving a full and complete statement of the various productions that are to be found in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdom." The public may lament that the Dr., as he found the task so easy, has not performed it: for there cannot be a question, that next to the history of man, a description of the surface of the planet he inhabits, and its multifarious productions, must be considered of importance: and if the account would not have amused the ordinary reader, it would have augmented the stock of natural knowledge. For we are not, and probably others will not be, convinced, that "if persons well skilled in the knowledge of natural history were to examine these islands, they would have soon to conclude, that little new was to be expected from this country." This may be an apology for his declining to investigate such subjects, because they may appear to him uninteresting; but we must object to this illegitimate mode of closing the book of science, this mode of damping the ardour of the more scientific and indefatigable traveller.

Dr. Barry's mineralogy of the islands is an abridgment of Jameson's account of the mineralogy of the Shetland and Orkney Islands.

Next follows a list of indigenous plants, with their English names: but without even classical arrangement. The index is confused indeed, and seems furnished by some other hand; as the trivial names differ. The English names, which belong to particular species, are frequently placed opposite the genera. This must tend to mislead persons not well skilled in botany. Thus Devil's-bit is put opposite to *Scabiosa*, though it belongs exclusively to *Sedum succisa*; Primrose to *Primula*, though it

applies only to *P. Verna*, &c. *Beta maritima* is here called vulgaris, though growing on the sea-shore. In the list of plants we find none but what are described in the *Flora Scotica* of Lightfoot, unless *Plantago uniflora*, and *Galium montanum*, may be considered exceptions. The Habitats are general, except a few particularized in the island of Hoy. They however appear in some instances, different from those generally known to botanists, viz. the Habitat of *Alchemilla vulgaris* is given—"Banks of Rivulets;" *Sagina procumbens*, "Houses and Walls;" *Hedera Helix*, "Banks of Rivulets;" *Spergularia arvensis*, "Marshy;" and *Thalictrum minus*, "Sandy Places." If these are from actual observation, they are valuable information; if not, they are without authority. The Doctor professes "to leave such discoveries to those who have more time and leisure for such researches."

Our author's zoological remarks commence with the finny tribes; and, as might be expected from the situation of the isles in the northern ocean, the grand store-house of fish, it is a prolific list. But we do not notice one in the enumeration, which has not been described by the laborious Pennant in his *British Zoology*. In the references to names, the Doctor sometimes quotes the *British Pliny*, and at other times resorts to the system of *Linnaeus*: a motley mode of elucidation we cannot account for.

From the surface as well as the situation of the country, abounding with marshy lands, lochs, &c. and accompanied by desolate holmes and skerries, maritime, emigrating, and rapacious birds, are very numerous. But in this list we find not a single non-descript: all are equally well described in Pennant: a few haunts peculiar to Orkney are all that is new on this subject.

The islands abound with rabbits, though destitute of hares: and the Doctor supposes there might have been deer formerly, because the horns of that animal have been dug up in peat grounds. They are unmolested by the ravenous wolf, and subtle fox: and except the poor calumniated toad, no venomous animal finds an asylum in the Orkneys.

Among domestic animals the hog claims the first place. He is represented as very different from the ordinary race of pigs; and though ugly in appearance, and injurious in his habits, yet he fully compensates for these imperfections, by the flavor of his flesh, and the utility of his

hide. His bristles are made into ropes, which are applied to different purposes.

The sheep of the Orkneys are similar to those of the Shetland isles; and though they are suffered to run wild, subject to the intemperance of a cold climate, yet their wool is tolerably fine; but the flesh is indifferent. They are prolific, bringing forth two, and sometimes three, lambs at a time: and they prove the fallacy of the theoretical and unfounded assertion of Buffon, that this animal cannot live without the fostering care, or even the protection, of man.—No more attention is paid to the young than to the full-grown animals: for while many of them are suffered to become the prey of birds in the distant holmes, those nearer home are not made the most of. They never wash the sheep previous to shearing, but take the wool from the animal by rowing; which Dr. Barry considers as a cruel custom; and it is still practised in Orkney as well as in Iceland. Dr. Anderson, however, considers "this as a most rational method for this breed of sheep; which, he says, is the most uncontaminated race of wool-bearing sheep he has yet met with: the wool rising so entirely from the skin about the beginning of June, as to render the shearing of their sheep unnecessary. For it may be plucked off at that time without occasioning the animal the smallest uneasiness: as it will fall off of itself, if not taken away; the young wool springing up beneath it like a newly shorn fleece." Bath Soc. Papers, vol. viii. Though the wool is fine, the fleece is very light, even when compared with the diminutive size of the animal; seldom reaching, and never exceeding, one pound and a half per fleece; and when washed, little more than one pound. Most of it is manufactured in the islands into coarse cloths, stockings, &c. principally for domestic uses, with some little for exportation.

The oxen are small, though useful for labour; and their cows, though poor, are well milked. When fatted, an ox seldom exceeds 60lb., and a cow seldom reaches 45lb. per quarter.

Horses were formerly all purchased from Scotland, and the injurious practice still in part continues: whereby quantities of ready money are drained from the islands, so requisite for necessary improvements; while they have so much cheap land which cannot at present pay so well as by depasturing breeding-cattle.

If the accounts of levies for armies be a just criterion of the numbers of a people

in any country, the population of Orkney in ancient times must have far exceeded the present. If they could furnish 10,000 fighting men, the present number of inhabitants, 24,000 from actual survey, is a diminished population indeed. However, from present appearances in the islands, and a retrospect of former enumerations, there is reason to suppose the accounts have not been greatly exaggerated. Though Dr. Barry thinks the population has been for centuries stationary, yet he invalidates immediately his own position, by observing that emigration has for many years been increasing, and is at this period very great; not less than from 400 to 500 of the youth annually quitting the country. "If this were not, the case, the population, instead of being stationary or retrograde, might increase to 40 or 50,000 in the course of a few generations." Why, we may ask the Doctor, this might not have been the case at the time when the inhabitants lived under the fostering care of a race of earls, who, being resident among them, were desirous of their welfare: under an equitable constitution at home, by which they enjoyed a lucrative commerce, and protected by the most potent monarchy then existing in the north? Nay, Dr. Barry's oracle, Torfæus, informs us, that they not only had the advantage of a free commerce with most nations; but that they were enabled to build several large ships, and to pursue an extensive trade for themselves! Our author classes the present inhabitants in three divisions: gentlemen; tradesmen and shop-keepers; and cultivators of the soil, with their attendant cottars or cottagers. The first, he thinks, do not pay sufficient attention either to cherish a spirit of industry in the lower and middling classes, or to set a profitable example. The ladies of the Orkneys, however, receive a high, and, we doubt not, a just encomium for their domestic virtues and exemplary piety. Of the second-class, he observes, they are often accused of exorbitancy in their demands, and dishonesty in their dealings; yet to an impartial observer they will be found in the general as respectable as most in the same line of life. The cultivators of the soil, who make about eight-tenths of the people, are represented as very poor, and possessed of but little stock, and fewer means of increasing it. If idleness should be prevalent, and agriculture at a very low ebb, it must cease to be matter of surprize; for it is the possession as well as the hope of wealth that is a stimulus to

labour, and the great encouragement to industry. While the greater part of the money is drawn away from the islands by the great proprietors, or spent in useless luxury by those resident, much amelioration, either of the soil or the condition of the people, cannot be expected. In enumerating the obstacles to improvement, the Doctor adverts to the feudal system, which, though it perhaps never prevailed here to its full extent, yet a remainder of it is still visible in rents being paid in kind, and labour obtained as service, and the ancient and long-sanctioned usage of stiet-bow, that is, a quantity of stock delivered by the landlord for the use of the occupier of the farm on his entering on it, which, on quitting, he is bound to restore, seems to confirm the same. And if feudal tenures were only known after the Reformation, either here or in Scotland, what is the meaning of the extract of a charter of Robert I. quoted by Nisbet, in which Adam Adamson and his four sons are declared free? Nay, to the very hour, Dr. Barry assures us, the peasantry are the slaves of their masters, not by feudal, yet by prescriptive bondage.

The tenures previous to this period were udal, and the proprietors were called udallers, which the author derives from two Gothic words, signifying ancient property. But may it not rather come from the British words udd lard or master and all, meaning the whole, i. e. complete proprietors? Buchahan mentions them in the *Proceres Orcadium*, the Nobles of Orkney. The progress of feudal tenures, if it commenced at the Reformation, must have been rapid; for udal or allodial estates are almost obliterated, nearly the whole of them being now in fee or feu.

The farms of Orkney are small; seldom exceeding forty acres, and often less than ten, with a portion of waste ground for pasture. Their instruments of agriculture are extremely awkward, their mode of ploughing bad, and their neglect of manures notorious.

The custom of herrying, that is, piling off the sward from the grass lands to mix with sea-weed for manure, is truly a most injurious custom: for, after all the labour and expence of the husbandman, the damage to the grazing part of the farm is more than equivalent to the advantage derived to the arable lands.

A more rational husbandry has, however, been partially introduced; several new sorts of seed have been tried; and turnips have succeeded beyond expecta-

tion. A curious fact is here also stated, "that neither the black fly, nor any other destructive insect, nor the aubery, is known, nor do they seem liable to any other distemper." Flax is but partially cultivated; and hemp has hitherto been totally neglected. Though we remark many defects in the agriculture of the island, yet we felt happy in being informed, "that the annual produce is more than adequate to the consumption; and though, from failure of crops, grain has in some years been imported, yet on the average of years the importation has never been equal to the exportation: and if the lands were properly cultivated, it would be adequate to fourfold its present population."

If its agriculture be at a low ebb, its manufacture and commerce are still more so: for except linen-yarn, the flax for which is principally imported, and the burning of sea-weed for kelp, there is none deserving the appellation. A pleasing description of the latter manufacture is given by Dr. Barry, p. 371. Their exports and imports, though few, have been increasing these last thirty years.

Our author closes his account with the fisheries, which, in common with other writers, he describes as most miserably neglected. This must be the more regretted, because the encouragement of them would not only call forth the latent energies, and produce considerable wealth, but become an admirable nursery for the bulwark of Britain, her extensive commerce and her formidable navy. The situation of the islands is peculiarly adapted for such an establishment upon the most extensive scale: and nothing can so much contribute to the welfare of a country as the encouragement of such branches of trade as are best adapted for the situation of its component parts. To this wise policy was it owing, in a great measure, that the Dutch, with a territory neither large nor naturally rich, raised themselves to a degree of consequence, which long rendered them an object of wonder and envy to the surrounding nations. Though most of the plans Dr. Barry points out as modes of amelioration have been suggested before, particularly in that invaluable work, *The Political Survey of Great Britain*, yet they are urged with additional force by the accompanying remarks. Nor can there be a doubt, that if they were adopted, and all ranks anywise connected with the country were to concur in the measures, a very general and ex-

tensive improvement would soon take place: we should behold with pleasure a more interesting order of things; agriculture, trade, commerce, and navigation, would be rivalling each other; the inhabitants would become more numerous, more industrious, and more happy; and Orkney, instead of an useless province, become a valuable portion of the British empire.

Dr. Barry's language is generally good, and his style, though not energetic, tolerably perspicuous. A few quaint expressions, such as, "both one and the other" for both—"two weeks" for a fortnight—"in time coming" for in future—"operated these changes" for effected these changes—"as fast as they could" for with haste, disfigure the style; and the recurrence of such words as follow destroy the purity of language: feued for held in fee—tannery for tanyard—advices for opinion—transference for transfer—contentment for content—pendicle for a rocky isle separated from another by some supposed convulsion of nature. A stricted can never properly explain the provincial term thirled, meaning the law by which so many farms are bound to support a mill. These are, however, trifling blemishes, which in a future edition may easily be removed. We notice them, because the authority of such a writer might sanction their use.

On the whole we must observe, that the author in this work has brought together much useful information, on a subject but little known; and where we have not been instructed, we have been generally pleased. Notwithstanding we have been under the necessity of objecting to several of his opinions, and of decidedly refusing to acquiesce in referring every thing to Scandinavian origin, yet we think he possesses great merit; and the *History of the Orkneys* may be ranked among the many valuable acquisitions to topography has received within these few years.

We have just heard the unwelcome intelligence that the learned author, while the work was making its appearance, paid the debt of nature: and therefore any further elucidation of the history and present state of this interesting part of the empire must be looked for to another quarter. We feel indebted to Dr. Barry for what he has done, ardently wishing he had possessed more time to have furnished the world with further information; and

while we regret that his must now be posthumous fame, we hope that his family will be materially benefited by his indefatigable labours.

ART. II.—*The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, displayed in a series of Select Engravings, representing the most beautiful, curious, and interesting ancient Edifices of this Country, with an historical and descriptive Account of each Subject. By J. BRITTON. Parts 1, 2, and 3. 4to.*

UPON the subject of *English architecture*, though much has been already written, still more is left to be explained. The observation of Quintilian, however, is not applicable here. It was his remark,

‘ Felices essent artes, si de illis soli Artifices judicarent.’

But to elucidate the history of our ancient structures, more knowledge than the architect possesses is required. The task of investigation demands the antiquary's aid; and goes much farther than the mere principles of mechanism on which the buildings, however simple, were constructed.

The history of the art begins with us but at a late period. Of its existence among the aboriginal Britons we can say but little with exactness. With the exception of Stonehenge, and a few huts in part built of stone, though raised entirely without the use of mortar, we have no remains which evince to us either the efficacy or extent of their mechanic powers: and though a new and a surprising change ensued on the arrival of the Romans, we have reason to believe that few of their best works were ever erected in their provinces. Indeed, the specimens of Roman art with which this country was adorned, could not have been extremely numerous, unless we suppose the subsequent inhabitants to have exterminated every relic which might have marked their subjection at a former period: and of this it does not appear that we have proof. For instances occur, in various parts of the kingdom, where the Roman style and manner have not only been copied by the Saxons, but their very materials adopted, and worked sometimes into the old, and sometimes into a new form.

But a systematic and progressive view of English architecture, formed upon correct data, can only begin with the more regular structures of the Saxons. To speak of these however, as built in a style peculiar to the Saxons, is wrong: for though a few of their mouldings may have a character appropriate to themselves, the outline of the style was, at that day, the common architecture of the whole of

Europe; and is as strongly marked in the more ancient churches of Italy, as in the older parts of the Moorish palace of Alhambra. After the arrival of the Normans an enlarged style was introduced; the first instance of which had before appeared in the abbey church of Westminster, constructed by Edward the Confessor: in a short period it attained the height of its perfection, and was suddenly succeeded by a style essentially different in every leading feature; the earliest and the best specimens of which, in all its periods, are only to be seen in England. The arch, instead of round, became pointed like a lancet, while the shaft that supported it was slender: in some cases the column became octangular; and in others, its massive form was gradually changed into a cluster of small ones. Practice and refinement appear to have given new beauties to the style we have described; and in the course of two centuries it arrived at the summit of its perfection as a science. The introduction of stained glass coalesced in the production of effect, and gave new and extended modifications to many of its parts; till profusion of ornament, detracting rather than adding to its real character, it declined: and in the reign of Henry the eighth the Greek style was introduced.

Such, and so ample, is the field in which Mr. Britton has engaged to exercise his talents; and if we may judge from the specimens he has already given, a curious and a valuable work will be at length produced; formed upon certain data, and uninfluenced by theoretic bias. He sets out with no favourite system to support, nor does he yet pretend to present the reader with any thing like a progressive view of our architectural antiquities. Detached specimens are taken from different periods, and the exact times both of their original erections and subsequent alterations are correctly ascertained. The more interesting parts, as well as the *total ensemble* of the building, are given in distinct plates; and each description left unpaged, either to suit the convenience of the amateur, or to combine more easily with the general history, which we presume will hereafter form the *preface*.

The buildings already selected are as creditable to the talents of the author as to the graver of the artist, and we cannot speak in terms too strong to do justice to their merits.

The first part opens with several views of the priory of St. Botolph, Colchester; a structure in itself anomalous: since in the midst of Roman materials it exhibits a singular deviation from the general specimens both of the Roman and the Saxon styles. Mr. Britton refers its erection previous to the reign of Henry the first; though the priory was founded about the year 1102. The selection in this instance has our strongest approbation, as the subject forms a complete study of itself, not only to the antiquary but the curious artist. The priory at Dunstable, in Bedfordshire, forms another specimen; and its architectural history we believe has never before received so much elucidation. Its most curious feature is the western front; which may be considered, Mr. Britton observes, as one of those architectural paradoxes bequeathed by our ancestors to puzzle modern antiquaries. In the lower part of the building is a grand arch, acknowledged to be of the time of Henry the first, which merits attention not more for its antiquity than its enrichments. An adjoining door-way is evidently of the thirteenth century; and Mr. Britton fixes its date at 1273. The columns, arches, pedestals for statues, mouldings, and ornaments composing the decorations of the battresses, recesses, and gallery of the exterior, are of the earliest pointed style, as are the ornaments at the base of the belfry tower: while the tower itself, with its variegated masonry, and the battlements on the body of the church, indicate the mode of building peculiar to the sixteenth century. The third specimen exhibits the tower gate-way of Layer Marney Hall in Essex, and shews the state of domestic architecture in the reign of Henry the eighth; when the dissolution of the monasteries occasioned an extraordinary change in the features of the time. The real castellated character of a baronial mansion was now no longer seen, though a few of its peculiarities were retained. The gate-way, with two octagonal projecting towers, above seventy feet in height is now the principal relic of Layer Marney mansion. It is of red brick with chequered compartments of flint; and, like the gate-way which till lately remained in the same county, at Nether Hall, displayed much grandeur

and external dignity. The last specimen in the first number is the church of St. Nicholas at Abingdon, supposed to have been built about 1300 by abbot Nicholas de Coleham. The circular door-way, however, at the west end, with zig-zag ornaments, is supposed by Mr. Lysons, in his *Magna Britannia*, to be of a much earlier age.

The second part of Mr. Britton's work is entirely devoted to King's College chapel at Cambridge: it is illustrated with a plan, sections, and views; and from the nature of its details, will be as acceptable to the professional enquirer as to the antiquary.

"It was observed by Dr. Henry, that there is a certain perfection in art to which human genius may aspire with success, but beyond which, it is the apprehension of many, that improvement degenerates into false taste and fantastic refinement. This axiom is amply exemplified in the history of ancient architecture. The heavy simplicity of the Saxon was supplanted, in the twelfth century, by the lofty magnificence of the *pointed* style: but three centuries after, magnificence itself was exhausted, and the chapel of King's College is, perhaps, the only specimen in which the *perfection and decline* of what has been absurdly termed the Gothic style may be completely seen. In the eastern part of the structure, we have the most elegant and pure example of the art. Here decoration is sufficient, without profusion; and the greater and smaller members are judiciously proportioned to produce that architectural symmetry which at once pleases the eye and satisfies the mind. The western part of the building, though executed in the same style, is rather too much encumbered with ornament; and the wood-work screen which separates the chapel into two parts, serves only to show that the good taste which guided the original architect, a century before, had departed in the days of Henry the eighth. This displays the Italian or Melange style of building, which was principally brought into fashion by Hans Holbein and John of Padua.

"Henry the sixth, who all writers seem to have allowed would have made a better figure in a cloister, than a court, was only nine months old at his accession to the throne. In his natural disposition he was weak and ductile, though, at the same time, more deeply tinctured with devotion than was common, even to the general complexion of the times. The kings, his predecessors, who were less pious than himself, had been liberal, even to extravagance, in the erection and endowment of religious houses; and Henry, who, to a piety which was little encumbered with state transactions, added the zeal and generosity peculiar to youth, endeavoured, in the present work, to eclipse their efforts. His first design for building was upon a small

scale, yet afterwards he extended it so largely that Henry himself foresaw it could not possibly be finished in his life-time. He left instructions, therefore, with a view to its completion, in his will; and detailed a plan which while it reflects the highest credit, at least on the grandeur of his devotional ideas, evinces that, though the architects of those times were unguided by the cold rules of proportion, they still worked upon acknowledged principles: and reconciled solidity and lightness with a better grace than the best artists of what may be termed the classic æra. It is enough to say they understood *effect*, and that in their efforts to attain it, they never weakened the buildings they erected.

"Henry's first foundation, in 1411, was for a rector and twelve scholars only; but his second was for a provost and *seventy* scholars, who, owing to the incompletion of the monarch's designs, were long confined to the few and inconvenient apartments provided for the smaller society. The plan which Henry had projected in the second instance, was proportionable to the number of people for whose maintenance he had made provision: but a *part* of the chapel only, which formed the north side of an intended quadrangle, was all that the troubles of his reign allowed him to erect. According to Henry's will, the chapel itself was to contain, in length, two hundred and eighty-eight feet of *'assize'*, without aisles; and all of the width of forty feet. The walls were to be ninety feet in height, embattled, vaulted, and *'chare-roffed'*, sufficiently buttressed, and every buttress finished with purfled pinnacles or little spires with flower-work. The window at the west end was to have *'nine days'*, and the windows in the sides five days: betwixt every buttress in the body of the church, on both sides, were to be *'closets'*, or small side chapels, with altars; they were to be in length twenty, and in breadth ten feet, and the pavement of the choir was to be a foot and a half above the pavement of the church.

"How far this building was advanced previous to Henry's death is not satisfactorily ascertained, though it is generally admitted that the eastern end was raised some feet above the ground, and a small portion of the north and south walls were built. The rest was left for his successors, though the whole was not entirely finished till after the year 1530."

The expences of the undertaking are next detailed: but as they were in part printed by Malden, we shall not extract

them here. The sums accounted for between 1479 and 1515, amount to no less than 13,624*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* exclusive of the painted glass and the fitting up of the interior of the chapel. The ground-plan, with the groining of the roof, forms one of the most curious illustrations in the plates; and the view of the interior from the screen, does great credit to the artist who engraved it. The appendix contains such parts of the will of Henry the seventh, as throw light upon the history of the structure, with the indentures relating to the building.

The last which we shall here notice, and perhaps the best, is the third part, in which we have an *'essay toward the history of temples and round churches.'*

"Among the most ancient (if not really the very first) species of *circular temples*, were those rude piles of stones, which are usually denominated druidical.* These are almost uniformly disposed in a circle, and consist of one, two, or four concentric rows of upright *unwrought* stones.† Several of these, of various dimensions and figures, are still remaining in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, Scotland, Ireland, and other parts of the British islands; also in Brittany, Denmark, &c. but the most considerable in size, and popular in estimation, are those of *Stonehenge*, and *Avebury*, in Wiltshire. The former has obtained extraordinary celebrity; but the temple at the latter place, though upon a much *more stupendous scale*, and surprising plan, is seldom alluded to by antiquaries, and scarcely known even to Englishmen.‡ Its centre consisted of a *circular range of immense stones*, one hundred in number, with *four other circles* within the area. The whole was environed with a deep ditch, and high bank. Diverging from this were two avenues, or double rows of upright stones, which extended a mile each way from the centre, and at the extremity of one of these avenues, were two *oval ranges of upright stones.*"

After this Mr. Britton briefly notices a few of the temples in other countries, which were built upon the circular plan; and particularly points out to notice those which were erected by the Romans. The most popular of these, he observes, was the Pantheon, commonly supposed to have

* "Moses rose early in the morning, and buikled an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars." Exodus, chap. xxiv. v. 4. See also the first volume of King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, where the author has described, and referred to, numerous stone circles, or temples.

† *Stonehenge*, I believe, is the only example in Britain, where the stones have been squared, or shaped with tools; whence the Welsh antiquaries infer that it is not a purely druidical structure.

‡ Stukely wrote a dissertation on it, which he published in a folio volume, with numerous plates, in 1743; but as this work is scarce and dear, it is only to be found in the libraries of the curious, and consequently is only read by a few persons.

was erected by M. Agrippa; though Pausanias is of opinion, that the body, or circular part, was built in the time of the republic, and the portico only added by Agrippa. It was repaired A. D. 607, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, by Pope Boniface IV.; and, in three years after, it was again dedicated to all the saints by Pope Gregory IV. From these facts Britton proceeds to the *round churches* of England, which not only constitute a singular and rare class of ancient edifices, but are eminently interesting to the architectural antiquary.

The origin of round churches, in England, has been generally attributed to the Jews. This opinion was very prevalent in Cambridge, till Mr. Essex corrected it by his historical observations, which were published in the sixth volume of the *Archæologia*. 'Their temple at Jerusalem,' he observes, 'was not of the circular form, neither was the tabernacle of Moses; nor do we find the modern Jews affect that figure in building their synagogues. If has, however, been generally supposed, that the round church at Cambridge, that at Northampton, and some others, were built, for synagogues, by the Jews, and that they were permitted to dwell in those places; but as no probable reason can be assigned for this supposition, and I think it is very certain that the Jews, who were settled at Cambridge, had their synagogue, and probably dwelled together, in a part of the town now called the Jewry, so we may reasonably conclude, the round churches we find in other parts of this kingdom were not built by the Jews, for synagogues, whatever the places may be called in which they stand.' As these churches are evidently not of Roman architecture, and as they were not erected by the Jews, we are naturally curious to ascertain when, and by whom, they were built. There appear to be four perfect examples of these buildings in England: St Sepulchre's church at Cambridge, St Sepulchre's church at Northampton, the Temple church London, and a small church at Little Maplested, Essex. All these, with one that was at Temple Bruer, and one at Aslackby, Lincolnshire, are generally attributed to the knights Templars,* during their power and prosperity in England. This singular religious order of 'knights-errant' obtained their organization and fame in the vicinity of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

"It is the general opinion of writers,

that this sacred structure was built by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great; but, unfortunately, none of these writers have identified the part then built, or described its size, character, or style of architecture. Besides, we are informed that Charlemagne, (A. D. 813.) *rebuilt* this venerated edifice. 'The east end,' observes Mr. Essex, 'I take to be of his building, containing the semicircular tribune; but the intermediate part, between it and the sepulchre, is more modern, and might be rebuilt when the church was restored, in the year 1049, after it was defaced by the Saracens towards the end of the tenth century.'† Bede, speaking of this structure, describes it as a large *round church*, with *three walls* and twelve pillars; but the precise disposition of these walls and pillars is not specified.‡ The round part of the present building materially differs from this description. It consists of a semicircular wall, which attaches to a large mass of buildings on the east, and a little within the wall is a circular colonnade, consisting of sixteen columns and piers, with an open space for four others, towards the east.§ The circular part of the building is of Roman architecture, and its roof, which is mostly of cedar, gradually diminishes from its base upwards, and terminates with a round aperture. This shape is rather singular, as it differs from the usual form and construction of domes, or cupolas. The other parts of the building consist of several chapels, oratories, passages, towers, &c. and on the south side is displayed several examples of *painted arched* doors and windows, with corresponding *clustered columns*. Sandys, Le Bruyn, and Maundrell, who have all visited this place, are so extremely vague and unsatisfactory in their respective accounts, (I cannot apply the term of *history*, or *description*,) that they prove more tantalizing than gratifying to our curiosity.

"This sacred structure was revered, by the holy knights, above all earthly objects; their enthusiasm had endowed its every stone with marvellous qualities; and they foolishly fancied it a secure passport to heaven, if they lost their lives in defence of the building. As it was their province to protect Christian pilgrims against the Saracens, and as they were originally instituted and stationed at the church of the Holy Sepulchre, it seems extremely probable that they would imitate that structure, when they were afterwards distributed in companies over Europe, and when they had occasion to erect a *new church*. This appears actually to have been the case with those that settled in England; for we have

* The Templars had numerous other places of residence in England, where they established preceptories, &c. In Strype's edition of Stow, 1720, Vol. I. p. 270, it is said that they had *temples* at London, Cambridge, Bristol, Canterbury, Dover, Warwick, &c.

† *Archæologia*, VI. p. 169.

‡ Resurrectionis Dominice *rotunda ecclesia* tribus cincta parietibus, duodecim columnis sustentatur. (De Locis Sanctis, Cap. 2.)

§ See the ground-plan in Sandys's Travels. I have also been favoured with a view of a model of this church, now in the possession of the learned author of *Munimenta Antiqua*.

already seen that they had circular churches at several places,* and some of these were dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, or Sanctum Sepulchrum. Perhaps the most ancient of these is that at Cambridge, which I now proceed to describe."

The first of the churches engraved, evidently the oldest of the form in England, is that of St. Sepulchre at Cambridge, built in the reign of Henry the first. The upper story of the tower, however, is of the time of Edward the second; and the east end, or chancel, with a northern aisle (marked in the ground-plan by a lighter colouring), is of the date of 1313. St. Sepulchre's church, Northampton, forms the second subject; the circular part of which is attributed by Mr. Britton to the close of the twelfth or beginning of the

thirteenth century, about the time when the use of the pointed arch became first prevalent. The third is the Temple church in London; the exterior wall of the circular part of which, with the great western door, Mr. Britton considers as the remains of the original building of 1185; but the six clustered columns within, with the incumbent arches, and the whole of the square church, he seems justly to attribute to the reign of Henry the third.

Here, for the present, we leave the 'architectural antiquities'; their accuracy and their elegance will at least do permanent honour to the talents of their author. The public must decide in regard to their encouragement.

ART. III.—*The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity, with Anecdotes of eminent Men.* By EDWARD MILLER, Mus. D. 4to. pp. 443.

THE county of York, though the most extensive of any division in England, and comprehending within its boundaries almost every subject that can engage and interest the topographer, antiquary, and natural historian, has never yet been honoured with a complete local history. A few works have been published relating to particular towns and districts in the county: among these the present publication now claims our attention; and demands from us such an analysis and account as will enable our readers to appreciate its character and the abilities of the author. In discharging this duty, we shall endeavour to gratify the expectations of the former, and render strict justice to the latter.

Dr. Miller, in a dedication to the mayor and corporation of Doncaster, observes, that he has now enjoyed an appointment under them for nearly *half a century*. He must, therefore, be far advanced in years,

and from so long a residence in the town, must, or ought to be, well acquainted with its local history and characteristics; and we are entitled to expect ample and well-authenticated accounts of all the principal events which are directly or collaterally connected with his primary subject. In the introduction he develops his plan, and furnishes us with something like a clue to judge of the work.

"This history of Doncaster," he observes, "with the principal towns and villages in its vicinity, it is hoped will afford the reader both entertaining and useful information.

"The receptacles of the dead are here explored—their virtues, their charities, their geniuses recorded.—The learned divine—the brave warrior—the renowned statesman—the ingenious artist, and industrious farmer, all claim a place in these pages.

"The country within this district is picturesque and delightful; it contains so many beauties of nature and vestiges of art, that the description may afford ample scope both for

* "The German writer of 'Voyage en Sicile & dans la Grande Grèce, adressé à l'Abbé Winckelman, Lausanne, 8vo. 1773,' gives this description of a church of St. Sepulchre at Brindisi, the ancient Brundisium. 'On donne l'Eglise du St. Sepulchre pour un temple antique; c'étoit une rotonde; cet édifice n'est point du bon tems de l'architecture: sa forme n'est pas parfaitement circulaire, & il n'y a point de portique à l'entrée, et il décrit un demi-cercle différent, qui ne fait point corps avec le reste du bâtiment; ce qui lui donne une irrégularité désagréable. L'on reconnoit aussi le mauvais goût du tems de la décadence des arts aux ornemens de l'ancienne porte qui est murée aujourd'hui. Cet édifice est vouté, & soutenu entièrement par des colonnes de marbre.'

"This person, who was over head and ears in Roman and Grecian antiquities, would not have thought it worth his while to have taken notice of an ancient Christian temple, as this is no doubt, had he not mistaken it for a pagan one. The description answers exactly to our church of the Holy Sepulchre at Cambridge." British Museum, Cole's MSS. Vol. II. p. 46.

the genius of the poet, and the researches of the antiquary.

"The author, well aware that he is neither possessed of invention requisite for one character, nor of scientific knowledge for the other, would not have presumed to offer this work to the public, had he not been favoured with the kind assistance of many learned friends in the neighbourhood. Their communications have extricated him out of many difficulties, which might otherwise have proved insurmountable; and their kindness and approbation have not only encouraged him to persevere in this undertaking, but to pursue it with gratification and delight.

"Should it be asked why this work was not consigned to abler hands? the answer is, authors of genius will rarely submit to the drudgery of compiling; and, perhaps, there is no species of composition which requires more zeal in inquiry, or more labour in procuring and arranging the materials, than in works similar to this now offered to the public.

"To accomplish his purpose, the author has not been satisfied with mere verbal intelligence, nor relied entirely on the kind communications of friends; but has also found it necessary to visit every church, town, and village, of which he has given a description."

After a few more introductory remarks, and acknowledgments to gentlemen who assisted him with information, &c. the author commences his regular history, by a few observations on the west riding of the county of York in general. As Doncaster, and the other towns described in this volume, are all situated in this division of the county, the Doctor, in a very concise manner, notices its boundaries, dimensions, divisions, rivers, &c. and proceeds in his second section, to the 'Natural History of Doncaster, and its vicinity.'—The second section treats of the climate, situation, air, water, soil, vegetables, minerals, and other traits of natural history, which, according to our author, belong to Doncaster, and its vicinity: but the greater part of these are not alone peculiar to this neighbourhood, or even to Yorkshire; they are very general throughout England. In a confined work like this, which relates to a single district of a county, we think it wrong to extend its pages, and enhance its price, by 'Biography,' as it is absurdly termed, of the hedgehog, badger, and various species of birds and beasts, which are very common in almost every part of the kingdom. The practice of thus multiplying books, without adding to the stock of literary information, is among the growing evils of the times.

The general state of agriculture, of woods, and plantations, is the subject of

section III.; in which are introduced some observations on cropping trees, and planting hedges. The latter subject is descanted on in an extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Having, in the next section, slightly touched on the different names and etymologies of Doncaster, the author, in section V., treats of its ancient state and antiquities, with a description of Doncaster-cross, (of which a wood-cut is given,) and a Roman altar, discovered in 1781. The latter is minutely described and delineated in a print. The sixth section contains a chronological series of 'public and private grants, and other historical events,' relative to the ancient state of Doncaster. In this the author has detailed a particular account of Aske's rebellion, (temp. Hen. VIII.) which is mostly extracted from Rapin's History of England. The following section is devoted to the church, and its antiquities. A well-executed plate is given of the former, which is a large elegant pile of building, and displays the highly ornamented style of architecture which characterised the sacred edifices of the fifteenth century. Such, at least, we are induced to conclude from the print. The south side of the church, here represented, displays nearly an uniform style of architecture, and hence we are led to infer that so much of it was built at one period. The author, however, denies this, and endeavours to prove that the east end was raised "in the fifth year of William the Conqueror, who began his reign 1066."—"As for the present elegant tower," he continues, "its architecture shews it to be of a later period; and it was most probably built during the reign of Henry III. when a great number of our present churches were built." The only authority adduced to justify this opinion is a stone, inscribed 1071, which Doctor Miller possesses, and which he says was taken out of the east end of the wall, about six years ago. Concerning the date of the tower he merely gives us *conjecture*, which appears to be equally fallacious with the inscription: both are doubtful; for the style of windows, &c. at the south-east end exactly correspond with those of the west, (at least, they are so represented in the print,) and the tower is evidently of a much later date than what the Doctor chooses to assign to it. If he will examine some of the churches of Lincolnshire, with their history, he will be likely to find a better criterion to judge of the date of this building, than in the writings of Mr.

Rastall, whose sentiments he quotes. Though the author is extremely concise and unsatisfactory in his *history* of the church, he is triflingly copious upon the tombs, epitaphs, organ, and arms, belonging to it: these are all visible *objects*, and epitaphs are easily transcribed. As connected with the church service, though not peculiarly apposite to the present history, the author informs us that he has "selected, adapted, and composed," some music for the Psalms of David: which has obtained most extraordinary celebrity; and "*the utility of which is evident.*" Had there been less egotism, we should have been better pleased with his remarks on psalmody, and on the caricature singers of country congregations in general.

"The psalmody in this church," he observes, "till the year 1790, was conducted upon the same plan as that of other parochial churches in this kingdom; where the parish clerk had the choice both of the words of a psalm, and the tune to be sung. His custom was to send the organist, not the words, but only the name of the tune, and how often it was to be repeated. Strange absurdity! How could the organist, placed in this degrading situation, properly perform his part of the church service? Not knowing the words, it was impossible for him to accommodate his music to the various sentiments contained in different stanzas; consequently, his must be a mere random performance, and frequently producing improper effects.

"The late vicar of Doncaster, the Rev. George Hay Drummond, about the above period, observing one Sabbath-day, that his clerk had chosen both the words and tune of a psalm so improperly as to occasion laughter in some part of the congregation, told me, that in order to remedy such an abuse in future, he would immediately employ himself in selecting the best stanzas in each psalm from the version of Tate and Brady, and arrange them for every Sunday and festival throughout the year, provided I would adapt them to proper music. I was instantly struck with the idea, and in performing my part, generally made choice of the most popular of our old and venerable melodies long used in the established church of England: when the work was finished, I had great encouragement to publish it, from its being, I believe, the first arrangement of psalms, with tunes annexed to them, and adapted for every Sunday throughout the year, that had been made since the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI.

"His present majesty was graciously pleased to patronize this work; as did also the archbishops, the bishops, and a great number of the inferior clergy. The names of subscribers, with the number of copies for which they subscribed, amounted to nearly 5000;

and most probably before that time, no musical publication in this kingdom had produced so large a list of subscribers.

"The utility of this work is evident. The choice, both of the words and music of a psalm, is no longer left to an ignorant clerk. In every church where this book is used, the organist has both the words and music of the psalm before him, and it must be his own fault if he do not make a judicious use of them, by observing the different sentiments conveyed in different stanzas, and by not overpowering the voices by the use of too many stops in his organ.

"No encouragement is given in this church to a detached set of singers, who are so frequently permitted in our villages to *harlequinade* music, by squeezing through their noses compositions, which they call *psalms*, to the amazement and derision of the sensible, un-employed part of the congregation.

"In parochial psalmody, no difficult music ought to be used. The tune should be so simple and easy, that all the congregation may readily join in this essential part of their duty; and this, according to the scriptures, they ought to do standing. Many there are, particularly those of rank and eminence, who do not join at all in this high art of devotion, or do it with the utmost indifference, irreverently sitting, while they address their God with the voice of supplication, praise, or thanksgiving, as if they sang only for their amusement, or to pass away a few idle minutes, while the minister ascends the pulpit."

From the subject of singing, the author immediately adverts to the organ; after describing which, he observes, that

"The reader may suppose what effect this fine instrument had on the parishioners, when erected in the year 1739, as the Rev. Mr. Fawkes, at that time curate, thought it necessary to preach an appropriate sermon on its being opened. Judge of the sublimity of this discourse by the following specimen: after having wound up his imagination to the highest pitch in praise of church-music, speaking of the organ, he said, 'But O what!—O what!—what shall I call thee by? thou divine box of sounds!'"

The remaining part of this section is occupied by a long indenture, relating to a library established in the church; with a catalogue of its books; and a list of livings, chantries, &c. in the deanry of Doncaster.

From what the author properly calls the "dry, and generally uninteresting matter, contained in part of the last section," the reader is led, in the following, to the contemplation of eminent men born in Doncaster, or residing in its neighbourhood. The most conspicuous of these are,

Thomas de Rotherham, archbishop of York (temp. Edw. IV.); Admiral Sir Martin Frobisher (temp. Eliz.); Sir Philip Monckton, and Sir Ralph Knight, who were both distinguished in the civil war of Charles the First; the former an adherent to the king, the latter to the parliament. The memoirs of these two gentlemen are given at considerable length, and relate to some memorable events of that period: those of Sir Philip are chiefly copied from his own hand-writing, and detail many skirmishes and battles that were fought in the civil war, in which he took every active part.

The present state of Doncaster is the subject of section IX., which treats of the population, corporation, public edifices, (with plates of the mansion-house, town-hall, theatre, and grand stand,) markets, fairs, bridges, chapels, hospital, dispensary, poor-house, schools, and manufactories, with a plate of a patent machine (Mr. Moore's) for cutting straw. A description of the theatre introduces some anecdotes of the celebrated G. A. Stevens, with the following characteristic letter, which was addressed by that eccentric genius to Dr. Miller:

"Dear Sir, "Yarmouth goal.

"When I parted from you, at Doncaster, I imagined, long before this, to have met with some oddities worth acquainting you with. It is grown a fashion of late to write lives: I have now, and for a long time have had leisure enough to undertake mine; but want materials for the latter part of it: for my existence now cannot properly be called living, but what the painters call still-life; having ever since February 13, been confined in this town goal for a London debt.

"As a hunted hare is always shunned by the happier herd, so am I deserted by the company,* my share taken off, and no support left me, save what my wife can spare me out of her's.

"Deserted in my utmost need,

"By those my former bounty fed.—

"With an economy, which 'till now I was a stranger to, I have made shift hitherto to victual my little garrison; but then it has been with the aid of my good friends and allies—my clothes. This week's eating finishes my last waistcoat: the next I must atone for my error: on bread and water.

"Themistocles had so many towns to furnish his table, and a whole city bore the charge of his meals. In some respects I am like him, for I am furnished by the labours of a multitude. A wig has fed me two days—the trimmings of a waistcoat as long—a pair of velvet breeches paid my washerwoman, and a ruffled shirt has found me in shaving. My coats I swallow by degrees: the sleeves I breakfasted

upon for weeks—the body, skirts, &c. served me for dinner two months—my silk stockings have paid my lodgings—and two pair of new pumps enabled me to smoke several pipes. It is incredible how my appetite (barometer-like) rises in proportion as my necessities make their terrible advances. I here could say something droll about a good stomach; but it is ill jesting with edge tools, and I am sure that is the sharpest thing about me.

"You may think I can have no sense, that while I am thus wretched I should offer at ridicule; but, sir, people constituted like me, with a disproportionate levity of spirits, are always most merry when they are most miserable; and quicken, like the eyes of the consumptive, which are always brightest the nearer a patient approaches to dissolution. However, to shew you I am not entirely lost to all reflection, I think myself poor enough to want a favour, and humble enough to ask it here. Sir, I might make an encomium on your good-nature and humanity, &c. but I shall not pay so bad a compliment to your understanding, as to endeavour, by a parade of phrases, to win it over to my interest. If you could, any night at a concert, make a small collection for me; it might be a means of obtaining my liberty; and you well know, sir, the first people of rank abroad, will perform the most friendly offices for the sick: be not, therefore, offended at the request of a poor, though a deservedly punished debtor.

"G. A. STEVENS.

"George Alexander Stevens began his career on the stage at Norwich, during my early years in that city (being my native place): he met with so much applause there, that he became ambitious to try his fortune in London; where he made his first attempt in the character of Hamlet. There was something in the manner of his acting, so unusual and strange to a London audience, that, during the first act, they suspended their judgment; but in the second, they began to hiss violently; on which he came forward, and addressing himself to the audience, 'What,' said he, 'you don't like it I find!—well, come—I'll give it you in a new taste.' He then began to burlesque the character in such a manner as drew from the audience repeated bursts of laughter and applause."

This section contains a list of the mayors of Doncaster, from 1493 to the present time; accompanied with a series of the most remarkable public events during that period; and concludes with a list of the principal persons residing near the town, in the years 1673 and 1804. The following anecdotes of Doctor Herschel, the eminent astronomer, at Slough, are new to us, and, we presume, will be amusing to our readers: they, at the same time, furnish a fair specimen of the author's style.

* Norwich company.

"As an account of this celebrated astronomer has lately appeared in the volume of Public Characters, for 1802, perhaps the compiler of that work, had he known them, would have made some use of the following particulars:

"It will ever be a gratifying reflection to me, that I was the first person by whose means this extraordinary genius was drawn from a state of obscurity. About the year 1760, as I was dining with the officers of the Durham militia, at Pontefract, one of them informed me, that they had a young German in their band as a performer on the hautboy, who had only been a few months in this country, and yet spoke English almost as well as a native: that, exclusive of the hautboy, he was an excellent performer on the violin, and if I chose to repair to another room, he should entertain me with a solo. I did so, and Mr. Herschel executed a solo of Giardini's, in a manner that surprized me. Afterwards, I took an opportunity to have a little private conversation with him, and requested to know if he had engaged himself to the Durham militia for any long period? He answered, 'No, only from month to month.' 'Leave them then,' said I, 'and come and live with me. I am a single man, and think we shall be happy together; doubtless your merit will soon entitle you to a more eligible situation.' He consented to my request, and came to Doncaster. It is true, at that time, my humble mansion consisted but of two rooms. However, poor as I was, my cottage contained a small library of well-chosen books; and it must appear singular, that a young German, who had been so short a time in England, should understand even the peculiarities of our language so well as to adopt Dean Swift for his favourite author. I took an early opportunity of introducing him at Mr. Copley's concert; and he presently began in

"Untwisting all the chains that tie

"The hidden soul of harmony.

For never before had we heard the concertos of Corelli, Geminiani, and Avison, or the overtures of Handel, performed more chastely, or more according to the original intention of the composers, than by Mr. Herschel. I soon lost my companion—his fame was presently spread abroad—he had the offer of scholars, and was solicited to lead the public concerts both at Wakefield and Halifax.

"About this time a new organ for the parish church of Halifax, was built by Snetzler; which was opened with an oratorio by the late well-known Joah Bates. Mr. Herschel and six others were candidates for the organist's place. They drew lots how they were to perform in rotation. My friend Herschel drew the third lot—the second performer was Mr. Wainwright, afterwards Doctor Wainwright, of Manchester, whose finger was so rapid that old Snetzler, the organ-builder, ran about the church, exclaiming, '*te tevel, te tevel, he run over te key like one cat, he will not give my pipkes room for to shpeak.*' During Mr.

Wainwright's performance I was standing in the middle aisle with Herschel. 'What chance have you,' said I, 'to follow this man?' He replied; 'I don't know; I am sure fingers will not do.' On which he ascended the organ-loft, and produced from the organ so uncommon a fullness—such a volume of slow solemn harmony, that I could, by no means, account for the effect. After this short extempore effusion, he finished with the old hundredth psalm tune, which he played better than his opponent.—'Aye, aye,' cried old Snetzler, '*tish is very goot, very goot indeet; I vil luf tish man, for he gives my pipkes room for to shpeak.*' Having, afterwards, asked Mr. Herschel by what means, in the beginning of his performance, he produced so uncommon an effect? He replied, 'I told you fingers would not do,' and producing two pieces of lead from his waistcoat pocket, 'One of these,' said he, 'I placed on the lowest key of the organ, and the other upon the octave above: thus, by accommodating the harmony, I produced the effect of four hands instead of two. However, as my leading the concert on the violin, is their principal object, they will give me the place in preference to a better performer on the organ; but I shall not stay long here, for I have the offer of a superior situation at Bath, which offer I shall accept.'"

Nearly half this volume is appropriated to the history and description of places in the vicinity of Doncaster. The Xth section embraces an extent of country about six miles in diameter, or within three miles from Doncaster; the central station. The XIth section is appropriated to those towns, villages, &c. which are between three and six miles of Doncaster. The principal places in this division are the towns of Tickhill and Conisbrough, with their castles: of the latter a circumstantial description is given, in the words of Mr. Mackley Browne, from the Gentleman's Magazine: engravings of this castle, and its connected antiquities, are also introduced. In section XII., the description is extended from six to ten miles; and includes brief accounts of several villages, and a few towns. The principal subjects are—the parish church and abbey of Roch, with monuments of the Mexborough families; the school, and female friendly society, established by the Miss Franks, at Askron, are particularly described, and strongly recommended to the notice and imitation of ladies. Several entertaining anecdotes of the following persons are related: Mr. Staniforth, Henry Bingley, and two eminent antiquaries, Roger Dodsworth, and John Burton, M.D. This section is embellished with plates of Roch

abbey, and Lady Galway's menagerie, at *Bawtry*. The following anecdotes of the late Jonathan Staniforth, Esq. of Firbeck, his antiquated sister, and Handel, are amusing :

"The late Mr. Staniforth was a very worthy, but singular character. Having been deprived by a law-suit, of the profit resulting from his patent for a ploughing machine, he diverted his thoughts entirely from mechanics to music. It is now more than forty years since I first paid him a visit at Firbeck. I was introduced into a room, where was sitting a thin, meagre old gentleman, upwards of seventy years of age, playing on the violin. He had a long time lived sequestered from the world, and dedicated not less than eight hours in the day to the practice of music. His shrunk shanks were twisted in a peculiar form, by the constant posture in which he sat ; and so indifferent was he about the goodness of his instrument, that, to my astonishment, he always played on a common Dutch fiddle, the original price of which could not have been more than half-a-guinea: the strings were bad, and the whole instrument dirty and covered with rosin. With this humble companion, he used to work hard every morning on the old solos of Vivaldi, Tassarini, Corelli, and other ancient composers. The evening was reserved for mere amusement, in accompanying an ancient sister, who sung most of the favourite songs from Handel's old Italian operas, which he composed soon after his arrival in England. These operas she had heard on their first representation in London ; consequently her performance, to me, was an uncommon treat. I had an opportunity of comparing the different manner of singing in the beginning of the last century, to that which I had been accustomed to hear. And indeed the style was so different that, musically considered, it might truly be called a different language. None of the present embellishments or graces in music were used. --No *apozituras*--no unadorned sustaining, or swelling long notes ; they were warbled by a continual tremulous accent from beginning to end ; and when she arrived at the period of an air, the brother's violin became mute, and she raising her eyes to the top of the room, and stretching out her throat, executed her extempore cadence in a succession of notes perfectly original, and concluded with a long shake, something resembling the bleating of a lamb.

"About five years afterwards, I had an opportunity of surprising this ancient pair as much as they had surprised me. I took Mr. Brett with me, who formerly sung at Drury-lane theatre. He had, naturally, a good tenor voice, but was fond of singing in a falsetto, or feigned one.

"Brett had an unrazored chin, a fair complexion, and a lady-like face. When he began to sing, the old bachelor appeared surprised ; but the old maiden seemed petrified

with astonishment, and regarded him with an unfavourable and averted eye.

"From these circumstances I naturally concluded that, in men, she neither liked *lady-like* faces, nor *lady-like* voices.

"However, our benevolent hosts not only entertained us with more ancient melodies, but with rational conversation, good cheer, and good accommodations for the night.

"Being on the subject of music, the reader will pardon a short digression in my relating the following anecdote :

"During the latter part of Handel's life, when a boy, I used to perform on the German flute in London, at his oratorios. About the year 1753, in the Lent season, a minor canon, from the cathedral of Gloucester, offered his service to Mr. Handel to sing. His offer was accepted, and he was employed in the chorusses. Not satisfied with this department, he requested leave to sing a solo air, that his voice might appear to more advantage. This request also was granted ; but he executed his solo so little to the satisfaction of the audience, that he was, to his great mortification, violently hissed. When the performance was over, by way of consolation, Handel made him the following speech : ' I am sorry, very sorry, for you indeed, my dear sir ! but go you back to your church in the country : God will forgive you for your bad singing ; these wicked people in London dey will not forgive you.'

The towns and villages situated upwards of ten miles from Doncaster, are the subjects of the XIIIth section : the principal of these, with their connected objects are ; Rotherham, and its church (with a plate) ; the iron-works at Masborough, with anecdotes of Mr. Samuel Walker ; the Rotherham Independent academy ; the township of Wentworth ; Wentworth-house ; Mausoleum of the Marquis of Rockingham, with his character delineated by the masterly pen of Mr. Burke ; the town of Barnsley ; the village, mansion, and church of Badsworth, with the melancholy anecdotes of the seven sons and a daughter of John Pate Neville, Esq. The work concludes with a circumstantial history of the town and castle of Pontefract ; in which is comprehended, the ancient state of the castle, its successive possessors, a chronological detail of memorable events connected with it, particularly during the civil war (temp. Cha. I.), and the consequent demolition of the castle. This is succeeded by a description of All Saints' church, in Pontefract ; a list of mayors, from the grant of the charter in 1484, to 1738 ; the present state of the town, and the new church of St. Giles.

The appendix contains the several char-

ters and grants of the successive kings of England, from Richard I. to James II., to the town and borough of Doncaster; with the private grants, petitions, decrees, &c.—These are extracted from the records of the corporation.

Such is Dr. Miller's History of Doncaster and its Vicinity. If not the most profound and interesting among this class of books, it certainly contains much useful and amusing information; and we readily and cheerfully recommend it to the perusal and patronage of all lovers of topography. Though we perceive some errors of judgment and carelessness of typography; and though we could wish the volume to have been more copious in some places, and less prolix in others; we should be considered fastidiously severe, were we to enlarge our animadversions on these faults, after reading the very humble and modest sentiments, with which the author concludes his volume. He justly censures that illiberal spirit, which withholds document from the public; and miserly shuts up in private recesses, that information which, if properly developed, would probably materially improve the historical annals of our country. There is scarcely any species of selfishness, more truly reprehensible, or criminal in the court of literature, than this: and it becomes the duty of every author to reprobate and discountenance the conduct of such persons. The county historian has ample trouble and difficulties to encounter, even when furnished with every attainable document; but those difficulties become more and more augmented, as these are withheld from his examination.

"I have now finished a work," says the Doctor, "which in collecting the materials has cost me much pains and labour. I see and lament that the account of many places is too short and defective. Compressed, according to my proposals, within the compass of a single volume, of course only the most material circumstances of an extensive district could be inserted. As I knew that various manuscripts, the labour of ingenious men in former times, were yet preserved, relative to that part of the West Riding here described, I flattered myself in finding easy access to these sources of information, and that the owners of them, partaking of that liberal spirit for which the present age is so justly celebrated, would even rejoice in co-operating with my well-meant efforts to amuse or inform the public. I am sorry to say, that these pleasing hopes have not been realized to the extent which was at first expected. On the other hand, I acknowledge, with the most lively gratitude, having met with gentlemen of a different description, of more enlarged minds; who have kindly interested themselves in my behalf, and liberally given me every assistance in their power to bestow.

"Candid reader! pardon the many defects which may be discovered in this work! It was written under the pressure of declining years and increasing infirmities, as the last tribute of gratitude and affection to many dear friends.

"Under these circumstances it is hoped the critic will be disarmed of his severity and that my labours will obtain, if not the approbation, at least the indulgence of a good-natured and generous public."

Wanting an index, this, like many other volumes, is very defective.

ART. IV.—*The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester.* By JOHN NICHOLS, F. S. A. Edinburgh and Perth. Vol. III. Part II. Containing West Goscote Hundred. folio.

MR. NICHOLS has long been known to the topographer and antiquary by his voluminous history of Leicester; by the Gentleman's Magazine, which he has printed for many years; and by a number of other books that have been edited and published by him. Indeed his house has been more noted for this species of literature than any other printing-office in London. Few persons are more intimately acquainted with the arcana of English topography and antiquity, and scarcely any one person has written so much on those subjects. Whatever may be the real merit of his writings, he is at least entitled to the thanks and gratitude of his con-

temporaries, and of posterity; and though there are defects in his style and mode of selecting and arranging his subjects, these are more to be attributed to the fashion of the times when he commenced his literary career, than to any want of genius and talents in the writer. The volume now under consideration being only a continuation of a very large work, we shall limit ourselves to a brief analysis of its contents, and reserve till a future period our opinions of the characteristic merits and demerits of the work. The present is, the author informs us, 'only a second part of the third volume,' and is almost wholly appropriated to the history and antiquities

of West Gossote hundred. It must consequently be presumed, that this small portion of a county, either contains many interesting subjects, furnishes much curious historical matter, or that the author is very prolix on every subject that engages his attention. To fill four or five large folio volumes with the topographical history of a single county may appear to many persons extravagantly diffuse; but it is proper to inform them that Mr. Nichols contrives to accumulate and combine such a mass of curious information, and adduces so much original document, that we can easily excuse the extent of the volumes for the sake of the information they contain. From the following analysis we hope the reader who is not immediately acquainted with Mr. Nichols's History of Leicester, will be enabled to judge of, and appreciate, its peculiar character.

In recording the history of the town of Ashby de la Zouch, the author particularises the names, and narrates many biographical traits, of the successive lords of the manor; among whom, William lord Hastings, and his descendants the earls of Huntingdon, are particularly noticed; and a print is given of the elegant screen before the monument, erected to William lord Hastings, in St. George's chapel at Windsor. A print is also given of the paintings in lord Hastings's chapel, and both are particularly described.

Among the curious subjects belonging to Ashby-castle is the *household book*; which appears to have been written in the year 1609. Its contents, which are here printed, serve to illustrate the customs peculiar to great mansions at that period, and afford a curious contrast to a nobleman's establishment at the present time. It contains particular directions to the different servants, and specifies the respective occupations of each. These were—the stuarde—gentleman ussher—gentleman of the horse—clerke of the kitchen—cooke—ushor of hall—almoner—yoman of the pantrye—yoman of the buttrye—porter—yoman of the wardopp—yoman of the grannarye—baker and brewer.

The following instructions to the almoner will explain the nature of this book.

“The almoner's office.—Item, that he paye no meate from the almes, but that he put the same in the place appointed for the poore, which place or vessells he shall almes keep sweet and cleane; and that he give the said almes, with the consent and advice of the ussher of the hall and porter, to

suche as are aged, poore, and in want, and not to stout regues and idle persons. Item, that he shall every morning by seven of the clocke in sommer, and by eight in wynter, sweepe the hall and places neare adjoyning, and make cleane the boardes, benches, and fourmes thereof. Item, that hee shall keepe a booke or skoare of all the wood and colli that is brought into the wood-yard; and shall see the same delivered forth to the fewiller, kytchen boyes, or others, according to the directions which he shall receive from the head-officers.”

The castle, church, and monuments at Ashby, are particularly described, and almost every epitaph and inscription on the latter is printed. Biographical accounts are next given of all the public characters, that were either born here or resided long in the town. The most eminent of these is bishop Hall, that “mirror and ornament of the times,” according to the quaint phraseology of Fuller. The village of Belton next comes under consideration: and the ancient and respectable family of Verdon was of such considerable consequence in the county, that the author is induced to give a particular account of it.

The church, monuments, and inscriptions, are fully described; and engravings given of them, also of several armorial bearings, &c. The nunnery of Gracedieu, situated in this parish, is here particularized, and its history amply narrated. Accounts of the Beaumont family, with several long elegies and other poems, are here introduced; many curious particulars are recorded of Francis Beaumont, the poet, and F. Beaumont, the dramatic writer, of whom two portraits are given. Bradgate-manor, park, and mansion, are now described; and a long account is given of the Grey family, lady Jane Grey being a native of this place; our author introduces many biographical particulars of her, some of which are novel and interesting. Pedigrees, plates of the church and castle, with various fragments of antiquity, are introduced to illustrate the narrative.

The history, &c. of Breden, a considerable village on the verge of the county, occupies several subsequent pages: in the course of which, Mr. Nichols embraces an account of the priory and lordship of Stanton Harold. Various records and pedigrees relating to the Shirley family are recorded; and, under the subject of Coleorton, the author takes occasion to add several additional particulars of the Beaumonts. The village of Diseworth, being

the birth-place of William Lilly, induces our historian to print a long account of his life, and a list of his works. The memoirs of this dreamer are strongly contrasted by those of Mr. Bakewell, the celebrated experimental agriculturalist and breeder. One teased himself by his chimerical reveries, and propagated by his writings folly and nonsense; whilst the other judiciously endeavoured to benefit his country and himself by improving the breed of sheep, cattle, &c. Many interesting particulars are here related concerning Mr. Bakewell's farms and cattle; the most material of which are selected from the writings of Young, Marshall, Throsby, and Monk. The village of Castle Donington, with the park, come next under review; and the latter, the seat of the earl of Moira, is represented in four plates. Garendon-hall, the seat of Thomas March Phillips, Esq. furnishes matter for several pages of description, and is il-

lustrated by four plates. Long extracts from the register or chartulary of Garendon-abbey are next printed, and a very detailed account is given of this ancient monastic establishment. A short memoir, with a well engraved portrait, of Dr. Richard Pulteney, are given in the course of the author's account of Hathern parish; though it appears that the doctor was a native of Loughborough, where he was born A. D. 1730. The remaining part of the volume comprises, among other places, historical accounts of the following:—the villages of Kegecarth, Hermington, Woodthorpe, Osgathorne, Packington, Snibston, Ravenston, Rothley, Gaddesly, Grimston, Keame, &c. also the towns of Loughborough and Swepton. This volume is replete with biographical and antiquarian anecdotes; and contains a vast quantity of prints, some of which are curious.

ART. V.—*The History of Deronshire. Chapter the Second; containing the Roman British Period.* folio, pp. from 177 to 329.

THE strangely irregular mode of publication adopted by Mr. Polwhele, in this History of Devonshire, must be highly injurious to his interest, and must subject him to many unpleasant occurrences. The

present is only a scrap of a larger work; and being intimately connected with the preceding and the future portions, we must withhold our remarks till the whole is completed:

ART. VI.—*A Walk through Southampton. By Sir HENRY C. ENGLEFIELD, Bart. F. R. S. and F. A. S. Second Edition, considerably augmented; to which is added, some Account of the Roman Station, Clausentum.* 8vo. pp. 147.

IN the first volume of our Review, p. 502, we noticed the former edition of this work in terms of commendation, and as the present volume is materially improved and enlarged, our topographical readers may wish to know the nature of such addenda et corrigenda. This information is furnished by the author in his advertisement to the present edition, wherein he states that

“The few changes which have taken place in the town are noticed; and I thought it better to mention them in the form of notes than to alter the original account. A more extensive description of the curious edifice in Porters’-lane is added, from the account of it presented to the Society of Antiquaries; and I have given some etchings of its principal parts. The account of remains of antiquity discovered at Bittern, in consequence of building the bridge and forming the road

there, is reprinted from my paper inserted in the second volume of the Hampshire Repository, with some additions. It is hoped that this second edition may meet the same favour which was experienced by the first.”

The additions above referred to are considerable, and tend to give interest to the volume, as they apply more particularly to the pursuits of the antiquary and historian. The plates, which demonstrate the taste of the author, exhibit some curious specimens of Roman sculpture and ancient architecture. We must again remark, that a well-engraved plan of the town is a necessary requisite in a local work like the present; for the reader who is not previously acquainted with the geography of the place, must be at a loss to understand some parts of the author's description.

ART. VII.—*Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford. By JOHN DUNCUMB, A. M. Vol. I: with Maps and Views.* 4to. pp. 604.

IN the preface to the present volume, the reverend author has unfolded the

sources of his information, briefly noticed the characteristics of the county, and from

these excited in our minds a lively curiosity, and much anxious expectation. For in a county that affords so much local interest, and where such powerful patronage is obtained, we are entitled to expect a topographical book approaching perfection.

Mr. Duncumb observes in his preface,

"The county of Hereford, although replete with a variety of materials to attract the researches of the antiquary and the historian, has hitherto so far escaped their notice, that no regular account of it has ever been submitted to the public. As the ground on which Caractacus and the brave Silures so nobly fought, *pro aris et focis*, against the Roman invaders, and as the frontier, during the long continued wars between England and Wales, it presents an important series of national occurrences; whilst as a province, distinguished from the earliest dates of civilized society, by the residence of ancient and honourable families, holding their possessions by various and peculiar tenures; as a district fertile in its produce, and abounding in scenery of the most beautiful description; it contains a fund of information, which, if properly collected and arranged, could not fail to be generally justifying.

"Such considerations, and the interest naturally excited by long connection with the county, and by extensive property acquired in marriage with the heiress of the family of Beadmore, of Home Lacy, have induced the Duke of Norfolk to make several purchases, with a view towards a publication of this kind. With these materials, with very considerable aid from the stores of the British Museum, the Augmentation-office, and the Tower in London; the Bodleian Library in Oxford; the M. S. collections of Thomas Blount, Esq. of Orleton, and of James Walwyn, Esq. of Longworth; the usual printed authorities; and the obliging communications of the gentlemen and clergy of the county, and of William Bray, Esq. George Naylor, Esq. and the Rev. James Dallaway, the following collections have been arranged in their present form.

"The compiler is well aware that many imperfections will be discernable; some from the difficulties unavoidably incident to the undertaking, and more from his own inability to do justice to a work which embraces subjects of considerable variety, and involves persons and property of so high importance. The public, however, have now an opportunity of judging for themselves; and, with the utmost deference, these collections are submitted to their accustomed candour."

This volume is divided into eleven chapters, of which the first seven form a general introduction to the history of the county: the other four comprise the military, civil, and ecclesiastical history of

the city. To furnish our readers with an ample account of it, and thereby display its merits and defects, we shall briefly analyze every chapter separately, and then make a few observations on each, as they arise out of the subject.

The first chapter professes to comprise a general account of this part of Britain before, and after, the Roman invasion; the character of the ancient inhabitants is delineated; vestiges, civil and military, are referred to; the operations of the Romans are detailed; the bravery and defeat of Caractacus are recorded; and a general review is taken of Roman remains, roads, and stations, belonging to the county.

The present county of Hereford, Mr. Duncumb asserts, formed part of the country inhabited by the Silures, but adduces no document to prove this. If, with Pinkerton, Silures be considered a generic term, then it might have comprehended the whole of South Wales, however subdivided; also the district of country between the rivers Teme, Severn, and Wye. From the concurrent testimony of the early Roman writers on the affairs of Britain, this appears highly probable, and that Venta, Dimetæ, &c. were subordinate divisions of what went under the general name of Siluria. However, there are various opinions on this subject, and Mr. Duncumb takes up the usual one, that it included no more than the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, and Brecon. When the Silures were threatened with invasion by Ostorius, to counteract his design, Tacitus says, the Iceni had recourse to hostilities. But Mr. Duncumb observes, "from their local situation the Iceni could be little affected by any invasion of the Silures." The Roman Annalist describes them as a powerful nation unsubdued, but in alliance with the Romans; consequently when an hostile army was put in motion, and must pass through their country to the scene of its intended operations, they could not, consistently with their own interest, remain silent spectators; rightly judging, that if more of the bordering countries were roused or subdued, their own might become the seat of war. Besides, it appears that the people styled Coritani were sometimes called Iceni, and were probably a subordinate division of that powerful people "*gens valida*." And this is confirmed by the observation contained in the 12th book of the Annals, that after subduing the Iceni he marched his army against the Canji, situate in Cheshire,

and encamped near the Irish Sea. "Quod Hiberniam insulam spectat."

The site where the ever-memorable battle was fought, in which the noble Caractacus was made a captive to the Romans, Mr. Duncumb, with general Roy, thinks must have been Coxwall-Knoll, near Downton, on the northern borders of Herefordshire; and seems to rest the proof on what the historian says, that the war did not originate in the county of the Ordovices, "Transfert bellum in Ordovices." True, but it terminated there on the total defeat of the British army, and the capture of their chief. Various opinions have been propagated on this point: but after all that has been said from Camden to Roy, we think the site fixed upon by the author of the Britannia the least liable to objection. The situation of *Caer Caradoc*, in Shropshire, agrees much better with the British mode of warfare, and the description of the position which was taken by the British chief. Vid. *Annal.* l. xii. 31.; and the observation, that, previous to the battle, Caractacus moved by forced and private marches into the country of the Ordovices. Coxwall is situated in Siluria; is an insulated hill on a plain, only calculated for an advanced post; while *Caer Caradoc* rises on a tongue of land formed by the conflux of the rivers Colun and Teme, where the fords in flood-time would be impassable, and having the mountainous tract which ranges from Montgomery by Bishop's Castle in the back ground, of which this hill forms one of the feet. Coxwall-hill might have been previously occupied by the British forces while the Romans were advancing towards Brandon.

Mr. Duncumb next adverts to the Roman stations, of which two principal ones were in this county, *Magna* and *Ariconium*. The former has been variously placed by antiquarian geographers; but Mr. Duncumb adopts the opinion of Horsley, who fixes it at *Cen* or *Ken-chester*, near Hereford: the name is obviously derived from the British word *cen*, great or conspicuous, and *castra* a camp, i. e. the great or notable camp. We must, of course, look for *Ariconium* in some other place, and the distances mentioned in the Itinerary concur to point out some spot near the present town of Ross, between *Glevi*, *Gloucester*, and *Gobaunjum*, *Abergarnny*. In tracing the Watling-street road, which enters the northern part of the county after it leaves *Wroxeter*, there

appears an error in making *Bravinium* and *Branegium* the same place.

In the second chapter Mr. Duncumb proceeds to take into consideration the history of the Silurian Britons, after the Roman legions were withdrawn from the island. In the course of this, he details a few particulars of *Uther Pendragon* and his son *Arthur*, of whose tomb some account is given. The state of this part of the island during the Saxon heptarchy is next considered; and a list, with biographical sketches, of the successive kings of *Mercia*, to the conquest of that kingdom by *Egbert*, are detailed. A general view is then taken of the principal occurrences under the Saxon and Danish monarchs; this leads to the consideration of the laws, customs, coins, judiciary proceedings, and architecture, of the Saxons, and of the changes introduced by the Norman conqueror. The chapter closes with a list of the divisions, subdivisions, lands, lordships, and proprietors, of Herefordshire as recorded in *Domesday* book.

Under the Saxon dynasty, founded by *Crida*, there is little new in Mr. Duncumb's account; and he appears to place too implicit faith in the relations of our English historians. *Hume*, it is well known, is not the most impartial writer, and much credit can seldom be attached to *Polydore Virgil*. As the palace of *Offa* was at *Sutton*, three miles from the present city of *Hereford*, and this county formed part of his dominions, we expected a more detailed and particular account of the Mercian king and his operations.

The *Marches*, of which this county formed a considerable part, Mr. Duncumb observes, were of indefinite extent; and as being the disputed frontiers between the English and the Welsh, ever varying with the success of either party. The civilization was rather impeded than promoted by the first Saxon invaders is too obvious to be denied: for as their original intention was principally plunder, their after regulations were highly tinctured with a similar spirit.

We were rather surprised at Mr. Duncumb's observation on the work called *Domesday*, made at the command of the Norman conqueror, "that it was an undertaking which proves his extensive genius, and does honour to his memory." That a survey, intended to lay with more facility the heaviest burthens on a subjugated country, and the levying them placed in the hands of foreigners, possessing no

pretension but power, nor right but that of conquest, should be deemed an honourable act, appears to us very strange. As a valuable document relative to the state of property at the time the survey was made, we accede to its merits; and we hope it will ever remain among our most valuable records, to show to what a humiliating condition this or any other nation must be reduced, whenever it fails to have spirit to resist usurpation or repel invasion.

Proceeding regularly with our author, let us now accompany him through his third chapter, which professes to take a general view of occurrences in Herefordshire, from the Norman conquest to the death of Henry the seventh: and includes the list of knights' fees assessed to the aid of Henry I. on the marriage of his daughter Maud; the introduction of a new style of architecture into England; the grant of Magna Charta by John; the invasion of England by Llewelin, prince of Wales; the subjugation of that principality by Edward I.; the knights of this county (with their armorial bearings) who served under that monarch; some account of the laws and customs which prevailed in the marches of Wales; a list of the lords-presidents of the marches; the names and arms of the nobles, knights, and esquires (connected with this county), who attended Edward III. at the siege of Calais; the insurrection of Glendour (temp. Henry IV.); the battle of Agincourt (Henry V.); the names of the principal inhabitants of Herefordshire returned by the commissioners in the survey, 12 Henry VI.; and the wars between, and union of, the houses of York and Lancaster.

The feudal established rights gave Henry the first an early opportunity of laying a heavy contribution on the country to appropriate his daughter Maud on her marriage with the emperor. Three shillings in every hide of land throughout the kingdom were levied. The number of hides was 300,000, and the sum thus raised equal to about 135,000*l.* sterling of the present money. The return made by the barons for this county are here given. The accounts of the lords marchers is principally taken from a small pamphlet, called the History of Ludlow Castle. But could Mr. Duncumb find no better, or at least have had recourse to no more authentic sources of information? As this county was often the seat of warfare between the English and Welsh in their

last struggle for independance, during what is termed the insurrection of Glyndwr, we expected a more detailed narrative, and more decided history. Some account of the latter part of his life, and circumstances of his death, might have been gleaned from the vicinity of Manington, or from families connected with that part of the country. Edward the second was taken in the abbey of Neath, in Glamorganshire; and not at Llanstephen, in Caermarthenshire. The chapter concludes with a decisive opinion in favour of the house of York against the Lancastrian usurpation.

The general occurrences of the county, from the time of Henry the eighth, are brought down to the present period in chapter iv. which is principally occupied by observations on the incorporation of the marches with the adjacent counties of England. The suppression of the lesser and greater monasteries is concisely noticed; and the commissioners of the peace for the county (temp. Eliz.) are particularly named. In the perilous reign of Charles the first, this county, with several others, was burthened with a heavy tax, for "the shipping money;" the particular sums assessed on every parish and township in Herefordshire are specified, and a copy of the sheriff's letter which accompanied the return is printed. The city and county of Hereford must necessarily participate in the subsequent civil wars; this induces Mr. Duncumb to notice the character of Cromwell, and the restoration of monarchy. He gives a list of the names and estates of the principal inhabitants of this county (temp. Charles II.); and another list of the names of the commissioners of the peace, A. D. 1800, terminates the chapter. The uniting Wales with England by Henry the eighth, and the consequent conclusion of the government of the marches, occasioned considerable changes in this county. At the dissolution of the monasteries there were twenty-one monastic institutions in Herefordshire; and during the reign of Mary, most of the principal families espoused her cause. There still exist more persons of the catholic persuasion in this and the adjoining county of Monmouth than perhaps in any district of the kingdom of an equal extent.

The titles of honour derived from Herefordshire are the subject of the fifth chapter, which contains a list, with some account of the successive dukes, earls, and viscounts of Hereford, from the remotest

antiquity to the present time; the names of the sheriffs, from 1154 to 1803; the knights of the shire from 18 Edward I. to 42 George III.; and lord-lieutenants since the revolution. In this, as in several other parts of the volume, we regret to see so many pages occupied with long lists of names. When necessary, they should be printed in a smaller type, and arranged in a manner to occupy as little space as possible: but here they extend to several pages, are printed in large letter, and spaced wide. Indeed, the whole arrangement of the book evidently proves, that the author was more eager to extend the number than the size of his pages. Although a quarto book, one of our pages will include above three of Mr. Duncumb's. The catalogue of mere names of sheriffs and members for the county occupies almost the whole of nineteen successive pages. It is really sacrificing too much good paper, and encroaching too much on the reader's rights. In the very commencement of this chapter, the author commits a very palpable error, by confounding Craddocke Fraich frâs, son of Ceilwg Mwyn-grydd, and ancestor of Tydyr Trevor, earl of Hereford, who lived in the reign of Hywell Dha, with a person of the same name, a grandson of Brychan lord of Gloucester, cotemporary with king Arthur, and said to have been one of the knights of the round table, and *lord of the dolorous tower*. Neither of the accounts respecting the death of Mahel, earl of Hereford, is correct. For Gyraldus calls the castle *Brendlais*; which his annotator, Powel, explains Brunllys now written Branllys, situated within half a mile of Talgarth, in the county of Brecon, whence Gyraldus was evidently writing when he alluded to the circumstances. Both Leland and Dugdale state the Cliffords to have been the lords of this castle. The anecdote related of Humphry, earl of Hereford, in company with Roger, earl of Norfolk, is variously stated. That "this affair was compromised without further violence," may suit an historian who would sacrifice truth for the turn of a period, but will by no means accord with the statement of facts. For on the king menacing them for contempt of his authority, they withdrew from court, summoned their followers, took up arms, and proceeded to hostile measures. Yet such was the posture of public affairs, the king soon found it an act of prudence rather to submit than revenge the affront. The earl of Hereford afterwards rose in defence

of the people resisting the tax of every *eighth penny of property*, and was for this offence suspended from his office of lord high constable, and his estates were confiscated. Mr. D. says he resigned them. Still undaunted, however, he continued to oppose every attempt at encroachment on the part of the crown, and at last died a martyr to the liberty of the people. We have made this remark, because we do not think Hume a satisfactory authority for such family secrets; for such they are when garbled or incorrectly stated. The county of Hereford had sheriffs previous to the conquest, styled *vicecomites*, *vicecounts* being a title of dignity from the time of Henry VI.

Under the head of the natural history of the county, to which the sixth chapter is devoted, the author embraces accounts of the principal rivers and streams, particularly their rise, course, navigation, produce, and general character; and the salmon fishery of the Wye is particularly described. The formation and beneficial effects of the navigable canals are noticed. The soil, sub-soil, agriculture, cattle, and sheep, are severally treated of; a list of the rare plants is subjoined; the cultivation of orchards, the varieties of apples and pears, and the manufacture of cyder and perry, occupy the remainder of this chapter.

The next is appropriated to the general description of the county; in its boundaries, extent, divisions, population, militia, castles, forests, chases, and parks. Some local customs are explained; and a glossary given of the provincial words, phrases, weights, and measures.

In the enumeration of rivers and streams, whose courses are illustrated by a chart, the Wye, as the chief, forms the most distinguishing feature. This, in the time of Athelstan, formed a natural and political boundary between the Britons and the Saxons; and, for many subsequent centuries, its banks were the theatre on which were displayed the most sanguinary scenes, till the fatal stab was given to Welsh independance in the death of Llewelyn. This gallant prince was *not* slain by Mortimer, as here stated, but by one *Walter de Franckton*, acting under Mortimer, who found Llewelyn alone in a solitary dingle, attempting to escape, called him Llewelyn near Pont y coed. This river, which is navigable by small barges from Hereford to Chester, exhibits the slow advances, notwithstanding our wanting, that we have hitherto made in real

science or useful knowledge. It abounds with frequent shoals which impede the navigation during dry seasons; and is subject to floods equally obstructive in falling weather: and though repeated acts of parliament have been obtained, and large sums raised for the improvement of the navigation, nothing has hitherto been effected that can be considered of very essential improvement. We agree with Mr. Duncumb, that inland navigation by *canals* is beneficial to any particular district, in proportion as the country may have heavy articles either to import or export. Preambles to canal acts generally state the *incalculable advantages* to be obtained both to the proprietors, as well as to the country at large, which often prove as fallacious to hope, as they are unfounded in truth. For, however some may attempt to prove that the country may be benefited, though the *proprietors* may lose, it should be recollected that no concern can long be supported where mutual profits do not accrue. In treating of the fishery of the Wyë, more accurate and ample information might easily have been furnished. The botcher, suin, and salmon, are distinct species; and the salmon, which the bailiffs of Gloucester were requested to obtain for king Edward, did not imply such as answer to our idea of *crimpness*; they were found in a particular reach of the river above the *Weare* called *Cole-warë* or *Colder*, and were peculiarly famed for their delicious flavour. Our author observes, that the prevailing system of agriculture does not stand high in the comparative list, although a numerous society was instituted for its amelioration in this county in 1797. Inveterate prejudices are not quickly rooted out: they must gradually subside. Improvement is a plant of very slow, and sometimes of uncertain, growth. Orcharding did not become a considerable branch of rural economy till the time of Henry the eighth in this kingdom, nor in Herefordshire till that of Charles the first, when it was introduced under the patronage of the patriotic lord Scudamore. Various remarks on this important subject are extracted from a valuable treatise already before the public, "on the Apple and Pear, by T. A. Knight, Esq." Plantations of hops, which have been greatly increasing of late years, and are the staple commodity of a Herefordshire farm, especially in that part of the county bordering on Worcestershire, Mr. Duncumb just glances at, observing they were introduced into

England in the year 1524. A long list of the plantæ rariores, indigenous to this county, is here given, to which many more might have been added; for perhaps few districts of equal extent furnish so many; but their respective habitats would have been a valuable addition.

Having, in the preceding analysis, attended the author through that part of his volume which he calls a general introduction; we now proceed to the other division of his book which relates to the city of Hereford. In treating of its military history, the subject of the first chapter, our attention is principally directed to its etymology and date of foundation; its consequence as a principal town of Mercia; its pillage by the Welsh in 1055; its capture by king Stephen, 1141; its surrender to the parliamentary forces, 1643; and its siege by the Scottish army, 1645. In the course of this history the author gives a description of the ancient castle, with a detail of events relative to it. He also furnishes several authentic documents: viz. a copious narrative, by sir Richard Cave, of the surrender of the town to sir William Waller, with the terms of the capitulation; copies of letters from lord Scudamore and sir William Waller; and an order from prince Rupert, with a fac-simile of his signature; copies of the letters which passed, during the siege, between the earl of Leven and the parliamentary commissioners, and Barnabas Scudamore, esq. the governor; a narrative of the siege, in a letter from Mr. Scudamore to lord Digby; an extract from "a continuation of the marches and actions of the royal army, by Richard Symonds;" and a "survey of the scyte and materials of the ruinous castle of Hereford," by the commissioners in 1652.

After the retreat of the Romans from England, the city of Hereford arose out of Magna, as Shrewsbury did out of Ariconium. Its name has in vain been sought for amongst Saxon lore—*hîr*, in British, signifies long; and *sford*, a ford or passage across a river, i. e. *Long-ford*; and this agrees with the situation. A bird's-eye view of the castle is given; but if Leland's description, *who saw it*, be exact, this is far from accurate. He describes the keep (vid. Itin.) as having *ten circular towers*; and as being the largest, fairest, and strongest, castle in England. As a fortress on the frontiers of Wales, it met for centuries with repeated vicissitudes: but the most interesting part of its history, as more intimately connected with our own times,

is that during the civil wars. The city and county are described at the commencement as being well affected to the royal cause, and yet, on the appearance of sir William Waller, the city and castle were almost instantly given up, without the loss of a man, or an attempt to strike a single blow. This does not appear to us "to be from surprise," nor to be "one of those effects which skilful commanders seldom fail to effect from a decisive victory." From the account of the surrender, the letters of lord Scudamore, and the court-martial held after on the governor sir Richard Cave, knight, it was evidently *treachery*. This is still farther confirmed by the noble defence it soon afterwards made under Barnabas Scudamore, esq. against the whole Scottish army which besieged it under the earl of Leven. The conduct and narrative of this brave man form a fine contrast to the dastardly conduct of Cave. These letters breathe the most noble and pious sentiments. Mr. Duncumb notices an error of Clarendon respecting the route of the royal army for the relief of the place. From a MS. of Richard Symonds, in the Harleian collection, it appears to have been from Worcester, and not, as stated, from Ragland castle. A further account is taken from the *Iter Carolinum*, published in the *Collectanea Curiosa*. "Since this, Hereford has ceased to be the scene of military events; and may the desolating scourge of war never violate again its tranquil borders!" We heartily join in the wish:—we extend it to our farthest shores—to earth's utmost verge!

In reviewing and narrating the civil history of the city in chapter ii. the author particularizes the ancient forms of judicature as established generally by Alfred; and notices the respective jurisdiction of the bishops and bailiffs. The charters from several monarchs relating to the city, and the establishment of St. Ethelbert's fair, are briefly detailed; and the contest for power between the members of the church and the inhabitants is animadverted on. The customs and privileges of the city, as recorded in Domesday Book, and as more fully ascertained (1 Henry II.) in a book, intitled, "*A booke of the privileges and boundes of the cittie of Hereford, extracted out of an ancient booke of record,*" are fully explained. This chapter also contains the original incorporation charter of the city by Henry III.; with confirmations, and additional grants by succeeding sovereigns;

to which are subjoined lists of the representatives in parliament from 1295 to the present time; of the common council in 1620; of the members of the corporation in 1682 and 1698; of the chief stewards from 1620; and of the mayors from 1382 to the present time. Here we have more long lists of names occupying several pages.

Mr. Duncumb observes, according to the jurisdiction established by Alfred, and which prevailed till after the Norman conquest, that a civil and ecclesiastical superior presided with *equal authority* in the county courts; and that this practice was derived from the Druids. We do not consider this altogether accurate. That the earl and bishop presided in the courts termed *shire-motes* and *gere-motes* is certain; but then it appears the bishop was only an associate for the purposes of attending to any thing which concerned the church, and for administering oaths with greater solemnity. These courts were held twice in the year, spring and autumn; in the former of which, the people came to swear fealty, and civil causes were tried; on this account, as having the largest attendance, it was called *folc-mote*: that in autumn was principally for ecclesiastical causes, though the earl attended on the part of the king, and to assist with the arm of the civil power. This division of parts of the year for special purposes, led, after the conquest, to a further division, and two distinct tribunals were erected under the name of *civil* and *ecclesiastical* courts. Nor does it appear that the powers once possessed by the houses of convocation were at all derived from this: *their having outlived them* proves it. Equally erroneous is the statement, "that the bishops of Hereford have hence retained a more than common share of civil authority in the city of Hereford." This is confounding things which are evidently as distinct as possible, county and baronial courts: at least the sources whence their respective powers are derived. As seized with baronies, bishops had the same privileges conferred on them as other barons of the realm, and under these possessed those rights Mr. Duncumb supposes to have originated in *ecclesiastical influence*. Thus possessed of numerous fees within the city, when their privileges were curtailed by grafting charters to a corporate body, it would naturally follow that frequent disputes about rights would occur, which in one instance must have been invaded to confer them on another; and

we find this the case more or less *wherever baronial power has been diminished by corporate privileges*. This occasioned the various charters descriptive of episcopal and burgage rights till the incorporation of the city in the reign of Henry III., 1218, and the subsequent reserves in the different confirmations of the charter of the city in future reigns.

The description of the city, in its ancient and modern state, is the principal subject of the next chapter, which includes memoirs of Nell Gwynne, with biographical sketches of other celebrated natives, and eminent persons connected with the city. The author offers some conjectures respecting the origin of the White Cross, an ancient monument in the vicinity of the city; and next gives historical accounts of the endowments of the religious houses, hospitals, and other public buildings.

Hereford, in the time of Leland, contained a space within the walls about a mile in compass. The walls were demolished in 1645. This city possesses few engaging features to the passing stranger, and fewer inducements to genteel residents: and except a little glove-making, it is destitute of manufactures. A bequest of lord Scudamore, 1698, for the laudable purpose of employing the poor inhabitants, having been funded and increased by voluntary subscription, unavailing attempts were made to introduce some kind of useful trade. An enquiry into the causes of the failure of these attempts, with such an ample fund for putting the desirable scheme into execution, would have been proper here, and means of furthering the undertaking might have been pointed out: instead of which is given a biographical sketch of a character high on the scale of infamy, Mrs. Eleanor Gwynne, better known by the name of *Nell Gwynne*, the celebrated favourite of Charles II. It might have been accompanied by that of another native of the city, a similar, though less successful character, Rosamunda Clifford, the unfortunate mistress of Henry II. Garrick, as appears from the register of All Saints, was born here; his father, a French refugee, and a lieutenant in a troop of cavalry, was quartered at the Angel-inn at the time of his birth. Since that time Hereford has furnished a variety of votaries to Thespis; and some of the most celebrated actors on the London theatres at the present time derived their birth, and received

the first rudiments of their education, here. The numerous hospitals, and other charities, shew that Hereford has possessed a very considerable share of attention from friends eminently distinguished for benevolence and liberality. Among other religious houses the knights hospitallers had one here; and the privileges annexed shew that they possessed that of sanctuary in civil as well as criminal cases. On the site is now a comfortable retreat for the worn-out soldier and superannuated servant of unshaken fidelity, founded by sir Thomas Conningsby; and a very interesting account is given in page 404 of this singular institution, which doubtless arose out of the regulations belonging to the military order of St. John of Jerusalem. Hereford, however, though still a dull place, has within a few years experienced many improvements. Some of the streets have been widened; a large inn and hotel has been built; an infirmary supported by voluntary contribution; a new county gaol on Howard's plan of solitary confinement; an asylum for the reception of lunatics, &c. &c. These, and many others, concur to shew the munificent spirit of the present patron, and that the other nobility, clergy, and gentry, are not backward in the support of his beneficent plans.

The ecclesiastical history of Hereford occupies chap. iv., and relates principally to the episcopal jurisdiction, revenues, and patronage of the see: concise memoirs of the bishops, and some account of the members of the catholic church, with their respective endowments, are given. A copious history and description of the cathedral follows, in which the author has endeavoured to ascertain the period of its foundation and successive additions. He also attempts to discriminate the various styles of architecture which are displayed in this structure; and gives some account of the ornaments, painted glass, shrines, monuments, and other sepulchral memorials. The choir, library, chapter-house, and grammar-school, are particularly noticed: and the volume concludes with a description of the parish churches of All Saints, St. Peter, and St. Nicholas.

If Hereford was not a bishopric in the time of the Britons, it was created one very soon after the conversion of the Saxons to christianity—Putta the first bishop being consecrated in 676 or 680; and at a synod probably held at this time, it was decreed that the province of Mer-

cia, which then constituted one see, should be divided into two; and hence it was that Sexulph, bishop of Litchfield, who performed the ceremony of consecration, is styled 'Bishop of the Mercians on the east of the Severn.' The revenues of the bishopric are stated; how accurately, we leave those to judge who are more interested in the statement. They have certainly at various periods been greatly diminished: especially in the time of the professed patroness of the church of England, *Queen Elizabeth*. The present clear annual value is placed at two thousand pounds. A considerable patronage is annexed to the see; and the jurisdiction extends over the county of Hereford, except six parishes, parts of Salop, Monmouth, Radnor, Montgomery, and Worcester. The succession of prelates, commencing with Putta, is set down, with biographical anecdotes of each. The dean and chapter, and the various offices of the cathedral, are next mentioned; and the revenues of the church as related in Domesday, which Mr. Duncumb says nearly correspond with those of the present day. But how is this to be reconciled with the observation made on episcopal revenues, p. 444, where he says, 'That those of the *bishop and church* were so *intermixed as not to be well ascertained*?'

There appears to have been a cathedral church at Hereford as early as the reign of Offa; probably, like many of the Saxon churches of that period, built of wood: as the church erected afterwards in honour of the memory of Ethelbert is, in contradistinction, termed *structura lapidea*, i. e. the stone edifice. This, which was built in 825, was in two centuries completely dilapidated. Athelstan rebuilt the whole in 1012. That this was adorned with towers, there is not even room for conjecture, as it was entirely destroyed on the eruption of the Welsh chieftain Gryffydd, and Algar earl of Chester, A. D. 1055. The present building was begun by Robert Lozeuge in the latter end of the reign of William the Conqueror; and the central part exhibits the style of that age. Additions and alterations made in subsequent reigns exhibit various styles, according to the prevailing taste of the respective times. So that Mr. Duncumb thinks this building alone may furnish specimens of the various changes which took place in architecture during the different periods of English history: especially if the parts of the external and in-

ternal structure with sepulchral decorations be taken into the comparison. An elaborate description is given of the interior; and every lover of the arts will thank the author for his minuteness and accuracy of detail. The tower, having lost its spire, is no longer attractive. A plate exhibits two curious miniature shrines: the one of the martyr Ethelbert, and the other of bishop Cantalupe. They are formed of a peculiar species of enamel, done on copper-plates supported by a frame of oak, and were, with numerous other similar reliques, the work of certain itinerant Grecian artists, who came over to England for this purpose of making *shrines*, in the reign of Henry III.; an art which, variously modified, is said to have existed in their country previous to the christian era. The silver shrines for the great goddess Diana must be familiar to all. The obit of Ethelbert was, we are informed, celebrated on the fifth of the kalends of May: and a copy of curious Latin leonine verses is given. The chapter-house, which was an elegant decagonal building, suffered much during the civil wars; and what its enemies began, its friends accomplished. Bishop Bisse appropriated two of its beautiful windows to adorn the palace; and its total demolition quickly followed. Nothing appears to come amiss to the rapacious hand of man! Even the most sacred edifices cannot escape! The very utensils of the sanctuary, goods bequeathed and dedicated to the most solemn offices of religion, must administer to his avarice! A regulation is mentioned respecting the grammar-school that does credit to the judgment of the then dean and chapter, and is worthy the imitation of the trustees and feoffees of other similarly endowed schools.

Thus have we, with considerable pleasure and profit, accompanied Mr. Duncumb through the first volume of his history of Herefordshire: and though we lament with him the penury of authentic documents, owing to the civil wars and other causes, which have dispersed many and destroyed more; yet we hope he will meet with increasing assistance, and that the future part of the work will be still more full and interesting.

Presuming that Mr. Duncumb is proceeding with his history, we cannot take leave of this specimen volume without requesting his attention to two or three things which we presume will enhance the value of the subsequent parts. The

aper is fine and good; the maps and prints are well engraved; but the drawings for the latter are tasteless, and evidently very incorrect: and the maps and plans are extremely meagre in names of places, &c. and come without any authority. In an original book, and particularly one which emanates from the liberal patronage of the duke of Norfolk, the best

artists should be employed in each department; and every branch of the work should evince taste, learning, and science. Long extracts from other works are generally objectionable; as they impeach the taste and industry of the author: and very prolix lists of names, &c. are extremely tiresome.

AT. VIII.—*A History of the County of Brecknock. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. containing the Chorography, general History, Religion, Laws, Customs, Manners, Language, and System of Agriculture used in that County. By THEOPHILUS JONES, Deputy Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Brecon. 4to. pp. 429.*

THE routine of plan in county histories is generally the same—situation, boundaries, division into hundreds, parishes: then follows a list of lords whether baronial or manorial, principal families, knights, esquires, petty proprietors, persons appointed under various commissions for taxation, lists of sheriffs, representatives, justices, mayors, &c. bishops, deans, chapters; and the subsequent account extended through every parish with little more than the name, and a quotation from Domesday respecting feudal property, the church, and who lies buried there, without a ray of information to enliven the dreary scene, are now and then an extraordinary epithet, which intimates the flattery of the living or the superstition of the dead. These, when faithfully copied, may be useful as future records, and furnish the provincial antiquary with information, which otherwise, from the distance of places where such records are deposited, and the difficulty and expence of procuring copies of them, he might be forever deprived of. But to the general or scientific reader, they can neither afford intelligence nor excite pleasure.

The volume now before us, however, is an agreeable exception to the common rule, and combines both amusement and instruction. The author is a writer of no mean talents. He appears possessed of an energetic mind and independent principles; and though sometimes he may be hurried away into fairy land, adopting hasty opinions which mature deliberation would have corrected, and language which reflection would have tended to moderate, yet in the distant view we discover genius; and throughout the whole, extensive observation.

The following judicious remarks from

the preface deserve the attention of topographers in general.

“It would ill become me to expatiate on the merits or demerits of this work as it proceeds; on these the public must decide. Authors are generally too fond of their own productions, and, like many other parents, too lenient to the defects of their offspring to act as impartial judges, but I have adopted in my progress one rule which I will venture to recommend to all, who, like myself, are infected with the *cacoethes scribendi*: this rule is, never to quote from a quotation, extract, or copy, when access can be had to the original: all will admit its propriety, but the public are hardly aware how few writers attend to, and what mischiefs and errors ensue from, the neglect of it. Some instances will be found in this volume, as when we are told by those who quote the authority of Cæsar as to the origin of Druidism, ‘that Cæsar affirms that the doctrine of the Druids was first found in Britain, and afterwards propagated in Gaul.’ Cæsar makes no affirmation as to this doctrine, but merely gives a report which had reached his ears as to its rise. Again, Warrington refers to lord Lyttleton’s life of Henry II. as to the marvellous expedition of Milo Fitzwalter into Cardiganshire, to relieve the besieged countess of Clare; lord Lyttleton quotes Giraldus Cambrensis, who says not a word of the exploit, though he twice or thrice mentions the name of Milo Fitzwalter, and though he lived soon after this event is supposed to have occurred: at last the anecdote is traced by the indefatigable historian Carte to an anonymous chronicle of dubious credit: as to the mistakes of names, like that of Llech-y-crou for Llechryd, in the different editions of Powell, I could give you innumerable instances of these inaccuracies, and I have only to entreat that the reader who doubts the correctness of my assertion, when I venture to fix an imputation of this kind upon authors who stand highly in the opinion of the world, will take the trouble of comparing the titles, substances, and dates of the meetings and adjournments of parliament, as given by Hume and Smol-

lett, with the records themselves in the volumes of statutes at large, the acta regia and the documents in the public offices, and he will be astonished at the inattention of even these respectable historians."

The present volume is divided into eleven chapters, which comprehend the provincial history. The first commences with the ancient and present appellations of the county; and according to our author, Brecknockshire was formerly called *Garmathrin*,* i. e. *Forhold*, from the number of foxes which, previous to its cultivation, used to find a safe retreat in this mountainous district: and Brecknock from *Breichin*, a prince or regulus, who ruled here about the year of Christ 400, and *awc* or *awc*, which in British 'gives to names a local habitation,' i. e. the territory of Breichin. In ascertaining the country to which this district belonged, Mr. Jones is exceedingly severe in his remarks upon some of our most celebrated antiquaries; nor does he spare the leading writers among his own countrymen; and that in manners not the most courteous, nor in the most polished language. He refuses to admit that this county was a part of Siluria, and though he cannot satisfactorily find a site for the *Lorentium* of Ptolemy consistent with its relation to Maridunum, yet he is decidedly of opinion it originally formed a parcel of Dimetia, but few will be inclined to consider the quotation from the laws of Hywel Dha as sufficient evidence, because it not unfrequently happened that a diocese at that period contained both patronage and possessions in different territories and hostile seignories. We find that Ystradiw and Ewyas, part of this county, long constituted a portion of the diocese of Llandaff, and were held and governed by the regulus of Morganwy; this therefore proves nothing certain on the subject. The boundaries of this county are then given in detail, and the inaccuracies of former surveys pointed out; particularly the Tewthrag is here said to be surrounded by Monmouthshire; although, as part of Herefordshire, in all our maps hitherto published, it is laid down as encircled by Brecon. The number of inhabitants appears to have increased since the return made to the court of arches in 1078, more than in a double ratio.

The most considerable river is the *Wye*, which runs in a north-easterly direction through this county, to the extent of thirty-four miles. Some facts are here stated, in speaking of the fish produced in this and other smaller streams, which will be interesting to the sportsman and epicure as well as to the ichthyologist. "The trout of the Wye are found to be of a white or pale colour, and their flesh flabby, while those of the Uske are of a fine red, their flesh crimp and of a delicious flavour. The *cray fish*, or fresh-water lobster, is found in many brooks running into the Wye, but seldom if ever in those running into the Noke or Eron. The sewin is not seen in any river running from east to west, but in all those flowing in a contrary direction." The author laments the frequency of poaching, and the pernicious and destructive practice of taking the fish by throwing into streams unslaked lime, which stupifies the old ones, but destroys the spawn. He then adds many appropriate remarks on the existing laws relative to what is denominated the *rights of fishery*.

In chapter II. he comprises the history of the county from the invasion of the Romans till the death of Brychan, A. D. 450. Here he again adverts to territorial distinction, and adopts the opinion of Pinkerton, that Siluria was a *generic term*, and generally, when mentioned by the Roman writers, comprehended the whole of Deheubarth, or the present South Wales. The decisive engagement between the Roman general Ostorius and the British chief Caradoc, or Caractacus, is adverted to, with remarks on the supposed site of the battle, the route of the Roman army, and its subsequent retreat after ineffectually attempting to subjugate the county.

On Roman stations the learned author of the *Munimenta Antiqua* falls under Mr. Jones's animadversions. Malvern derived from the British *Moel-y-varn*, i. e. the high court of judgment or place of the legislative assembly, where the druids used to instruct the people in their threefold capacity, of judges, priests, and lawgivers. Speaking of early British fortifications he derives Dinas from Dan pronounced Dene, signifying a lofty strong-hold, or elevated fortification. Horsley's etymo-

* Carmarthen perhaps may be derived from the same source rather than from *Merthyr Emrys*, whose locality, if not existence, has been often doubted.

logies are objected to and refuted. The great military road, called Julia Strata, which our author avers took its name from Julius Frontinus, the Roman conqueror of Siluria, does not end, as both Coxe and Williams, in their histories of Monmouthshire, assert, at Lougher; but proceeded into Carmarthenshire, returned in the south side of the river Uske to the mass of Rhyd y Bhriew, where it was made some time ago; thence proceeded to Gacr, where it was crossed by another Roman road called *Sarn Helen*, leading from Nedd or Neath to Chester. From here it extended to Abergavenny, Usk, and Caerleon, where the links again joined and proceeded eastward to Aquæ Solis or Bath. Mr. Jones states that he has discovered traces of several *vicinal* or *foot roads* running through this county, frequently intersecting the great and direct military roads, which may have often directed the attention of antiquarian research, and led to erroneous conclusion. The author is frequently singular in his opinions. He rejects the usual derivation of *Sarn Helen*, i. e. Helen's Way, from Helen daughter of king Coel, (whose real existence he doubts,) and wife of Constantine the Great. '*Caer-Lleon*, he observes, is derived from a British chieftain of the name of *Lleon*; and the road leading from the station Nium or Neath to it, was thence called by the Britons *Sarn Lleon*, and afterwards romanized into *Strata Leona*, which by corruption became *Via Helena*.'

Quitting the Romans at the time they conquered Britain, the author proceeds to give an account of the affairs in this part of the principality from the earliest period. "For information," he justly observes, "he is obliged to have recourse to the MSS. of the Arwyddsfairdd, or heralds of the country; and as the principal duty and employment of these public officers were to record the pedigrees and exploits of the nobility and heroes, though their accounts may not be implicitly relied on, they are, from their very nature, entitled to a considerable share of attention," especially as "they are the only documents respecting the history of Brecon; imperious necessity has obliged the author to avail himself of the light they afford, or leave the subject where he found it, in *profound obscurity*." From similar records the history is continued in chap. iii. from the death of Brychan till the time of Cradoc-Fraich-Frâs. Here

we are entertained with some account of different saints, not registered in the Romish kalendar, who appear to have been really of *genuine British origin*. Numerous churches through this part of Britain are dedicated, as it is usually but erroneously styled, to persons whose very names have nearly been buried in utter oblivion. But from the most unexceptionable testimony it will appear, that churches were in early times dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*; and afterwards, when superstition gained the ascendancy, to the *Blessed Virgin*. The names they now bear were either those of their first founders, or of those holy men who usually attended divine offices in them, and preached the gospel in their vicinity. The story of Keyna or St. Cenai, with the stones which she turned into serpents, found at Keynsham, between Bath and Bristol, scarcely deserves repetition since the time of Camden: because the extraneous fossil alluded to has been discovered in so many other places, especially in horizontal limestone strata, that it ceases to be a curiosity. The legitimate line of Brychan, though it tends to throw considerable light on this portion of British history, and must be highly gratifying to those families descended from him, will probably be considered by the English reader as totally irrelevant: and the numerous names, though "neither uncouth in sound nor disgusting to the eye" of a Cambro-Briton, are ill calculated to afford him either profit or pleasure.

In chapter iv. the historic part is further detailed from the death of Cradoc-Fraich-Frâs, to the conquest of Brecknockshire by Bernard de Newmarch. It is natural for a native of this country to feel indignant while reading or relating the events of this period; and to be justly incensed at the unjust usurpation and consequent oppressions exercised by the English marauders. But, however the constable of a castle-keep may have frequently been, in these days of absolute power, an officer of injustice, and a minister of cruelty, we do not consider the expression 'head turnkey' an appropriate term; because in usual language a turnkey denotes an officer inferior to a gaoler: and were it strictly appropriate, such language is beneath the dignity of rational history. At page seventy-one, in a note, is a very judicious observation respecting the term *carno*, which Pennant thinks almost always denotes the scene where a battle has been

sought; and the discordant accounts of tumuli are here reconciled.

'The Gwentians were remarkable for long hair, and equal perfidy,' says Mr. Jones. We would ask is there any natural cause for such a combination? The men of Gwent do not appear at this period to have been more corrupt, or degenerate, than those of Brecheiniog, either by Saxon, Danish, Norman, or any other foreign mixture. The encomium here passed on the great legislator Hywel Dha is as agreeable to historic truth as it must be grateful to the feelings of the country for which his code was beneficially intended. Nor can there exist a doubt on comparing the institutions of Alfred with those of the Cambrian monarch, that they were derived at least from the same source.

Severe animadversions through this and the succeeding chapters are made on Powel's history of Wales, as the translator of *Canadoc y Llancarvan*. We have not the original by us, but suppose they must be just; and if so, they reflect disgrace instead of credit on him, that, acquainted with the language as he was, and possessing the means of information, he should venture for a moment to mislead the public. For the work of *Llancarvan* is a most invaluable document, and his authority has ever been considered as equal to his antiquity.

Chapter v. proceeds from the conquest by Bernard de Newmarch, till the accession of the barony by Humphry de Bohun. At page ninety-one we think Mr. J. accuses the historian of Somerset without reason. Collinson quotes Dugdale as his authority, and it is supposed by analogy; for Bernard de Newmarch held a manor in Haddington previously to the receiving the grant of the barony of Brecknock, and which, with others in Gloucestershire, Wilts, &c. he left to his favourite abbey of Battle, in Sussex. The place of Bernard's sepulture is uncertain: Brecknock and Gloucester both have preferred a claim, and sought for honour from the body of a man whose conduct they must both have reason to detest. Mr. Jones indignantly turns aside from the trifling enquiry to trace the pedigrees of families supposed lineally descended from the injured and insulted regulus, *Bleddin ap Mænach*.

The history is continued in the sixth chapter till the lapsing of the barony to the crown, and the subsequent grant of it to the Stafford family. In this we find little interesting, except a circumstance

related of the last Llewelyn, who, after his affairs became desperate, endeavouring to escape the pursuit of the enemy, adopted a measure similar to what has been asserted of Charles II. when prince of Wales, 'that of reversing his horse's shoes.' Adam de Francon or Frampton appears to have been the fortunate captor of the prince; and a copy of the family arms is given from a tomb, supposed to be his, at Wyburton church in Lincolnshire. In the subsequent unavailing struggle for independence, David Llewelyn, alias Gwalcham, is introduced to our notice as the character Shakspeare intended by his Welsh *Fluellen*. A most mortifying record for human pride occurs p. 161; and anecdote of Glyndwr's rebellion conclude the chapter.

In the seventh chapter, Mr. Jones adverts on both Carte and Buck, who have strained every nerve, and braved out the plainest matters of fact in their partiality to the house of York. In page 182 Mr. J. agrees with the author of historic doubts, in supposing that Perkin Warbeck was the real duke of York, though this is contrary to the united testimony of the principal English historians. There does not appear, however, sufficient evidence to prove the validity of this extraordinary discovery—and if such did exist, we also are astonished the world should have been so long and so generally misled on the question.' The chapter ends with a brief account of the civil war in this district. As only four persons compounded for their estates in consequence of their attachment to Charles the first, we may fairly conclude that the politics of the county at that period were not strongly on the side of royalty; and if they received no very marked attention after the restoration, they had less reason than any others to complain.

In chapter VIII. which is devoted to a view of religion, the origin and nature of Druidism is investigated and displayed. The author adopts the opinion of Mallet respecting the tenets of the Druids, and repels the idea of their offering up human sacrifices. Borlase appears to have been his guide; and collateral evidence is brought from the Bardic Trevedd. Indeed, if the doctrine of transmigration was one of their leading opinions, nothing could be more foreign to their faith, and, we should hope, their practice, than any species of cruelty, much more that of 'sacrificing their own species.' In opposition to the author of *Mona Antiqua*, he asserts, and with much probability, that

Druidism was derived from Gaul to Britain; and that, from the researches of sir William Jones and others, it was not unlike the religious system of the east; and that the Druids were a similar order of priests to the ancient Ghauri of Persia, and the Brahmins of Indostan. Mr. Jones adopts the old derivation of the name from *Pezron*, *derw* an oak, and *kudd* enchantment; and rejects that of Baxter, *derwydd* wise men; and the more modern one of the learned Owen, *dâr-gwydd*, one who has knowledge. An account of the first or highest order in the druidical church is given; and Borlase's opinion respecting the use of *Crwmllechen* is adopted. The character and offices of the second order, bards; and of the third, *ovates*, then follow. In the account of this subject we find scarcely any thing more than what has been given by the learned historian of the antiquities of Cornwall. Mr. Jones, however, opposes the received opinion of the massacre of the bards by order of Edward I. and observes, 'it rests merely upon the testimony of Wynne, an author who lived centuries subsequent to the event.' But we are obliged to ask, has not the horrid measure been alluded to in bardic authors, who wrote soon after it was said to have happened? For the sake of humanity, as well as the character of Edward, we wish our author may be found correct. That christianity was introduced very early into this island is highly probable; but that the tenets of druidism, more especially the *metempsychosis*, were calculated to facilitate its reception, we suppose, will not be considered a conclusive argument. In treating on its progress, Mr. J. thinks it untruly stated, that the Cambrian churches preserved their independance of the see of Rome till after the massacre of the monks of Bangor; but no proof to countenance such an assertion is here offered. If the statement contained in the Latin note, given from a MS. preserved in the library of Lincoln college, Oxford, be true, the state of the church of England must have been at that period dreadfully corrupt indeed. Some curious anecdotes are detailed of the learned monk Gyraldus Cambrensis, which leave but a very unfavourable impression on the mind respecting either the religious or moral character of the archdeacon of St. David's. At page 221 is an account of a complaint made to the pope in the time of Llewelyn, and since the abolition of his supremacy repeated to the English monarchs, respect-

ing the appointment of Englishmen to Welsh sees. We are surprized to find this policy defended by a Cambrian: nor do we think his countrymen will thank him for stating his reasons on this occasion. During the seizure of church preferments in the reign of Henry VIII. Brecknock equally suffered with the rest of South Wales, 'so that the bishop of the see, the only proper patron of church preferment, out of fifty-two benefices has only seven left.' A petition, presented to parliament, states the distressed situation to which the church and country was reduced by the pretended zeal of fanaticism for the cause of Christ; and the hypocrisy and self-interest apparent, on the one hand, and the integrity and disinterestedness on the other, form a striking contrast. A letter signed by three clergymen, to the commissioners appointed under a pretence for 'propagating the gospel,' exhibits the folly, tyranny, and cruelty, of these professedly strenuous advocates for liberty of conscience.

Chapter ix. treats of the laws from the time of Dyfnwal Moel, or, as he is by some termed, Malmutius, till the union of Wales with the crown of England. From him it is said, and we think with more than probability, that Alfred borrowed many of his wise regulations, which formed the basis of our present enviable constitution. The code of the great legislator Hywel Dda is justly commended; the general characteristic of whose system was 'a reparation of injuries and wrongs,' by the aggressors being obliged to make ample compensation to the aggrieved in money, cattle, or other valuable effects: and though many of these mulcts may to us, from the great change of manners which has taken place in this country, appear bordering upon the ridiculous, yet perhaps stronger sanctions in those times could not have been enacted; for they acted *in terrorem*, while they afforded satisfaction to the injured party. And if we look at the English laws at that time, and even lower down, we shall have cause to blush rather than to triumph. The origin and nature of gavelkind, a tenure which at length proved the loss of Welsh independance, is described, and the term which has puzzled so many gentlemen of the *long robe*, appears obviously derived from the British *gafellu* to hold, and *gyst* anciently, i. e. ancient tenure. It was natural to expect that the author would feel himself competent to enter on this part of the subject: and he has, we

think, acquitted himself in an able manner, both on this, and the subject of lords marchers. But is not Mr. J. incorrect in charging Powel with an error respecting the unfavourable conduct of Henry VII.? It is true, very few statutes of any sort were passed in that reign; yet three of them referred favourably to Wales; and it is well known, that many of an obnoxious kind, which had passed in former reigns, in this became obsolete. Nor do we think, from a Welshman, the phrase 'the cold-blooded Richmond,' either generous or just.

The tenth chapter consists of miscellaneous subjects, language, popular prejudices, customs, trade, projects, turnpikes, and canals. Under the first, Mr. Jones states the impropriety of the English in accusing the Welsh of lingual blunders which do not exist; and by comparing the different idioms of the two languages, points out such as really do. To the tenacious partiality of the Welsh for their vernacular tongue, he ascribes the peculiarity of national character, still visible in Wales.

The following portrait of the Welsh appears to be drawn and coloured with great accuracy, though many of the features are rather too strongly marked, and the resident Cambrian will be apt to pronounce the whole a caricature.

"The Welsh are (I fear) proud, irascible, abrupt in address, hasty in their delivery, and sometimes in their conclusions; they are shrewd in argument, persevering and indefatigable in pursuit of a favourite point, cautious and artful in their endeavours to conceal their object from the party from whom it is sought, and too fond of obtaining it by fraud or artifice: indeed, the difference between wisdom and cunning does not seem to be thoroughly understood by all the inhabitants of this country. A victory in a court of law (and they have rather a litigious spirit) is thought more valuable, and the lawyer better esteemed, by a certain description, when it is obtained by manoeuvre or chicanery, than when it follows the weight of evidence, or the fair merits of the case. For the English they have long entertained an habitual and almost inveterate aversion; and, though it is now wearing off very fast, it is but too evident in their dealings and in their manner of speaking of them.

"Sais yw of ayn.

"He is a Saxon, beware," is still frequently heard, when one of the natives of Wales perceives his countryman in treaty with an Englishman; and it is said that formerly the articles of consumption, esteemed as the greatest luxuries in the principality,

were 'Caws wedi bobi, a sais wedi grogi,' or 'toasted cheese and hung Saxon.'

Without having recourse to railing, the author might more profitably have employed a few pages in endeavouring to account for the existence of the characteristic traits, by tracing such effects up to their obvious causes. Hospitality has ever been considered as one branch of charity: we cannot therefore reconcile what the author denies p. 283, with what he asserts p. 284. Respecting superstition, his remarks are partially correct: but still where any people have but little intercourse with others unshackled with such chains, their own will become more firmly rivetted; and the comparison here formed, between the accounts of Mallet and Edward Jones, furnishes a confirmation. Mr. J. however admits, 'that they retain very obstinate partialities, are averse to all innovations, tenacious to a fault of ancient opinions, and entertain an unconquerable dislike to the use or even acknowledgment of surnames.' To obviate what, with the many, he considers as a reflection on the mode of living, he observes, 'the Welsh shew a particular fondness for the meillionen, or trefail,' called among the Irish, who wear it on St. Patrick's day, in honour of that holy man, shamrock. But is it not as reasonable to suppose, that St. David, to whose honour, to the present hour, the leek is worn by the Welsh, might, like St. Patrick, have made use of a plant to illustrate the mystery of the Trinity, to a people conversant with the productions of nature: a mode to such far more convincing than abstract reasonings! Mr. Jones gives an account, p. 291, of a peculiar method of reckoning used by the Welsh, similar to one in use among some eastern nations. With the author, we lament that few manufactures have hitherto been successfully introduced to support and encourage the agriculture of this county, while its neighbour, Glamorgan, has set them an example. At p. 294 is an account which would almost induce us to think that the present national blessing of turnpike-roads originated in times of tyranny, and that the arbitrary tolls of portage and pannage indirectly led to comfort and safety. Fifty years ago this part of the principality was impassable for carriages, and now a regular mail-coach runs three times a week through it. The backwardness of farmers to perform statute labour is loudly complained of. This was certainly previous to the roads being put

under commission, a necessary and incumbent duty; but since a power has been given to raise money on the public by tolls sufficiently adequate for the purpose, this tax upon the industry of the district is partial and oppressive. The custom ought long since to have been abolished, for it is a base and unnecessary relic of *feudal tyranny*. With respect to canals, out of one hundred and fifty public acts which have passed the legislature, besides private ones, for inland navigation, in the course of the last forty years, not half are yet completed. Such effects prove, beyond a doubt, that this mode of improvement has risen far above its level. The Brecknock canal does not, nor is it likely to, form an exception to the rule. The original estimate was 100,000*l.*: and after going to parliament for new powers, and expending 150,000*l.* *ten miles of the line is not merely unfinished, but untouched!*

Chapter xi. commences with an account of an agricultural society, formed so early as March 1755, and is therefore the first institute of this nature established in the kingdom. The patriotic intentions of those gentlemen who formed the first committees, and the subsequent resolutions adopted, do equal credit to their understandings and their hearts. We are sorry to be informed that their attempts to introduce manufactures have finally failed. That the making of yarn, and the market established for the sale of it, soon ceased, is not matter of surprise. For in any district where a manufactory is set up of spinning wool or any other article, the weaving process should be established at the same time, and, if possible, some portion of the factoring business introduced. After this failure, the attention of the society was directed principally to the agriculture of the county. Mr. J. thinks that Mr. Clarke, who drew up the report relating to this county, for the national board, has been too partial in his observations, especially with respect to irrigation. If the statement be accurate, 'that the produce of the country be not sufficient, rich as its vales are, for the support of its present population,' we must, knowing the nature of the country, subscribe, however reluctantly, to the justness of this remark, 'that the Brecknockshire farmer must gain by desolation, and lose by improvement.' P. 317, Mr. Jones gives us a new and ingenious mode of getting rid of noxious weeds; but still perhaps hand-weeding in broadcast, and

horse-hoeing in drill-husbandry, are far more successful preventives. The mode of cutting wheat with a guarded scythe has been long known here, though pompously brought into notice lately as a valuable discovery imported from Italy. And what is still more extraordinary, the Romans, Gyraldus informs us, learned the use of this very scythe from the Britons. Some observations here occur which might have been very profitably extended, respecting the ancient and present state of land-measure in Wales: but the statement here given of the two words for our acre, *cyfar* and *crw*, is different from that given by other writers. In the enumeration of beasts of burden, we looked in vain for an account of a very singular, and we believe in Britain unique, breed of asses: numbers of which are annually bred and reared in this county. They are produced from English she-asses and Spanish males or stallions, which are imported for that purpose. They are from twelve to fourteen hands high, sell from ten to thirty pounds each, and are employed in carrying coal, iron, and other heavy goods, between Brecknock and Abergavenny, from the different works in the vicinity.

Mr. Jones's observations on sheep are new; and after what he says on this subject, p. 320, we hope our untravelling gentry will cease to smile at the accounts of some learned tourists, relating to the peculiar nature, habits, and instinct, of this breed of sheep.

Some pertinent remarks occur respecting the different kinds of manures; and the northern doctors, Anderson and Hunter, are set in array against each other, respecting that baneful practice of the Welsh farmer, the indiscriminate use of lime: late haning up, as it is termed, and delaying cutting hay till the sap is gone, are justly condemned. To which are added, others equally just on the price of grain, scarcity, poor-rates, and the price of labour. On this subject we cordially adopt the language of the author.

"It will always be safest to leave labour to itself, and in every situation it will find its level; that is, it will probably submit to such prices as plenty or scarcity shall continually impose: but legislative interference will ever be found not only impolitic but inefficient. The exertion of authority only serves to create disgust; and, by cramping industry, increases rather than mitigates the evil."

The appendix contains eighteen papers, which have been properly kept out of the

body of the work, where they are referred to : and a copious index is annexed.

We sincerely wish Mr. Jones health to finish the work ; and that he may be amply remunerated for the labour he must have taken in collecting and arranging the valuable materials of which it is composed. The few plates that are given, might,

with much propriety, have been omitted ; as they tend to enhance the price of the volume without adding to its value. It is time that mere slight picturesque views, as they are termed, should be exploded from county histories. In the manner they are generally drawn and executed, they are completely useless.

ART. IX.—*An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, containing a Description of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, with the Foundations of Monasteries, Churches, Chapels, Chantries, and other religious Buildings ; also an Account of the ancient and present State of all the Rectories, Vicarages, Donatives, and Impropriations, their former and present Patrons and Incumbents, with their several Valuations in the King's Books, whether discharged or not ; likewise an historical Account of the Castles, Seats, and Manors, their present and ancient Owners ; together with the Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Arms in all the Parish Churches and Chapels ; with several Draughts of Churches, Monuments, Arms, ancient Ruins, and other Relics of Antiquity. Collected out of Ledger-books, Registers, Records, Evidences, Deeds, Court-rolls, and other authentic Memorials. By FRANCIS BLOMEFIELD, Rector of Fersfield, in Norfolk. Vol. I. II. and III. royal 8vo.*

THIS is said by the editor to be the second edition of a work, which being out of print, the publisher (Mr. W. Miller, who appears to be particularly connected with the county) thought it advisable to reprint, and promises to continue this 'Essay,' in two additional volumes.

'The intrinsic excellence,' he observes, 'of the original work, and the extended and deserved reputation it had long established, left little risk and danger to be apprehended in offering a new edition.'

Sanctioned therefore by particular patronage in the county, he has issued three out of ten volumes, and promises to produce the remainder with all possible expedition. It rarely happens that second editions of county histories answer the expectations of the publisher, or remunerate him for his expences. Hoping that Mr. Miller will experience better encouragement, we shall suspend any remarks on the intrinsic merit of the work till it be completed.

ART. X.—*The History of Cornwall, civil, military, religious, architectural, agricultural, commercial, biographical, and miscellaneous. By the Rev. R. POLWHELE, of Polwhele, and Vicar of Manaccun. Vol. III. 4to.*

IN the second volume of our work, p. 398, we noticed, and gave some account of the first and second parts of Mr. Polwhele's history of Cornwall. As the present is a continuation of those, and executed exactly in the same style and manner, we need only refer our readers to that volume for our sentiments concerning this author's historical and antiquarian productions. The present, like the former, consists more of miscellaneous dissertations, extracts, and remarks, than of historical narrative. It may be considered rather as collections towards a work than as a genuine, perfect history. Yet, though very defective in this respect, the author occasionally calls into action that genius and those talents which he certainly possesses, and which, if actively and decidedly applied to the work, would render it highly amusing, and extremely attractive. For the county of Cornwall is very dissimilar to any other part of this island. Its na-

tural, civil, commercial, and topographical characteristics are singular ; and, if properly displayed, would become eminently interesting. Situated in the midst of such a district, Mr. Polwhele has many local advantages, and his patrons, or readers, are entitled to expect that he will faithfully embrace those, and apply them to his work. The present volume contains only 156 pages, the last 96 of which are from the pen of Mr. Whitaker, the bishop of Cloyne, and two or three other gentlemen, who communicated their writings to the author. The principal subjects treated of are, chap. 1.—on "the pasturage, agriculture, gardens, and parks," of the county, "from the time of Fortegern, to the reign of Edward the first." To this period the author professes to confine himself, and in the subsequent chapters notices a few circumstances relating to the "mining, commerce, language, literature, and literary characters ; popu-

lation, health, strength, diseases; manners, diversions, and superstitions of the people." Though Mr. Polwhele has adduced some curious information on these subjects, yet we expected much more. Instead of filling his pages with long extracts from the published works of Borlase, Pryce, Hals, &c. he should give his own opinions in his own language. To descend to the office of a mere compiler is degrading to his talents, and unworthy of the author of the "*Old English Gentleman*."

Above half of the present volume is denominated "a supplement to the first and second books of the history of Cornwall," and contains "remarks on St. Michael's Mount, Penzance, the Land's-end, and the Sylleh Isles," by the historian of Manchester.

This latter part of the volume contains much interesting and much eccentric disquisition. Ever hunting for novelty, Mr. Whitaker occasionally rouses us to admiration, and then lulls us to indifference. The avidity with which he grasps at a new subject, the energy of language he employs, and the zeal he evinces, at once excite our curiosity, and warm our feelings; but by pursuing the narrative too far, and detailing all its connecting and collateral events, his own spirits appear sometimes to flag, and the reader becomes tired. In the following extract the style and philosophy of this writer are fairly displayed.

ART. XI.—*The History of Chichester, interspersed with various Notes and Observations on the early and present State of the City, the most remarkable Places in its Vicinity, and the County of Sussex in general; with an Appendix, &c. &c. By ALEXANDER HAY, A. M. Vicar of Wisborough Green; and Chaplain of St. Mary's Chapel in this City.* pp. 630.

THE author, who is a venerable clergyman, about twenty years ago published a Chichester Guide, which has passed through several editions, and the reason he assigns for erecting on that base the present superstructure, was, that he flattered himself the information he had collected in the course of several years was of some importance, and he was unwilling it should be entirely lost. During the execution of such an undertaking, he remarks, he was not mistaken in expecting to meet with various obstacles and difficulties in the way; "for they," says he, "have not been inconsiderable, either in their nature or their number." How far he has

"This mount (St. Michael's) shooting up conically from a broad base to a narrow summit, and forming a peak of Teneriffe in miniature, will naturally seem to every eye that traces the resemblance, equally with that the production of a volcano. Standing too within the sea, when it certainly stood once upon the shore, and surveying from its eminence a large scene of desolation, wrought by the ocean around; it naturally combines this scene with that aspect in the mind of a reflector, and suggests the desolation to have been the effect of the volcano. So reasoning, however, we should argue with much of probability, but little of truth. Nature has reared her conical hills, as she has sunk her rounding craters, without using the aid of a volcano. The castle-hill of Launceston, in our own county, and probably a thousand hills beside, in the other counties of the island, are existing proofs for the truth of the former assertion; as what is vulgarly called *The Devil's Punch Bowl*, on Hind-head, in Surry, is an equal proof for the justness of the latter.* We contract too rigidly the plastic powers of nature, in confining their operations to a single mode only. We shew a creeping poverty of thought unworthy of Providence, when we ought to expand our ideas, and let loose our imaginations, in an eagle's flight after God. We suffer philosophy to bind up our wings, and to chain down our feet, rather than take a free range with theology and judiciousness in the air, to catch the diversified appearances of the working hand divine. And, as the mount has at no period exhibited any symptoms of a volcano in itself, so is its form seen in history, just what it appears at present, ages before the desolation."

overcome the one and surmounted the other, the candid reader must be left to judge.

The contents of this volume, according to Mr. Hay's statement, are the gleanings of many years before he thought of laying them before the public, so that we suppose he previously adopted the well-known advice of Horace: and we wish he had also attended to this maxim from the same writer—

"Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis,
"æquam
Viribus."

The various information here collected is but ill arranged, and for want of due

* "This crater is little known to the reading public, but lies in the road from London to Portsmouth, about the forty-third mile-stone."

perspicuity in the method, repetitions of the same subjects frequently occur; and as it principally consists of observations from other writers, the author does not uniformly appear consistent with himself. The style from the same cause is very unequal, the language frequently confused, the idioms quaint, and the terms obsolete. The author, however, is sensible that his style "is far from being highly ornamented;" but then he enters a strong caveat against any verbal criticism. "I never, he says, approved of *flowery periods* in this kind of writing, and now, on the verge of seventy years of age, am not more fond of them." The allusion in the latter part of the sentence, joined with some that follow, have smoothed our foreheads, and we sincerely lament, that literary men, after a long life so spent, should be under the necessity of still labouring for the necessities of life; when their station and public productions should justly entitle them to competence and ease.

The work is divided into chapters, and commences with a topographical description of the site of the city, and the nature of the surrounding country. An attempt is then made to trace the original founders of this ancient place, the capital of the Regni, though it is not stated to be the *Regnum* of the itinerary; nor is any allusion made to the remains of the Roman road, which formed its connection with the Venta Belgarum, now Winchester. The state of the inhabitants is adverted to during the stay of the Romans in this island. But nothing is observed here which has not often been observed before. The invasion of this country by the Saxons is next described. Ella is said to be the first leader who landed in Sussex, and his son Cissa gave the present name of Chichester to the city. The author then goes back in chapter V. to the state of society in Sussex, previous to the time of the Saxons; and the Celtæ are a second time introduced to notice. Then the Saxons are mentioned again, and their ignorance and ferocious cruelty depicted. Chap. VII. the *Cimbri* are said to be the original inhabitants of this isle, and the nature of druidism is canvassed. The account of their offering human sacrifices is doubted, allowed, and then denied. Stonehenge is called the most remarkable druidical temple now in England; and the druids and their religion are said to have been entirely extirpated on the death of Boadicea, queen of the Icenî, A.D. 61. What becomes then of the accounts of Tacitus re-

specting the affairs in Britain, at a period long subsequent to this, especially the one so distinguished on the reduction of Mona? Whether christianity was planted in this island by the apostle Paul, certainly may admit of doubt; but that, "after prevailing five centuries both it and its professors were expelled from hence by the victorious Saxons," cannot be accurate. Some of them fled to Armorica, but others maintained their rights and freedom in the south-western part, in the north, and long retained nearly the entire country to the west of the Severn.

The general massacre of the Danes Mr. Hay is not inclined to admit, though stated as a fact by almost all our historians; because it was foreign to the humane character of Ethelred. p. 115. In the next page are some just reflections on war.

If, as here stated, the people, previous to the coming of Wilfred, were ignorant of the art of catching fish, we may justly conclude, that their knowledge was extremely bounded. Yet skill in music and poetry generally includes the idea of refinement rather than ferocity. A fragment of Creation, a poem, written by Caedmon, a South-Saxon poet, and translated into English by Ar. H. "perhaps Arthur Hall," who lived in the reign of Henry the 7th, or Henry the 8th, is curious, as showing the orthography of our language at the time; though it may not justify the unqualified eulogium here paid to the Saxon bard. p. 140, notes.

In chapters XIII. and XIV. the author is very severe in his animadversions upon the unjust invasion, and subsequent oppressions of William the Conqueror; and the kingdom at that unhappy time is described "as half depopulated, and the remainder of the people as labouring under unspeakable and unmerited suffering;" "that not only the thanes and other proprietors of lands were driven from thence, but even the earls ejected from their possessions with rigour and unfeeling barbarity: and that in the short space of nine years after the conquest, of all the ancient English nobility there was not one of them left in it." That badge of slavery, the curfew, Mr. Hay acquits William from the guilt of having introduced, and thinks it was a previous necessary custom from the style of timber-building in those times. The state of Chichester is given from Doomsday-book; Montgomery was its first lord under that survey, who built the castle, and Stigand its first Norman bishop. Among the changes which took place in

the manners of the people, we are informed, among numerous other evils, the Normans introduced *fedissimum Sodome sce-lus*!

In the reign of Henry VII. some strange heterogeneous remarks on architecture occur. p. 293. The Saxon is here styled the real Gothic, which was supplanted by the ornamental Gothic, and the elegant specimen in Henry the VIIth's chapel in Westminster Abbey is said to be disgusting, and a proof of degeneracy in architectural science.

In enumerating religious houses much information is withheld, because Mr. Clarke observes, that there must have been great mistakes in the charters contained in Dugdale. But might not these have been rectified by referring to other works, especially the *Notitia Monastica* of Tanner, edited by Nasmith, or even Speed? We are informed, in treating of the civil war, that one William Cawley, but not the one who belonged to the corporation, was the regicide who beheaded the unfortunate Charles the first. This distinguished act has been attributed to several, by different writers, but our author relates a story from a celebrated French writer, M. Arnaud, which, if authentic, puts the matter beyond all further doubt.

"After the battle of Dettingen the earl of S—— too freely exposed the injudicious conduct of the commander in chief of the British forces there, which gave him great offence, for which reason the earl retired from court in disgust, and was preparing to go to his estate in Scotland, and there abide. A few days before his intended departure, he received a letter from an unknown hand, requesting an interview with him at a specified time and place—and the day after another letter, more pressing than the former. This was too singular to be wholly neglected; he therefore went to the place appointed, one of those bye-places in London that most commonly indicate poverty and wretchedness. There, in a mean garret, by the help of a glimmering light he perceived a man lying on a bed, with every appearance of old age. "Be seated, my lord, (said he) you have nothing to fear from a man an hundred and twenty-five years old. Have you not occasion for certain writings (mentioning them) that relate to your family and fortune?" On lord S—— answering in the affirmative, "there they are (said he) deposited in that casket;" at the same time giving him the key. "To whom (said the other) am I indebted for this great favour?" If he was much surprised to

learn that the miserable object before him was his great-grandfather, he was still more astonished when he told him that he was the masked executioner of king Charles I.

"A cursed spirit of revenge (continued he) impelled me to this foul deed. I had been treated, as I supposed, with indignity by my sovereign. I suspected him of having seduced my sister, and was determined to be revenged for this imagined injury. I entered into, and forwarded, all the designs of Cromwell; and to compleat the measure of my wickedness, I solicited him to let me be the executioner. The vengeance of heaven has pursued me ever since. I have been a wretched wanderer in Europe and Asia; and remorse has accompanied me in every place, while heaven has protracted my miserable life beyond the ordinary term of nature. That casket contains the remains of my fortune. I came hither to end my wretched days. I had heard of your disgrace at court, the very reverse of what your virtues merited; and I wished, before I quitted this scene, to contribute thus to your welfare. All the return I request is, that you will leave me to myself, and shed a tear to the memory of one whose long, long repentance, may at last expiate his crimes. Lord S—— earnestly pressed his hoary ancestor to retire with him to Scotland, and there, under a fictitious name, pass the remainder of his days. He long withstood all his intreaties, till wearied out by importunity he consented, or seemed to consent. The next day, however, when his lordship returned, he had quitted the spot; and notwithstanding all the researches he made, his fate remains a mystery to this day."*

An account is given of the siege of Chichester, if siege be as proper a term as surrender, and the mischiefs which afterwards befel the city are attributed to the exertions of loyalty. After the seizure (by the writ of quo warranto) of the corporate charters during the reign of Charles II. a new observation occurs, which asserts, that those which appear to have been returned before the abdication of the crown by James II. were misdated for obvious reasons, and were not actually returned till the prince of Orange had prepared to land in England. Chichester is said to have once been famous for its needle manufacture, which is now lost, its staple being malting, and the number of houses and its population have but little increased for the last century. It appears a quiet ~~good~~ retreat rather than a trading-place; and the principal improvements in its buildings have been made since the year 1730. At p. 370 is a description of a handsome stone cross, which for beauty

* Vide Supplement to Universal Magazine, 1766.

is said to exceed the celebrated one at Coventry. P. 394, is a description of its noble cathedral, which Mr. Hay supposes to have been built by Seffrid II. the seventh bishop of the see, and consecrated A. D. 1199. The dimensions here given differ materially from those in *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, published by J. Taylor, 1802. Mr. Hay now pays attention to other parts of the city, and gives the limits of the port and the key (*quay*) does belonging to the corporation, and a table of these dues follows. In the XXVIth chapter he reverts again to the church, and gives an account of the pictures and paintings in the southern transept of the cathedral. To this is added, a copy of the antiquities of the cathedral, left in manuscript by the late Rev. Mr. Clarke, which Mr. Hay says is little more than the echo of Dr. Lyttleton's observations on the subject. Some animadversions on its contents appear to us to partake too much of illiberality, when it is evident that Mr. Hay has borrowed so much from that very learned antiquary's researches. Nor does it appear impossible, nor even improbable, that bishop Ralph built the present edifice, although bishop Seffrid "did consecrate it." It might not be sufficiently completed for the celebration of divine service on the demise of Ralph, and even "in the time of Seffrid every thing belonging to it as a cathedral church was not thoroughly finished, A. D. 1204." It is therefore not impossible that the spire, perhaps the last thing finished, might have been the work of the same architect who built the similar, but higher one at Salisbury. On a comparison of the arguments, we think Mr. Clarke's statements the most entitled to attention. Chapter XXVII. contains a short account of the martyrs of the city and county, the bishops of Selsea and Chichester, copied from *Magna Britannia*, and a list of deans. Chapter XXVIII. contains an account of several eminent persons, who were either natives of the county, or who had been long residents in it. Among these is Collins the poet, who lies buried in Chichester cathedral, where a beautiful and classical monument has been raised to his memory. This was executed by that eminent sculptor, John Flaxman, R. A.* on which

"The poet is represented as just recovered from a fit of phrenzy, to which he was un-

happily subject, and in a calm and reclining posture, seeking refuge from his misfortunes in the consolations of the gospel, while his lyre and one of his first poems lie neglected on the ground. Above are two beautiful figures of love and pity entwined in each other's arms. The workmanship is most exquisite; and if any thing can equal the expressive sweetness of the sculpture, it is the following excellent epitaph, written by William Hayley and John Sargent, esquires.

"Ye, who the merits of the dead revere,
Who hold misfortune sacred, genius dear,
Regard this tomb, where Collins' hapless name
Solicits kindness with a double claim.
Tho' nature gave him, and tho' science taught
The fire of fancy, and the reach of thought,
Severely doomed to penury's extreme,
He past in mad'ning pain life's feverish dream;
While rays of genius only served to show
The thick'ning horror, and exalt his woe.
Ye walls, that echo'd to his frantic moan,
Guard the due record of this grateful stone;
Strangers to him, enamour'd of his lays,
This fond memorial to his talents raise;
For this the ashes of a bard require
Who touched the tenderest notes of pity's
lyre,
Who joined pure faith to strong poetic
powers,
Who, in reviving reason's lucid hours,
Sought on one book his troubled mind to rest,
And rightly deemed the book of God the
best!"

Chapter XXIX. includes a brief account of some of the towns, villages, &c. in the vicinity of Chichester, which might have been considerably extended, without much deviation from the plan: for the work here, as in various other places, partakes more of the nature of a local guide than a topographical history. At p. 589 is an interesting account of the vestiges of a large Roman camp on the Broile near the city. Midhurst, the *Midæ* of the Romans, is represented as being now held principally by a burgage tenure of a singular nature. "There are some stones in the place which are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. which gave a right to the holders of them to vote at elections." And that this important business is sometimes transacted by an echo, and other "equally ridiculous means, must create a smile while it excites our indignation, at the farcical state to which burgage franchise is at length systematically reduced." Then follows a list of sheriffs, a partial one of representatives, mayors, &c. &c.

* "See a print of this monument in a new edition of Collins's Poems by Sharpe.

The author concludes with a hope, if we have been weary of our guide in travelling with him over a very extensive, and sometimes sterile plain, he shall induce us to smile at parting, by calling our attention to an admired epigram, written by the late canon-residentary Clarke, upon the Latin words, *domus ultima*, inscribed on the family-vault of Richmond, in the cathedral:

"Did he who thus inscrib'd the wall
Not read, or not believe, Saint Paul?
Who says there is, where'er it stands,
Another house not built with hands.
Or may we gather from these words,
That house is not a house of lords?"

From the preceding observations and references it will be seen, that the History of Chichester contains a great variety of matter, and treats of a multiplicity of

subjects: and if the remarks are not always apposite, they may frequently instruct, or at least amuse. The author has taken a wide range of prospect; and if the country over which he traverses happens to be barren of incident, he does not fail to endeavour to fertilize it, by streams diverted from their usual channels, and derived from the most distant sources. The mind is incessantly taken away, and brought back to the spot; and though this is not strictly the mode a judicious topographer should adopt, yet perhaps the general reader will be as well pleased by being informed when glass was first used in England, as when the spire of this cathedral was struck by lightning; and when the first anchors were forged in Britain, as when the best needles were made at Chichester.

ART. XII.—*An Historical and Descriptive Account of St. Edmund's Bury, in the County of Suffolk: comprising an ample Detail of the Origin, Dissolution, and venerable Remains of the Abbey, and other Places of Antiquity in that ancient Town.* By EDMUND GILLINGWATER, author of the *History of Lowestoft*, &c. 12mo. pp. 311.

THIS is a small volume, and insignificant in form; but from the closeness of the type, accompanied by numerous and long notes in a diminutive letter, it comprises a considerable quantity of matter, and furnishes much useful information.

The author appears an observant man, and, as far as relates to the town and its antiquities, well acquainted with his subject. But though he keeps closer to his title and professed object than many of his contemporaries in this department, yet he thinks it necessary to commence his history before he allows that the town of Bury was in existence, and to illustrate his pages by some extraneous collections.

He begins by observing, that "Bury is esteemed the Montpelier of England:" we suppose he must mean of *Suffolk*, otherwise his favourite author, Abbe Floriacensis, will strongly oppose him; who describes East Anglia as nearly environed with waters, and the flat country on the banks of the Ouse, and the slow-running rivers flowing into it, cannot be so salubrious as where the streams are rapid, and the country more varied.

The town of Bury has been considered by some as the site of the *villa Faustini* of Antoninus, and the Saxon name of Beoderic-Weard means the same, i. e. happiness and prosperity. But this is mere etymological nuge. There was a villa Faustini at Baia near Rome: there were two consuls of the name of *Faustinus*; and wherever the Anglo-Roman station was

situated, it doubtless derived its name as being a place appertaining to a Roman of that name.

The author is decided it was *not at Bury*, and adduces his reasons in a note (page 3, &c.):

"*Burg*, now Bury, is derived from *Burgh*, which meant a sodality or community, who were mutually pledges for each other; and hence we derive the name and nature of our prescriptive borough; and it is not to be confounded with *Berig*, the Saxon appellation for distinguishing a British strong-hold from the Roman castrum, by them called *Ceastre*."

The history of the Icenii, brief as it is, at best is irrelevant, and we are not satisfied with the etymon of the name.

The most prominent object of antiquity in this town is its venerable abbey, which is said here to have been founded by Sigebert, fifth king of the East Angles. It is also related that the bones of king *Edmund*, who was cruelly slain by the Danes, were removed from Hoxne to this place; whence it obtained its present name of *St. Edmund's Bury*. An account of this royal martyr is given from the poetry of Lidgate, who is here called one of the monks of Bury. He was certainly born at Lidgate, a small village in this county; but others, among which is Hay, assert he was a monk of Hadfield-Broad-Oak, Essex. Many ridiculous stories of the juggling-tricks played by the ecclesiastics of the time are here related, and which are ridiculed with considerable humour, by this early English poet.

Page 51, in a note, is a story which has been detailed in larger works, (see Duncumb's Hereford, &c.) but which we think not only improbable, but ridiculous, respecting the origin and design of the fantastic ornaments observable about many sacred buildings.

The present abbey, of which some crumbling remains are still to be seen, particularly its noble gateway, was built of stone, brought from Bernack in Northamptonshire, by abbot Baldwyn, who died 1021. Leland, who saw it previous to the dissolution, says, "a more magnificent building the sun never saw." The ruins of the conventual church, now proudly pre-eminent, may, for ages, yet remain a monument of its former splendour. The dimensions of its various parts are subjoined, as taken in 1790. A list of its abbots is given, and some reflections at page 99 are very appropriate.

The list of relics, more especially the ceremony of the *White Bull*, (page 142,) shew to what a degraded state the noblest faculties of man may be, and have been, reduced by the depressing power of superstition.

The author next gives an account of the municipal government, ecclesiastical edifices, charitable foundations, &c. of the town. The distinction between *ecclesiastical* and *commercial* guilds, if not conclusive, is ingenious, and the account of *witch-hunting*, (page 187,) must excite

in the bosom of humanity, indignation and regret.

This town has, from its earliest state, been a place of great distinction; many of our monarchs, from devotion, and other causes, honouring it with their presence, and conferring on it distinguished favours. Several parliaments were holden here in different reigns. It had four gates, which were standing in 1766, but these have since been taken down. The houses have been greatly improved, handsome public buildings erected, and the population has rapidly increased. The charitable bequests have been extremely numerous: the fairs are large, and the markets well supplied: so that when the situation, present state, respectable inhabitants, and the handsome seats of the nobility and gentry in its environs are taken into the view, St. Edmund's Bury may be ranked among the number of places affording a pleasing and genteel residence.

A list of plants growing in the vicinity, with their habitats, is annexed.—Four miserable engravings accompany this work.

We should have been more particular in our observations respecting this ancient and interesting town, and have entered further into detail relating to its once magnificent abbey, had not a larger work on the same subject, by Mr. Yates, just made its appearance; to which our duty, as well as inclination, will incline us to pay particular attention in our next volume.

ART. XIII.—*A Selection of Views in the County of Lincoln; comprizing the principal Towns and Churches, the Remains of Castles and religious Houses, and the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry; with topographical and historical Accounts of each View. Engraved by BARTHOLOMEW HOWLETT. 4to.*

THE principal feature of this volume is its "pretty pictures." The accompanying descriptions are very subordinate, and contain but little to interest the topographical reader. A few of the prints from drawings, by Turner and Girtin, are pleasing and beautiful; but these are rather injudiciously introduced, as they make the remaining subjects appear more insipid and tasteless by contrast. To engrave and publish every scene that presents itself, and views of almost every house, in a county, is giving too much consequence to trifles, and taxing public curiosity at too high a

rate. This is very apparent in the present volume, which contains seventy-five prints, full plates and vignettes; but out of these there are not above twenty that have beauty, elegance, or antiquity to recommend them. This is the more to be regretted, as the county of Lincoln abounds with fine churches, and curious remains of antiquity. On the whole, this can only be considered as a miscellaneous volume of prints with short accounts: for, as a book, it has neither preface nor index, beginning nor end.

ART. XIV.—*The Traveller's Guide: or, English Itinerary: containing accurate and original Descriptions of all the Counties, Cities, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, &c. and their exact Distances from London: together with the Cathedrals, Churches, Hospitals, Gentlemen's Seats (with the Names of their present Possessors), Manufactures, Harbours, Bays, Rivers, Canals, Bridges, Lakes, salt and medicinal Springs, Vales, Hills, Mountains, Mines, Castles, Curiosities, Market-days, Fairs, Inns for Post-horses, &c. The whole comprizing a complete Topography of England and Wales. To which are prefixed, gene-*

val Observations on Great Britain; including a correct Itinerary from London to the several Watering and Sea-bathing Places; Lists of Inns in London; Mail Coaches; Wharfs; Packet-boats; Rates of Portage; Postage of Letters; and every other useful Information, equally calculated for the Man of Business and the inquisitive Traveller. By W. C. OULTON, Esq. Illustrated with Sixty-six correct picturesque Views, and a whole-sheet coloured Map of England and Wales. In two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 825, and 944.

WE would recommend to this same Mr. Oulton a little more modesty in his title-page, or a little more care in avoiding such palpable blunders as the following:

Of Axminster, Devon, the "*first* market-town in this county," the compiler says: "It takes one part of its name from the river Axe, on which it stands; and the other from a minster *now standing*, erected here by king Athelstan." The present church of Axminster is modern; and the town is neither the *first*, nor is its market the *first*, in the county. "Battlefield (Shropshire) village, distant from Shrewsbury five miles. It is governed by

a constable, and consists of about 400 houses, and 1400 inhabitants. It has a large church, and one long street paved; but no manufactory." Here is a host of errors—for this place is merely a hamlet in the vicinity of Shrewsbury, consisting of only twelve houses, and those not ranged in a paved street, but scattered; and instead of near 1400 inhabitants, there were only 83 in the year 1801.

The castle of Caerfily is described of "admirable structure and vast extent, concluded by most to have been a *Roman* garrison, and to have been built about 400 years before the birth of Christ."

ART. XV.—*Londinum Redivivum; or, an ancient History and modern Description of London. Compiled from parochial Records, Archives of various Foundations, the Harleian MSS. and other authentic Sources.* By JAMES PELLER MALCOLM. Vol. II. 4to. pp. 610; and vol. III. pp. 586.

IN our review of the first volume of this work (vide Ann. Rev. vol. i. p. 471) we gave a favourable account of it, from a wish to encourage the compiler in his pursuits, and to make him still more assiduous in his researches. Desirous of seeing an useful and complete history of the British metropolis, we urged him to condense all the material points of information relating to each parish into a small compass; and to avoid filling his pages with useless and uninteresting matter. In reading over the present volumes, and comparing them with the former, we perceive, with regret, that the author has exercised but little discretion in the admission of his materials; for here, as before, we find page after page filled with dull lists of "births, marriages, and deaths," rectors' names, and irrelevant quotations. Among numerous other instances we refer to p. 397, &c. of vol. ii., where *six pages and a half* are occupied by an extract from a poem by Lidgate, descriptive of Henry the Sixth's entry into the metropolis from France. Forbearing any further animadversions at present, we shall lay before our readers a concise view of the contents of these volumes; reserving to ourselves the privilege of entering more minutely into a critical examination of the whole work when it is completed: as then we can better appreciate the inten-

tions and execution of the writer; and can more fully display his merits by what he has done, and his defects by what he has left undone, or injudiciously performed.

Among other subordinate subjects which are noticed or described in the second volume are the following. The parishes of Allhallows, Bread-street; Allhallows, Staining; Allhallows, London Wall; St. Augustine's Papey; St. Anne's, Limehouse; St. Augustine's, Farringdon Within; St. Faith; St. Mary, Aldermanbury; Allhallows, Honey-lane, and St. Pancras, Soper-lane, united with St. Mary-le-Bow; St. Andrew's, Holborn; St. George the Martyr; St. Alban's, Wood-street; Abchurch, St. Mary; Aldermay, St. Mary; St. Anne, Westminster; St. Anthony's; St. Andrew's, Baynard-castle; St. Anne and St. Agnes; Allhallows, Barking; St. Bartholomew, Broad-street Ward; St. Benedict, Fink; St. Benedict, Paul's-wharf; St. George, Bloomsbury; St. Botolph, Aldgate; St. Botolph, Aldersgate; and St. Catherine, Colman.

In this alphabetical arrangement of parishes, it will be seen, that the same saint has been chosen to patronize, and give name to, two or three parishes in the same city: hence it becomes necessary to discriminate the place by some additional appellation as above specified. Many mistakes, and erroneous statements, have

arisen from this circumstance; and some of our inattentive topographers have, not unfrequently, confounded places, by attaching certain events to one parish, which properly belong to another of the same name. By giving an account of the author's mode of writing what he calls 'the history' of one or two parishes, the reader will easily be enabled to judge of the present work; and see how far it is calculated to supersede preceding histories, and how far it may prove useful to the future topographer. The first parish is that of Allhallows, Bread-street; and the following extract furnishes a fair specimen of the work.

"Allhallows, Bread-street, is a rectory in the gift of the archbishops of Canterbury, to whom it came by conveyance from the prior and chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the year 1565.

"The fire of 1666 hath reduced me to the unpleasant alternative of either writing very little concerning this church and parish, or to have recourse to authors who have preceded me. Dr. Morice and the churchwardens indulged me, without hesitation, with the inspection of the registers and books extant; but unfortunately they produce nothing retrospective. I am therefore compelled to glean Stow, Newcourt, the New View of London, and the Parish Clerks' Survey of London, for facts previous to 1666.

"In the king's books Allhallows is rated at 37l. 13s. 9d. Bishop Tonnall has not valued this living.

"A M.S. in St. Paul's muniment room says the value before the fire was 107l. 6s. 8d. *per annum*. It is now 140l. in lieu of tithes.

"1349, May 6, Edward III. granted a licence to John de Hurley, Walter de Tiffeld, and Mathew de Barbour, permitting them to convey a piece of ground, contiguous to the chancel, to Nicholas de Rothwell, rector (27 feet in length, and 12 in breadth), and his successors, for ever.

"1340, Feb. 20, William de Ifford obtained the king's licence for conveying to the rector and his successors another piece of land, 20 feet by 11, for the site of a chapel. Possibly this might have been that known by the name of *the Salters*; and more probably, as the king's highway is mentioned in the first grant, which is on the north side of the present church. Thomas Beaumont, salter, who served the office of sheriff with Richard Norden, in the mayoralty of John Aderley, 1442, and died August 14, 1457, is said to have founded the chapel on the south side of the chancel; but it seems barely credible that the ground granted for a chapel should have re-

mained without one for a century. I should rather imagine Beaumont must have repaired, and in some measure refounded, Ifford's chapel. I do not find that either of the above persons founded chantries; and yet I think they must have been prayed for in Allhallows. The parishioners, or the Salters' company, to whom Beaumont was a great benefactor, erected what is called a 'fair' window facing his marble tomb, in which they placed a portrait of him in coloured glass, 1629.

"The appellation of Salters' chapel was possibly subsequent to the reformation.

"The present vestry-room stands, I am persuaded, on the site of Salters' chapel.*

"In the reign of Henry VIII., two profigate priests quarrelled in the church, fought, and even shed their blood in the contest. In consequence divine service was suspended for a month; and the priests did penance in procession through the neighbouring streets.

"1559, September 5, the stone spire of the church, and the iron of the vane, attracted a flash of lightning during a storm, which, from the effects produced, must have been but an inconsiderable stream, for not more than ten feet of the stone-work was thrown down. A man had a narrow escape near the base of the steeple; but a dog at play with him was killed. The spire was taken down soon after, to save the expence of repairing it."

Such is the whole history of this parish: next follow notices, with names, &c. of what the editor terms "Interment of eminent persons:" among whom are Henry Sucley, sheriff; Richard Reade, alderman; and Robert House, sheriff. Of these *eminent* characters, however, there is not a word more than their names. The number of persons buried in six different years is stated from the registers. Under the next head, baptisms, is related that of John Milton. "The 20th day of Dec. 1608, was baptized John the sonne of John Mylton, scrivener." In transcribing this record, Mr. M. exclaims:

"Long, very long, will Britons hail this day immortalized by the birth of Milton. Not less honoured would the house have been in which the breath of life was first given him; but its site is unknown: yet the street where it stood hath been recorded, and I will repeat the name of *Bread-street*.

"The most exquisite engraving of him I have seen is that in Birch's *Lives*, engraved by Houbraken, from a picture in possession of the speaker of the house of commons, Onslow.

"Every man of candour would wish to

* "On the same side is Salters'-hall, with six alms-houses in number, builded for poor decayed brethren of that company. This hall was burned in the year 1539, and again redified." Strype, book iii. p. 201. "It was not rebuilt after 1666 in the parish."

forget the unhappy period during which Milton flourished; the times were as contagious as the air of 1665; and that was a strong mind indeed which escaped the infection. Let his deprivation of sight be a shield against every disadvantageous recollection."

The following entries also relate to the Milton or Milton family:

"1612, July 15. Sarah, the daughter of John Mylton, scrivener.

"1613, Jan. 30. Tabitha, daughter of Mr. John Mylton.

"The infant Sarah was buried, according to the register, twenty-two days after her baptism, in the church.

"Tabitha died at the age of two years and six months.

"1615, Dec. 5. Christopher the son of John Mylton of this parish, scrivener."

To this succeeds a transcript from the marriage register, an account of the population of the parish, and a description of the church, with a few "memorials of the dead," and the names of rectors, and thus terminates the whole of the particulars or history of this parish.

Similar accounts, under similar heads, are repeated concerning each parish. Thus the principal feature of the present work is a transcript of registers, with a few remarks by the writer. Some of the former are curious and interesting; and will cause the book to be a repository of useful documents: but the great part of it consists of very unimportant and very trivial materials. Such remarks as the following are certainly beneath the dignity of history, especially when introduced among the principal matter of the work.

"The archives of Ironmongers'-hall have been open to me; and every degree of information required for a perfect history of the company afforded, through the introduction by Mr. Nichols, to Mr. Reeve of Ludgate-

hill, who again introduced me to their worthy clerk, Mr. Summer, to whom I shall always consider myself indebted for a degree of politeness and attention worthy of an enlightened man, who conceives it possible researches may be made for other purposes than to find flaws in titles, defective leases, or I know not what idle fancies—which have been supposed to be my object in requesting to examine court-books not many miles from Mercers'-hall."

In narrating the account of the parish of Allhallows, Staining, the editor relates many particulars of the Ironmongers' company, the history of which, being very similar to that of many other companies and halls, the author says, "I shall not hesitate to enlarge so far on my subject that future deficiencies may be less observed."

The parish books of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, contain some entries relating to Edmund Calamy, of whom Mr. Malcolm gives a long memoir, which he concludes in the following strain:

"I have entered the more fully into this subject, to shew, by past experience, how extremely weak it is for individuals, whose education has been directed to one pursuit, to interfere with subjects they have never studied; exerting their influence in disturbing those things which, upon deep examination, they would know to be founded upon the soundest principles, and which, by thorough study, would prove their own theories improper in the extreme. Who can deny that Edmund Calamy's life was a war of passion against principle? This vehemence of temper closed his mortal career: while the generality of men wept over the horrors of 1666, Mr. Calamy broke his heart, and died but little more than a month after the destruction of London. As no epitaph points out the spot where he lies, I will venture to say,

"In this vault are deposited the remains of

EDMUND CALAMY.

Had he lived in those peaceful days

when the pastor confined his cares to the eternal welfare of his flock,
and when temporal government glided smoothly down the stream of time,
how useful and how sublime would have been his efforts!

But, unhappily, the state wanting amendment,
he aimed at uniting the opposite professions of
a minister of the peace of God which passeth all understanding
and that of the politician,
which deprived each (by being divided)
of the benefit of his superior talents,
and rendered his works as a priest imperfect,
as a politician mischievous."

Though we have given our opinion with freedom of what appear to us to be material defects in Mr. Malcolm's *London Redivivum*, as he terms it, yet we

gladly bear testimony also to its utility; for, in transcribing the registers, and other books of some parishes, he has given publicity to many curious and interesting

anecdotes and facts, which otherwise would there lie concealed, and perhaps be for ever lost. In the third volume, among various other particulars, are some useful notices and records relating to St. Paul's cathedral and St. Paul's school; also the parish and priory of Clerkenwell; though, in the account of the latter, we regret the admission of so much unimportant disquisition on the merits of tumblers and dancers, at Sadler's Wells. Among the marriages of St. Giles, Cripplegate, is recorded that of Oliver Cromwell and Elizabeth Boucher, Aug. 22, 1620. The account of this parish contains many interesting particulars: and that of Christ's

Church hospital, commonly called the Blue-coat school, at the time it affords us information, communicates much delight to the heart. Several etchings, by Mr. Malcolm, are introduced into these volumes, and two or three extremely clever ones by Pouncy are here reprinted. Copious indexes are added to each volume. The third terminates rather abruptly; as the author has only appropriated seven or eight lines to the excise-office. Some account of this great national establishment, and extensive mass of offices, is wanting; and Mr. Malcolm's readers will no doubt expect to see the deficiency supplied in his next volume.

ART. XVI.—*The Beauties of England and Wales; or, Delineations, topographical, historical, and descriptive, of each County. Embellished with Engravings. By EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY and JOHN BRITTON. Vol. VI. 8vo. pp. 624.*

IT is with much pleasure that we observe the unabated progress of this interesting publication towards its completion, and that, contrary to what is usually the case, its merit both with regard to style and matter is very perceptibly advancing; let the authors restrain their ambition within no narrower limits than the production of a work worthy of being ranked among the permanent classics of the country, and we shall have no doubt of their ultimate success.

The present volume comprehends Hampshire, with the Isle of Wight, and Herefordshire; both of which are interesting districts in various points of view. Winchester, from its former importance, as having been the favourite residence of so many of our kings, and from the splendour of its ecclesiastical establishments, deserved, and has obtained, a particular and elaborate description; for a great part of which the authors acknowledge their obligations to the history of this city by the reverend J. Milner. The description of Southampton will also be perused with much satisfaction; though minute enough for the antiquary, it will not be considered as too long even by the general reader. The account of the New Forest appears to be the most original article in the volume. It begins by a successful vindication of William the Norman from the charges of sacrilege and devastation that have been brought against him by the monkish writers, in forming, or more probably in enlarging the original bounds of, the forest.

"It is peculiarly remarkable that the author of the latter part of the Saxon Chronicle, who

was indisputably contemporary with William and who seems to have viewed his vices with a severe eye, should not take the least notice of the afforestation, nor of the cruelties said to be inflicted on its inhabitants in consequence of it. Every other memorable event of this reign he particularly relates; the total devastation of Northumberland; the compilation of the Domesday Book; the universal and formal introduction of the feudal system into the kingdom; and the fearful famine and pestilence, which other monkish writers have converted into an infliction from heaven as the punishment of William's supposed acts of tyranny. These are all circumstantially mentioned, but not a hint occurs relative to the formation of the New Forest. What is still more singular, he paints the conqueror's passion for the chase in the warmest colours; and condemns it with the greatest severity, lamenting the excesses which the indulgence of it led him to commit; in the enumeration of which, he would most assuredly have included the remarkable one of the devastation in Hampshire, if the circumstance had reached his knowledge. May we not then fairly infer, from the silence of this accurate and impartial writer, that the *afforestation*, which, from the authority of the Domesday Book, was incontrovertibly made by William, was effected with such little injury to the subject, and such little disturbance of social intercourse, that it was scarcely, perhaps entirely, unnoticed beyond the immediate scene of its occurrence?"

The limits and extent of the forest, as ascertained by the various perambulations, are then noticed; the crown rights, the peculiar jurisdiction to which it is subject, the quantity of timber which it has furnished at various periods to the use of the navy, and its present state, are described, to which is added a picturesque account

of the scenery that it affords, chiefly on the authority of Mr. Gilpin. Of this excellent and accomplished man we should have been pleased to have found a few biographical notices annexed to the account of Boldre: nor ought the village of Melborne to have been passed over without a similar tribute to the memory of the venerated Gilbert White, who spent a long and blameless life as priest of his native village, enlivening the intervals of his duty by the study of natural history, of which he was an unwearied and highly successful cultivator, as his valuable "History of Melborne" most amply evinces.

Gosport and Portsmouth furnish an extremely entertaining article, and which, at the present momentous crisis, cannot but convince the most timid and apprehensive, that the country which has had the spirit and activity to bring to perfection such immense naval establishments, will never permit the trident of the ocean to be wrested out of her vigorous grasp.

The description of the Isle of Wight contains abundance of interesting matter: we particularize which would be to give an analysis of the whole. The disastrous event of a military expedition, undertaken by the inhabitants of this little island, is thus related.

"Sir Edward Widville was, in the first of Henry the Seventh, made captain of the Isle of Wight; and about three years afterwards, ingratiate himself in the king's favour, by promoting what he conceived to be his wishes, he convinced the inhabitants, and persuaded them to undertake an expedition to France, in aid of the duke of Brittany, who was then at arms against the French monarch. From his numbers that flocked to his standard, he selected about forty gentlemen, and 400 of the commonalty, and embarked with them in Brittany in four vessels. These auxiliaries were clothed in white coats, with red crosses; and, to make them appear the more numerous, they were united to 1500 of the duke's troops, arrayed in the same uniform. Victory, however, proved unpropitious; and in a battle fought at St. Aubin's, sir Edward, and all the English, were slain, except one boy, who reached home with the melancholy tidings. There was scarcely a family in the Isle who bore not some relation or other on this mournful occasion. To encourage an increase of population, an act was soon afterwards passed, prohibiting any of the inhabitants from holding lands, farms, or tithes, above the annual value of ten marks."

The splendid mansion of the late sir R. Worsley, at Appuldurcombe, is noticed with the minuteness that it deserves; and his account of his vineyard, the only one

we believe in the British European dominions, we are tempted to transcribe for the entertainment of our readers. We must premise, however, that the undertaking has not been attended with the success that it deserved.

"About two miles directly south from Appuldurcombe park, on the sea-shore, in one of the most beautiful parts of the island, near the church of St. Lawrence, is an elegant cottage, built a few years ago by sir Richard Worsley, and surrounded by grounds of an extremely romantic and picturesque character. Bold fragments of jutting rocks, irregular lawns, a crystal rivulet, and natural groups of fine elms, combine to give interest to the scenery; and still more to attract attention, on this spot is found the only vineyard in England. This has been raised by sir Richard under the inspection of a French *vignerons*, who commenced his operations in the year 1792, and the plants were put in the March following: it consists of two plantations, occupying about three acres of ground, sheltered from all unfriendly blasts by a high range of rocky hills. The vines, which are of the white Muscadine and Plant Verd sorts, are planted in beds twelve feet wide; being so arranged as to leave a foot and a half between each plant. The stems are about eight inches high, with two shoots on each stem, which are regularly cut off every spring, and their places supplied by other young ones; the shoots are kept at the length of two feet, or two feet and a half: a light white wine is made from the grapes. The novelty of this plantation, and the peculiar beauty of the coast, have attracted numerous visitants to this part of the island."

One more quotation the authors must permit us to make, of an anecdote truly characteristic of the daring courage of British seamen.

"Bonchurch was the birth-place of the gallant admiral Hobson, who having been left an orphan at a very early age, was apprenticed to a taylor; but disliking his situation, and inspired by the sight of a squadron of men of war coming round Dun-nose, he suddenly quitted his work, ran to the beach, jumped into the first boat he saw, and plied his oars so skilfully, that he quickly reached the admiral's ship, where he entered as a sea-boy. Within a day or two afterwards, they met a French squadron; and during the action that ensued, while the admiral and his antagonist were engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, young Hobson contrived to get on board the enemy's ship unperceived, and struck and carried off the French flag: at the moment when he regained his own vessel, the British tars shouted 'victory,' without any other cause than that the enemy's colours had disappeared. The French crew, thrown into confusion by this event, ran from their guns,

and while the officers were ineffectually endeavouring to rally them, the British seamen boarded their ship, and forced them to surrender. At this juncture, Hobson descended from the shrouds with the French flag wrapped round his arm; and, after triumphantly exhibiting his prize to the seamen on the main deck, he was ordered to the quarter-deck, where the admiral complimented him on his bravery, and assured him of his protection."

In the general account of Herefordshire, advantage is very properly taken of the county agricultural report, Mr. Marshall's rural economy, and other respectable authorities, in order to furnish a curious and particular account of the two leading products of the county, apples and hops. The description of Hereford is rather proportioned to its ancient consequence as a frontier station to overawe the Welsh, than to its present importance: the relation of its siege by the Scottish army under the earl of Leven in the civil wars is interesting, as displaying the gallant loyalty of its inhabitants, and the wondrous want of skill in the besiegers. The architectural details respecting the cathedral, and various other ancient buildings, will be considered as somewhat tedious by all but professional men and thorough-paced antiquaries; nor will the general reader be greatly inclined to acquiesce in the charges of Vandalism and

Gothic barbarity, which are urged with a truly ludicrous seriousness against bishop Egerton for destroying a "ruinous and useless" Saxon chapel. If an individual, or society, find it expedient to level any tottering ruin with the ground, or to convert the site of any ancient camp into a corn-field, all the deference that the most rigid etiquette can demand on such occasions, is that due notice be sent to the antiquarian society, in order that they may have an opportunity, if they please, of making drawing and plans before the demolition takes place; and that the right of pre-emption be conceded to them, if they wish to purchase at a fair estimate any part of the rubbish.

It is impossible that an inland county, which possesses no manufacture, and is simply an agricultural district, should offer much that is very interesting to the modern statisc: a paucity of information of this kind cannot therefore be reasonably urged as reflecting upon the industry of the present writers: on the contrary, they are entitled to credit for their good taste in supplying this deficiency, by enlarging more than usual on the picturesque beauties in which this county is peculiarly abundant, and thus producing an agreeable intermixture of the records and reliques of past ages, with pleasing descriptions of rural scenery.

ART. XVII.—*The ancient Cathedral of Cornwall, historically surveyed.* By JONAS WHITAKER, B. D. Rector of Ruan-Longhorne, Cornwall. In Two Volumes. 4to. pp. 348, 434.

THE hand which, almost half a century ago, was employed to write that extraordinary, topographical, historical, critical, and antiquarian book—the history of Manchester—has again directed the pen; and under the above strange title has produced one of those eccentric literary works, which sets at defiance every attempt at systematic analysis, or connected criticism. In both these works, as well as in some others by this learned author, the reader is often dazzled with his eloquence, astonished at his rare and profound erudition, and surprised at his palpable absurdities. The character of the former work is pretty generally known to that class of the literati, who delight in topographical and antiquarian lore; and like all works of great originality and novelty, it has provoked the unqualified censure of plodding critics; though the enlightened and discriminating have fairly appreciated its real value, and classed it

among those books, that may be read with much advantage, if read with caution. The present work, as might be naturally expected, carries with it a family likeness, and partakes of many peculiarities which characterized its predecessor.

It must be known to many of our readers that there is no cathedral in Cornwall, and they must consequently be surprised at the appearance of two quarto volumes closely printed, upon a non-entity. Like the "Utopia" of sir Thomas More, the subject seems therefore to be merely imaginary, and adopted by the author as a title for a dissertation. Without preface, introduction, table of contents, or any sort of explanatory narrative, Mr. Whitaker commences the present work with a far-strained allegory, in which he compares the history of the world and of man to a colossal statue of antiquity without a head; but according to him this most essential part of the body is provided, or

restored, by "divine history." He then proceeds to descant on the "darkness" and "uncertainty" of that part of profane history, which is called ancient: and thence adverts to the early annals of Cornwall. Of this county and its inhabitants, the most ancient accounts that can be collected, must be from the annals of the Saxon invaders. In the same strain of metaphorical language, he thus proceeds:

"By this kind of moonlight I mean to direct my course in making my survey of the ancient cathedral of Cornwall. Yet I hope to collect the beams so carefully into one focus, as to find them combining into some degree of lustre, and lighting me with truth along the winding path to my point. In that hope, therefore, I set out; expecting, however, not to find any point within the petty circle of any one parish, or even the ample orbit of a whole county, but to trace it steadily across the whole island, and to pursue it occasionally into the continent."

Such are the terms in which our author explains his plan; and with this explanation only we are left to conjecture the object of the work, and the intention of the writer. In section the first he takes a short review of the Saxon invasion, narrates the establishment of the heptarchy, and describes its reduction into one kingdom, when Winchester became the metropolis of England. Cornwall, however, maintained its independence. The exploits of Athelstan are next described; his subjugation of Northumbria, his defeat of the Scots, his victories over the princes of Wales, and lastly his successes against the Cornish under king Howel, and the consequent annexation of Cornwall and the "Sylley isles" to the kingdom of England. Here our author settles according to his own plan, the etymology of Cornwall, and explains the intimate connection of many names; he then narrates some historical circumstances relating to the opposite coast of Bretagne, as during the Saxon heptarchy that part of the continent was particularly connected with the British islands.

"The *Damnonian* Britons of Devonshire and their region *Damnonia*, as called in the middle ages, were answered by the region *Domnonce* in the north of Bretagne. The saints of Cornwall were by the Armoricans adopted for their saints, and assumed for their countrymen.* Even particular appellations of places are exactly the same in both regions. The communication between Bretagne and our Cornwall, appears to have been great in the sixth century,† to have been continued for several centuries afterwards,‡ and to have lasted as late as the middle of the sixteenth;§ even (I suppose) till the incorporation of Bretagne into the realm of France in 1532, annihilated eventually all provincial connexions, and absorbed them in the general interests of national policy. That, however, did not (as may be presumed by those who never contemplate more than a single grain of sand at a time, who therefore do not ever consider it as in union with the whole mass) generate the identity of names in the two regions, but continue them; did not unite with the identity of language, just as wonderfully preserved in Bretagne as in Cornwall, by the long detachment of both from the rest of the country, to *create*, but to *transmit*, local appellations; exactly the same in both. Just in this very manner we see at or about the concluding residence of the Romans upon the isle, *Cimbri* in Cornwall, *Cymro* in Wales, and *Cumbri* in Cumberland;|| *Carnabii* or *Cornabii* in Cornwall; *Damnii* or *Damnonii* in Scotland; *Damnii* in Ireland; *Dumnonii*, *Domnonii*, or *Damnonii* in Devonshire.¶ So clearly was all this coincidence of appellations derived, not as nodding criticism or dreaming tradition would willingly surmise, from the successive propagation of colonies, but, as all the facts unite to attest, from the same circumstances attracting the same appellations in the same language! The last name in all its variations originates from a circumstance still existing universally among the natives; the practice of fixing their houses in the bottoms, to shelter themselves from the winds, that beat with uncommon violence upon this exposed point of the island, a practice familiar to this, with other regions of the isle at first, but preserved still in this because of that violence. In the other regions, the wild elements of the isle have been tamed, by the excision of those woods or forests, and by the draining of those marshes, mosses, or lakes, which were continually engendering cold and wind; while the protrusion of the land in one

* Histoire de Bretagne, i. 9.

† Usher, 290.

‡ Usher, 293.

§ Leland's Itin. ii. 114.

|| In Iavahar Hên, a bard of Cumberland, but a refugee in Powis, we have the latter country called 'Powis paraduys Gynuri.' (Lhuyd, 259.)

¶ Ptolemy, Richard, and Solinus. These and other variations of the last name, as *Dontii*, *Dummani*, *Dumnuisii*, in Ravennas and Antoninus, serve to evince that *Damnonii*, as it has been recently affected to be read, and as Richard's map actually reads it, is only a false formation of the word.

long but gradually contracted prominence from Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, to meet the extended waves of the vast Atlantic, and to encounter the storms of the stormiest part of it, the bay of Biscay, is a geographical particular which must remain for ever."

At the commencement of section III, Mr. Whitaker comes to the subject which gives title to his dissertation; and begins an argument to ascertain whether the Cornish bishopric was first settled at "St. German's or Bodmin, before or under this new supremacy of England. Gross mistakes have been made upon the subject, but I hope to rectify them. The study of antiquarian literature is yet in its infancy only among us; and the manly deduction of inferences from premises judiciously stated, has been little practised hitherto by our antiquaries." Many historical facts are adduced to prove that it was not at Bodmin, in opposition to "the blunders" of Malmesbury, and to Dr. Borlase's "mass of conjectures, all pleading a false probability of reason against a positive assertion of history, all founded upon a false assumption, and all tending to a false conclusion." Even Malmesbury himself is brought as an evidence to prove, from some subsequent observations, the fallacy of his former reasoning. "The author [Malmesbury] thus shews us the original impression made upon his mind from the records of history: the obliteration made unwarily of it, by some false notices immediately before him then; and the return of his judgment at last, to what he had nearly lost in the crowd of notices which had pressed upon him since; a return as partial as his recollection, but carrying a plain tendency to his positive opinion at first. He set out on his historical journey, over an open country; saw the hill to which he was travelling, all drest out in full sunshine before him; but immediately entered a forest that intervened, lost his object in the woods around him, and when he reached it at last, had a view not half so distinct as his former one, catching only a gleam from recollection of that vision, which had shone so bright to his eyes before." Authorities are cited to prove that Bodmin, at the period in question "had no existence as a town, none even as a village, but merely as a hermitage." The sum of the evidence is that "Bodmin then could not possibly be, what it has been invariably supposed to the present moment, the primary seat of our Cornish episcopate, and the sole seat till 981. In

614, when a new seat was formed equally for the episcopate, and for the royalty, Bodmin was only a hermitage. Bodmin continued a hermitage only to the year 936; and no episcopate could possibly be fixed at it, even so late as this very year."

"Having divested Bodmin of its pretensions," sect. IV. is employed to prove, from a very diffuse view of the ancient history of Cornwall, that St. Germans was the *original* episcopate: and the errors of other writers who differ from Mr. Whitaker in opinion are freely pointed out: the chapter concludes with a detailed account of Bodmin.

In addition to the reports of history, the author proceeds [chap. II. sect. 1], "to a new kind of testimony" in favour of the same point: the "very church of St. Germans" itself. This new testimony is supported by a very minute description of the present fabric, and its constituent parts; together with an account of the various insignia of episcopacy which, according to Mr. Whitaker, are yet apparent. These he denominates the bishop's throne—the stall of the chaplain or chancellor—the bishop's entrance—and the tomb of the bishops. When a man zealously argues from false data, he is sure to bewilder himself, and must equally confuse his readers. This is forcibly exemplified in the portion of the book now under examination: where our learned *annotator* considers certain objects as *only* belonging to a cathedral, and then describes such objects in the present church. If he had not however been strangely biased in favour of his hypothesis, he might have found that many parochial churches have all the features which are said to be peculiar to this and other cathedrals. What he so minutely describes as "the bishop's throne," is merely a small niche in the wall: and "the stall of the chaplain" is another similar niche, which was formerly appropriated to a piscina, or a crucifix. Such niches of various sizes, shapes, and ornaments, are remaining in many small churches, which were never cathedrals, and which even the eloquent sophistry of this gentleman could not easily prove to have been such even in the Anglo-Saxon dynasty.

A ring having been found near St. Germans church, occasions our author to write a long dissertation on the subject. He animadverts on episcopal and royal rings: and endeavours to explode the assertion of some antiquaries, particularly dean Lyttleton, who have remarked that

there were anciently parish wedding-rings kept for general use. We present the reader with a few of the author's observations on this subject: because they serve to characterize the style, manner, &c. of our zealous antiquary.

"Rings are derived to us from a custom, as universal as the love of ornament among the nations of the earth, and common to the Romans, the Gauls, or the Britons; while the mode of wearing them is wholly Roman among us at present, and has always been so since the Roman conquest. This we may collect from several circumstances, little in themselves, independent of each other, but uniting in one testimony. The Romans wore rings even so familiarly upon their *thumbs*, that, among many evidences of the bodily hugeness of the emperor Maximus the elder, his *thumb* is recorded to have been so large as to bear upon it his queen's right hand bracelet for a ring.* We correspondently find, 'upon rebuilding the abbey-church of St. Peter, Westminster, by king Henry III.' that 'the sepulchre of Sebert, king of the East Angles, was opened, and therein was found part of his royal robes, and his *thumb-ring*, in which was set a ruby of great value.' We also know 'an alderman's *thumb-ring*' to have been an object familiar to the eyes of Shakespeare.† This practice continued among us long after the days of Shakespeare; an alderman's *thumb-ring* continuing to be noticed for its singularity as late as the middle of the seventeenth century.‡ But the Romans also placed the ring upon one of their *fingers*, the large statues in bronze of emperors and empresses at Portici, having each of them a ring upon the fourth finger; and Pliny informing us, that 'the custom was *originally* to wear it upon the finger *next to the least*, as we see in the statues of Numa and Servius Tullius.§ The custom of the kings was thus revived by the emperors, and continued very

late. But in the interval between the revived and the original custom, the ring was put by the Romans on the *fore-finger*; 'the very images of the gods,' says Pliny, 'carrying it on the finger next to the thumb ||,' and a Roman monument remaining, in which a man appears actually putting a ring upon the *fore-finger* of a woman, in the act of marrying her.¶ We accordingly use rings upon both these fingers at present. But we denominate the *fourth* particularly, just as the Romans and Saxons did, the *ring-finger*, as being that on which the ring is placed in marriages;** while the native Britons, like the Gauls, wore the ring upon the *middle* finger alone, the very finger which alone was excepted by the Romans.†† Thus, in 1012, on removing the bones of Dunstan at Canterbury by four men who had been the depositors of his body before, in what is called a mausoleum, and who now opened it; 'they found the bones more valuable than gold and topazes, the flesh having been consumed by length of time; and recognised *that ring* put upon his *finger* when he was committed to the grave, which he himself is reported to have made in his tender years.‡‡' The bones were then transferred to Glastonbury, and 172 years afterward again found there; the explorers coming to 'a *coffin* of wood, bound firmly with iron at all the joints,' opening this, seeing the bones within, 'with *his ring* upon a particular bone of his *finger*; and to take away all semblance of doubt, discovering his *picture* within the coffin, the letter S, with a glory on the right side of the coffin, the letter D, with a glory, on the left.§§' The ring was put upon the finger of a bishop at his burial, because a bishop always wore a ring in his life; and because he wore it, as queen Elizabeth wore one through life with the same reference to her kingdom, in token of his marriage to his diocese." &c. &c.

The "riches, elegance, and dimensions" of Saxon churches, form the lead-

* Hist. Aug. Scriptores, 606, Capitolinus. "Pollice ita vasto, ut uxoris dextrocherio uteretur pro annulo."

† Arch. iii. 390, sir Joseph Ayloffe, and Shakespeare's part 1. of Henry IV. act II. scene IV. "When I was about thy years, Hal, I was not an eagle's talon in the waist; I could have crept into any alderman's *thumb-ring*."

‡ "An alderman's *thumb-ring* is mentioned by Brome in the Antipodes, 1640—: again in the Northern Lass, 1632—; again in Wit in a Constable, 1640." (Johnson's and Steevens's edition, 1793, vol. viii. 468.)

§ Pliny, xxxiii. 1. "Singulis primò digitis geri mos fuerat, qui sunt minimis proximi; sic in Numæ et Servii Tullii statuis videmus."

|| Ibid. ibid. "Postea [digito] pollicis proximo induère; etiam deorum simulachris."

¶ Montfaucon, iii. part 1st. ii. 17. I refer to the translation by Humphreys, 1721, as more within the reach of a country clergyman's purse, than the original, with its French and Latin expensively doubling one over the other. I so refer generally, though I occasionally cite the original as consulted by my friends for me.

** "Rubric to our marriage service, directs the ring to be put upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand."

†† Pliny, xxxiii. 1.

‡‡ Malnesbury, Gale 1, 302.

§§ Ibid. Gale 1, 304.

ing subjects of consideration and description in the third section; and are continued in the following, wherein the author endeavours to prove the church of St. Germanus to be a Saxon building. This, however, he apprehends to be a difficulty, as the architectural antiquary will look for some peculiar style in the building, and those marking features which are supposed to characterise the sacred edifices of the Saxons. Mr. Whitaker anticipates some objections of this kind, and attempts to answer them. He next investigates the subject of square door-ways, which he remarks are of *great antiquity*. Nobody, who has studied the subject, we presume will doubt this: for all the ancient Egyptian and Grecian buildings have this characteristic. "It is therefore superfluous to argue on a subject which is universally admitted. Section I, of chapter III, is chiefly occupied by the consideration of undercrofts or confessionals; and the sacrilegious ravages of the dissolution are reprobated in warm terms. The ancient habits of the officiating clergy, and the great antiquity of episcopal thrones, croziers, and mitres, are the subjects of section II. The next is employed to prove the antiquity of the game of chess, of tessellated or mosaic pavements, and of armorial bearings. This leads our learned author to a particular description of the celebrated historical tapestry of queen Matilda at Bayeux. An account of this curious relic with prints is to be found in Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman antiquities*. Chapter IV. is devoted to prove the very early establishment of christianity in Cornwall. The history of St. Germanus is next given, from his arrival in Britain where he was specially invited by the clergy to check the growth of the Pelagian heresy; though in section II. he is said to have been brought over to convert the natives from paganism or druidism. The facts and observations of Dr. Borlase in favour of the long-existence of druidism, are examined and confuted in section III. Historical deductions to the contrary occupy the remainder of the chapter, which concludes with a dissertation on druidical relics.

In chap. II. sect. II. the author attempts to confute a long-established opinion concerning the antiquity of the pointed arch,

but his data are completely nugatory, and his arguments are mere sophistry. The ecclesiastical architecture of this country has generally been referred to particular eras, according to the style which prevails in the most ancient part of the fabric. By this criterion antiquaries have endeavoured to identify the age of buildings; and as the style continued to vary from the Norman invasion till the time of Henry the Eighth, this has commonly proved satisfactory evidence: Mr. Whitaker pronounces this false, "however echoed backwards and forwards by antiquaries;" and Mr. Bentham, who endeavoured to establish this point, is described as a man "who had not vigour of intellect to think freely for himself, and is only pacing therefore we may be sure, in the very harness, or with the very bells, of the common stagers on the road." The pointed arch is said by Mr. Whitaker to be of much greater antiquity than is generally supposed. He carries it back to a very remote period, and declares that it is to be found in Egypt, Rome, and Britain. A Roman triumphal arch at Antinopolis, in Egypt, is described and represented, to substantiate this novel hypothesis. He thus urges the subject:

"About the year of Christ 132," remarks an author very happily, and very judiciously, amid many assertions ingenious, but arbitrary, and some conclusions refined but erroneous, "Antinous, the favorite of the emperor Adrian, was drowned in the Nile. This prince, to perpetuate his memory, founded a city in Egypt," at the point of the Nile where he was drowned, "and called it after his name." As this incident is the foundation of the whole reasoning, I here establish it on the authority of Dio, who says Adrian "re-erected in Egypt that city, which was denominated from Antinous*"; and again, upon the better testimony of a writer, nearly cotemporary with Adrian, who adds that Adrian "built the city bearing Antinous's appellation." This city is mentioned by Ptolemy as *Αντινοῦ Πόλις*, or Antinopolis, the capital of a district, lying along the eastern bank; and has transmitted its remains under the title of Ensinck to the present times.† *Pere Bernat made drawings of its ruins, which are in the third tome of Montfaucon's antiquities; among them is the pointed arch, in a fine old gateway formed after the usual fashion of triumphal arches among the Romans, as having one lofty avenue through it*

* Dio lxiix, 1159, Reimer.

† Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. iv. 8. Reading.

‡ Ptolemy, iv. 5. P. 121. Bertius.

§ Pococke, i. 73.

in the centre, and a lower upon each side, but terminating all three in a peaked arch above. This, however, is 'not perfectly Gothic, but that called *constrasted*,' and very sharp in the peak.* 'Another *constrasted* arch appears in the Syriac MS. of the evangelists at Florence, written A. D. 586, and full of pictures exhibited in twenty-six leaves. And, 'in a very curious manuscript which I was once favoured with a sight of,' says another writer who happily harmonizes with both these evidences before, a manuscript 'containing an account of the late earl of Strathmore's travels through Spain, mention is made of a singularity; for in the aqueduct near Segovia, which was undoubtedly built in the time of Trajan,' an emperor, the immediate successor of Adrian, 'there are some pointed arches.'†

Though the judicious antiquary is not likely to be misled, or deceived, by this account, yet there are many who may be imposed on by the eloquent powers of our author. We will therefore examine this arch, on which the "whole reasoning" is turned. The print which accompanies the description is so false in drawing and perspective, that it is unworthy of comment. It is neither a geometrical elevation, perspective view, nor section: and what is called the sweep of the arch is so constructed, that the stones must inevitably fall in, as soon as the centre or frame was removed on which the arch was formed. It is copied from Montfaucon, where it is equally incorrect. Hence we may perceive how dangerous it is to describe from old prints, and to build hypotheses upon such precarious foundations. Much has been written, and long disputes have been promoted, concerning the origin and antiquity of the pointed arch; but this can never be ascertained in the closet, and is only likely to be found in examining the history, and comparing the buildings of different ages, and of various countries. So extremely questionable are the objects here adduced, both by Mr. Whitaker and Dr. Ledwich, that we are still of opinion, the true pointed arch will not be found anterior to the Norman conquest: and we are also inclined to believe, if it did not really originate in England, that the system was brought to perfection in this country.

An arch and a column are very differ-

ent words, and stand for different objects. The one is a vaulted aperture, and the other a solid substance. Our author however, determined in his pursuit, and obstinate in argument, next has recourse to the Roman altars, some of which he refers to as examples of pointed arches; but how greatly were we surprised to find, on examining Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, that instead of arches we found solid blocks consisting of square bases, with pyramidal tops! When hypothesis is thus raised on such deceitful foundations, the first breeze of argument shakes the fabric to destruction. After answering the vague mode of reference used by Dr. Ledwich, and exultingly pointing out "no less than eleven" examples in Horsley of this sort of pointed arch, Mr. Whitaker says, "yet on these instances, however numerous, we can hardly ground any reasonings concerning the use of the pointed arch in buildings here, but we have one stone in Horsley which exhibits the pointed arch in so regular a form of an arch, and with accompaniments so purely Gothic, in their very aspect, as arrested my eye more than thirty years ago; as must arrest every eye that views it, and loudly tells what so many years ago I resolved some time or other to proclaim from it, the use of the pointed arch in the Roman buildings of Britain. It is his No. 14 of Scotland." Mr. Horsley remarks, that this stone is "somewhat peculiar," and has accordingly drawn it in his peculiar manner, but this is so completely unintelligible, that we should be very reluctant to write any description from such imperfect representation. Mr. Whitaker, with his usual sagacity, and undaunted prowess, thus boasts of the one, and exercises the other.

"So little did the sight of the original, so little did the very delineation of it carry to the mind of this excellent antiquary," (Horsley) "what it so obviously carries to every reflecting mind, the impression of an arch truly Gothic, upon a monument certainly Roman; that he only noticed something peculiar in the shape of the stone at top! The strongest light of evidence shines in vain upon any mind that is not in the general habit of opening its eyes to evidence, and is not also disposed by some previous considerations to receive the particular evidence at the moment."

* Reverend Mr. Ledwich of Dublin, in *Archæologia*, viii. 132. The reference to Montfaucon should be, as Mr. Ledwich very obligingly informed me by letter in answering my enquiry, to the third tome of the supplement, p. 55, page 156, Paris 1724; there we have this description in Latin.

† See Mr. Ledwich in *Arch.* 170, for the date of this MS."

This great discovery is considered so highly important by Mr. Whitaker, that he is tempted to comment on it very largely; though how he denominates a single block of stone a pointed arch, we are at a loss to comprehend. From Britain he darts across to Jerusalem, where he finds the holy sepulchre, and discovers in it some pointed arches. These he says were built by the empress Helena, and demonstratively prove that they were introduced at that period by the Romans. When we recollect that the city of Jerusalem was repeatedly besieged after the reign of Constantine, and that the "Turks and other infidels" directed their vengeance against that building, we cannot easily persuade ourselves that it remains as left by the architects of Helena—The pointed arches were more probably introduced in those additions to the building that were made after the crusaders took possession of the holy city.

The reverend author introduces his second volume in the following style of strained metaphor: this figure of rhetoric seems to be so peculiarly his favourite, that he introduces it into almost every page.

"I have now brushed away those grains of dust in the telescope, which prevented Dr. Borlase from beholding the bright constellation of stars, that was darting its united effusion of radiance upon the christianity of Cornwall. I have pointed out the stars by name to my readers, and entered them in form upon my catalogue. Yet I have not named all: others remain, provoking my attention, and challenging my admiration. To some of these I now direct my telescope; antiquarianism, like astronomy, continually opening a new world upon the eye, and so carrying on the range of vision to the very extremity of the system."

This telescopic view presents to our mind's eye a variety of saints, male and female, who were early settlers in Cornwall, whose identity is ascertained by references to historical facts, and illustrated by the derivative appellation of certain churches and parishes in that county. In descending on this subject, our author has taken an extensive range, and ultimately endeavours to establish his great object:—the early triumph of christianity over druidism. This is urged with considerable warmth, in contradiction to the reasonings and conjectures of Dr. Borlase, who is charged with ignorance of some of these saints, and with having perverted the history of others: yet though the poor doctor is severely reprimanded for ignor-

ance of saintish biography, Mr. Whitaker is obliged to confess that

"Our notices concerning all, however, are very short, little more than sufficient to link them into the great chain that came charged with such a quantity of electrical fire from Heaven, and that dispensed it in such pleasing effusions of light, through a country fully prepared by her own christianity to retain as well as to receive it."

With such desultory writing upon such fancied subjects, our author contrives to fill thirty-two pages, which are terminated in the following strain:

"I have thus carried my chain of evidence to a sufficient length for the present; I have particularly pointed out that rich embarkation of saints which came over from Ireland into Cornwall about the year 460. All these saints existed, we should now remember, in that very period of our Cornish history, in which Dr. Borlase *dreams* he 'finds many holy men employed to convert the Cornish to the christian religion,' when the Cornish appear already converted, already christians, and having their kings, their nobles, their clergy, their monks, or their hermits, all happily united in christianity together."

In the next section (ii.) the subject is continued, and the names, residence, and history of other saints are introduced to our notice. These are adduced as further proofs of the early establishment of christianity. The Cornish language is now completely exterminated; which is not surprising, if the following account is unequivocally correct.

"Borlase, in his *Nat. Hist.* 315, remarks, that the English liturgy was first used in Menthynnet. But what must have been the religious distress of the Cornish in the long interval between the proscription of the ancient liturgy, and the establishment of the new in the English language? The English, too, was not *desired* by the Cornish, as vulgar history says, and as Dr. Borlase avers (*ibid.*); but, as the case shews itself plainly to be, *forced* upon the Cornish by the tyranny of England, at a time when the English language was yet unknown in Cornwall. This act of tyranny was at once gross barbarity to the Cornish people, and a death-blow to the Cornish language. Had the liturgy been translated into Cornish, as it was into Welsh, *that* language would have been equally preserved with *this* to the present moment. But this *Wales in a corner* had not consequence enough in itself to secure it that proper attention of humanity and of religion, equally with the extensive principality of North and South Wales; for savage indeed are those rulers who, for the sake of a petty advantage in politics, sentence a whole

generation of men to live without the benefit of public worship; as was in our own days meditated equally to be done, according to the late Dr. Johnson's information personally given to me, against the Scotch of the Highlands, by low wretches who could not lift up their souls above the suffocating vapour of politics."

In section iii. Mr. Whitaker takes a lying excursion to Italy, and descants on the ten years persecution under Dioclesian, which extended to Britain, and in which were martyred Albanus at Verulam, Julius and Aaron at Caerleon, and Columba in Cornwall. The martyrdom of these saints he endeavours to prove from the dedication of churches to their memory, from ancient records and memorials. Leaving the saints, our author adverts to a new subject, and particularly describes the Coyt, Cromlech, or Barrow, in the parish of St. Columb. From this he is led to the consideration of other similar monuments which are remaining in various parts of Britain, and again returning to Cornwall, describes the appearance and contents of the 'one barrow' on the downs of St. Austle: this memorial of ancient customs was levelled in the year 1801; and its size, formation, and contents, are particularly noticed. The observations of Mr. W. on this subject, and on the Cromlechen, &c. are the most valuable of any in his book, and certainly tend to explain some of the mysterious customs of the ancient British. The remainder of this section is occupied with brief memoirs of the twenty-four sons and daughters of Iechan, a 'little king in Wales.' These, according to Mr. Whitaker, were all martyrs or confessors in Devonshire and Cornwall, and their memories are yearly celebrated in the parish-feasts of those counties.

Most of them were Irish, many of them Welsh, but some Cornish; holy men, holy men, sons or daughters of kings; devout monks, religious prelates, even pious kings themselves; renouncing the world for religion, resigning their lives for their faith, and seeking earth for heaven; but so rejecting religion merely at the finishing period of persecution, and so renouncing under the establishment of christianity in the isle as a part of the empire, though a couple of centuries afterwards. That happy heaven of the old christianity, was long struggling to feed the mass of the empire, by slow degrees shed a part of its natural heaviness, but it diffused her quickening influence very usefully through the whole."

Many desultory particulars are next in-

troduced relating to St. Kayne, and the wonderful well which bears her name. Here, as in several other places, the "Druidical Antiquary" of Cornwall, Dr. Borlase, is reprobated. Returning to the history of Germanus, Mr. Whitaker, at the commencement of his sixth chapter, critically investigates the etymology of the principal houses in the parish of St. Germans, and thence endeavours to ascertain which was the probable residence of that saint. An image (of which a print is annexed) still kept in the priory, or rather Port Eliot, the seat of lord Eliot, and reported to be the effigy of a late prior, is pronounced, by our keen-sighted antiquary, to be that of the patron saint of the church. The arguments adduced in proof of this, are combined in a long dissertation on the clerical habits at different periods. This pompous display of erudition strongly reminds us of Swift's dissertation on a broom-stick. From remarks on the ancient parochial church of St. Germans (on the site of which the cathedral was built), and some vestiges of its rectorial house, our author diverts the attention of his reader to the consideration of parsonage-houses in general, with their collegiate and scholastic appendages; in the course of which he particularly alludes to, and describes that of St. Columb, in its ancient and subsequent states. Bells, and bell-towers, are the chief subjects of the next section; the remote antiquity of the former is strongly urged, and their introduction into christian churches is declared to be several centuries prior to the æra fixed by Mr. Bentham, in his "History of Ely." This respectable author is pronounced, by Mr. Whitaker, to be "*grossly erroneous in all his observations on this subject*;" and again, "His very progress of improvement is retrograde in itself; while his course, either retrograde or progressive, is all an aberration from the truth."

The cathedrals of Canterbury and Whitern are produced to establish the fact; which is thus further exemplified.

"Yet there is one instance more to be noticed by me, one which is *not* buried in its own remoteness, and lost in its own solitariness of position, but overlooked from its very familiarity, unseen from its very brightness, and therefore sure to appear still more astonishing to my readers. We have yet a church of the Britons existing almost entire near London, existing unrecognized by our antiquaries, even by its very historian, yet shewing a British bell-tower and a British cross at the present moment. This is the abbey-church of St. Albans."

ther harshly, all other writers who have treated on the same subject which he undertakes. Thus, p. 24, vol. ii., Hals is said to have written a "*bedlamite account of Penryn*." Poor Borlase's writings are pronounced "*dreams*," and "*that visionary kind of history, which still haunts the scene of reality at times*." He is said also to be lost in the "*wild whirl of his ideas*." Again, he is said to "*betray such a debility of intellect, as would bend to any force of hypothesis, and such a ductility of faith, as would ply with any impulse of temptation*." His mind was "*coloured over with the tincture of druidism; and viewing objects through a druidical spectre-glass, beholds all nature under a wonderful transfiguration*," &c. p. 281, vol. i.

This kind of language occurs continually; and almost every page contains some critical castigations. The whole work may be considered rather as a severe commentary on the writings of other authors, than a history of one place, one county, or one subject. With a mind singularly alert, a fancy always eager, and a disposition to diverge from the plain even path, into every field that skirts the road; Mr.

Whitaker takes a long time to get over a little ground: and though his readers may wish to accompany him to the end of his journey, they are tired with his excessive wanderings, and his incessant garrulity. We cannot better characterise this author and his writings than in the following terms, which were written by himself many years ago, as part of a critique on Gibbon's Roman History. Speaking of the various species of historical composition, he observes, that as "*we advance in the ornamental, we are receding from the solid and necessary, we lose in veracity what we gain in embellishments; and the authenticity of the narration fades and sinks away, in the lustre of the philosophy surrounding it*." The mind of the writer, bent upon the beautiful and sublime in history, does not descend to perform the task of accuracy, and to stoop to the drudgery of faithfulness. The mirror is finely polished, and elegantly decorated; but it no longer reflects the real features of the times. The sun shines out indeed with a striking effulgence, but it is an effulgence of glare, and not a radiation of usefulness."

ART. XVIII.—*An Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland and the English Lakes; with Recollections, Descriptions, and References to historical Facts.* 8vo. pp. 291.

MR. MAWMAN, the author of the volume before us, is a respectable London bookseller, the successor of Mr. Dilly. In company with his friend Mr. Salte, he left London in the month of July 1804, and proceeded by rapid journeys through York to Edinburgh. Hence he went northwards, following the usual route of tourists through the nearer highland district of Scotland, and re-entering England at Carlisle, returned to the metropolis through Chester and Birmingham; having accomplished in a month a tour of about a thousand miles. The two friends were no doubt highly gratified by their excursion, and the idea would naturally occur to Mr. Mawman, that it would be a polite attention and elegant compliment to Mr. Salte to print an account of their

common tour, and inscribe it to his friend and companion. In this work Mr. Mawman evinces that though he sells books, he reads them; and displays a very creditable aptness at quotation from our English classics; but something more is wanting to merit the name of a good writer; nor can the requisite course of study be gone through, or the habitual facility be acquired, without a greater expence of time than can be spared from the superior claims of a large business. We have no objection, however, to admit Mr. Mawman as an honorary member of the corporation of authors, and trust that in consequence he will consider it as a duty to uphold on all occasions the dignity and claims of men of literature.

ART. XIX.—*The Beauties of Scotland, containing a clear and full Account of the Agriculture, Commerce, Mines, and Manufactures; of the Population, Cities, Towns, Villages, &c. of each County.* 8vo. Vol. I.

THE author, or proprietors of this work, have condescended to employ some disingenuous artifices, which we shall

take notice of before we proceed any further.

The only possible reason for adopting so

preposterous a title as *Beauties of Scotland*, is obviously an endeavour to introduce the present work to the notice of the public, by taking advantage of the deservedly popular "*Beauties of England and Wales*," by Messrs. Britton and Brayley. In pursuance of this scheme, the title-page and name of the author Mr. Thomas Forsyth, are removed from their proper place the first half volume, to the beginning of the second: and in order to favour the deceit (for we can call it by no softer name) we are informed on the cover of the second half volume that this work is an "extension of the *Beauties of England and Wales*." In what sense this assertion can be considered as true, we are wholly at a loss to conceive, except a similarity in title, in type, and form, can entitle it to this appellation. The arrangement of the two differs very materially, and in our opinion to the disadvantage of Mr. Forsyth's book. In the "*Beauties of England*" there is a profuse reference to authorities, at the bottom of the pages, and a very valuable list of books and maps terminates the description of every county: whereas in the *Beauties of Scotland* there are no references, not even to sir John Sinclair's statistical survey, to which the author has been so materially indebted. The prominent excellence of the "*Beauties of England*" is the minute accuracy of its architectural details, and the copious though select antiquarian information that it evinces. In the "*Beauties of Scotland*," on the other hand, there is usually a profound silence, and sometimes a profound ignorance on subjects of architecture and archæology. Both works display a considerable number of engravings; so far they resemble each other, but in merit of execution they differ very widely: those in the *Beauties of Scotland* are much smaller than necessary, and have every appearance of impressions from old plates retouched; a suspicion which is strengthened by no name appearing, either of draftsman or engraver.

We should be sorry, however, if from the comparison which Mr. Forsyth's book has provoked, our readers were to imagine that it is a publication of much promise and little performance: on the contrary, we are disposed to think very highly of it, and are persuaded that it needed no other passport to public favour than its own merit. It professes to give a clear and full account of the agriculture, commerce, mines, manufactures, and popula-

tion of each county in North Britain; and this promise, as far as the work has hitherto proceeded, is faithfully performed. There are also various anecdotes and historical and biographical notices interspersed, by which the proper statistical part is agreeably relieved and enlivened. The style, if not brilliant, is thoroughly perspicuous, and by no means dull: and Mr. Forsyth, when he shall have finished his undertaking, may congratulate himself on having made a very valuable addition to the statistical topography of his native country.

The work begins with a detailed account of Edinburgh and Leith, which if estimated by the number of pages that it occupies (240), may be regarded as long; yet when we consider that this city is not only the metropolis of Scotland, but the seat of an university, which may rank among the very first in Europe for active usefulness, and of various other learned and scientific institutions, the notice which it here receives will by no means be considered as disproportionate. The antiquary, and indeed the man of general literature, may wish that more attention had been paid to the curious remains of antiquity, within the circuit and in the immediate vicinity of this noble city, but Mr. Forsyth is not one of those who much "regret the destruction of the remains or vestiges of ancient magnificence," and the rapid manner in which he mentions the "Gothic ruins" of the chapel of Holyrood abbey, and that exquisitely beautiful and nearly perfect specimen of ancient architecture, the chapel at Roslin castle, will but little tend to reconcile our episcopalian archæologists to presbyterian topographers. For our own parts, however, we are at all times glad to be excused from exploring damp and ruinous vaults, and think that it is much better to have too little than too much of antiquarian lore. The following account of the university of Edinburgh will probably be interesting to our readers:

"Among the literary establishments of Edinburgh the university naturally takes the lead. Having been instituted after the Reformation, among a frugal people that had no love for ecclesiastical dignities, it differs greatly from the wealthy foundations which receive the name of universities and colleges in England, or in the catholic countries of the continent of Europe. The university of Edinburgh consists of a single college, which enjoys the privilege of conferring degrees. It consists of a principal, with a salary of 1117. 2. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$, whose office is in a great measure nominal,

and of a professor in each of the following departments:

Faculty of Theology.

	Salaries.
Divinity - - -	£161 2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Church History - -	100 0 0
Oriental Languages -	119 12 8

Faculty of Law.

Law of Nature and Nations.—Salary variable, but always above	300 0 0
Civil Law - - -	100 0 0
Scots Law - - -	100 0 0
Civil History and Antiquities	100 0 0

Faculty of Medicine.

Anatomy and Surgery -	50 0 0
Practice of Medicine -	— — —
Botany - - -	77 15 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Materia Medica - - -	— — —
Chemistry - - -	— — —
Theory of Medicine - -	— — —
Midwifery - - -	— — —
Natural History - - -	— — —

Faculty of Arts.

Moral Philosophy -	102 4 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rhetoric and Belles Lettres	70 0 0
Greek - - -	52 4 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Latin - - -	52 10 0
Natural Philosophy -	52 4 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Mathematics - - -	113 6 8
Practical Astronomy -	100 0 0
Logic - - -	52 4 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Agriculture - - -	50 0 0

"Of these, the professors of church history and natural history, astronomy, law of nature and nations, and rhetoric, are in the gift of the crown. The professor of agriculture was nominated by sir William Pulteney, founder of the institution. The remaining chairs are in the gift of the town-council of Edinburgh. Besides these classes here enumerated, the medical professors alternately give clinical lectures upon the cases of the patients in the royal infirmary of Edinburgh; an institution to be afterwards noticed.

"All the professors, excepting the professor of divinity, receive fees from their students. The professors of the Greek and Latin languages have each two classes of more or less advanced students, and attend each class during two hours each day. Each of the professors of the different branches of science delivers to his students a daily lecture, which occupies rather less than an hour, but the professor of anatomy's lecture lasts about an hour and a half. The session of college endures annually from the beginning of November till the month of April; and each professor dismisses his students separately for the session when his course of lectures is finished; so that one class is sometimes dismissed a few weeks before another. The professors have no necessary intercourse with their students, and

usually have no personal knowledge of them. There are here no public examinations or disputations; because Scotchmen disregard degrees, excepting the degree of doctor in medicine: and to obtain it, nothing more is necessary than to be able to undergo a fair trial, the essential part of which is privately gone about, and the professors make no inquiry about the personal history or connections of the student. The whole students, during their attendance at the university, reside with their relations if they are natives of the city; and if they come from a distance, they procure for themselves such lodging, as their circumstances afford. The professors in the university of Edinburgh, having only a small salary, or none at all, are under the necessity of attracting students by their literary industry alone, or by the reputation of their talents. The students, on the other hand, have no other inducement to attend any particular class than the improvement which they are sensible they derive from it. Long attendance is not expected; and even the medical degree, which is most valued, can be attained in three years.

"This negligent mode of education, in which no sort of authority or discipline is exerted by the professors over their students, and in which every student is allowed to live as he finds convenient while attending the university, without incurring farther expence than the professors' fees, which for the highest class is only three guineas, is well suited to the character and situation of the Scottish nation. In this way great numbers of young persons of a spirited and active character, by employing their time with industry, are enabled to attain such a portion of literature as is sufficient for enabling them to assume a respectable character in the busy departments of life. Their pursuits of fortune are not delayed by a tedious academical course of study; while, at the same time, if at any future period of life they attain to affluence and leisure, they find their original stock of letters sufficient to enable them to prosecute any branch of science with success. At all events, during life, they remain impressed with a sense of the value of intellectual accomplishments. They endeavour to give the best education to their children; and in the possession of riches, they are not likely to assume those self-sufficient and purse-proud manners which form the most disgusting effect of sudden and unexpected opulence.

"In the meanwhile, it is evident that this kind of education is only suited to young men of limited prospects, who know that their success in life depends upon their industry. Accordingly, now that riches and luxury have begun to abound in Scotland, the sons of men of fortune, unless bred to the profession of the law, are sinking fast, with regard to literature, below the character of their forefathers, among whom learning was very general. To acquire a respectable share of it, and to bestow upon it due encouragement,

were formerly considered as essential duties of every man of rank.

"Upon the whole, students at the university of Edinburgh may be said in a great degree to educate themselves and each other. The celebrity of the medical professors, and of the men of letters whom Edinburgh once produced and still contains, has here excited among young persons a powerful spirit of literary emulation or ambition, which has not yet diminished. The students form themselves into clubs or societies for mutual improvement in medicine, natural history, and general literature. Some of these societies have existed for a considerable time, have obtained royal charters, and number among their members many of the most distinguished literary characters. The members write essays, which are publicly read, and the sentiments they contain discussed at their weekly meetings. In some societies, in which elocution is accounted of importance, particular questions are discussed in those branches of science for the investigation of which the society has been instituted; and very eager, and sometimes eloquent, debates occur. As the science of medicine is that on account of which this university is most celebrated, the societies of students in this department are most numerous.

"Some of the most eminent professors are said to have disapproved of these societies, as having a tendency to withdraw the students from laborious and patient study, to generate a presumptuous disrespect for their teachers, and to render them superficial reasoners, attached to the particular systems of Brown, Cullen, or whatever else is in vogue, rather than able physicians and modest inquirers after truth. There is perhaps some truth in this censure. At the same time, from the distinguished character which men bred at the university of Edinburgh maintain, in all quarters of the globe, it seems probable that the energy of spirit, and the freedom of investigation, to which this mode of education gives rise, greatly overbalance the inconve-

niences attending it. In this world, good and evil, like light and darkness, are apt to tread extremely close upon the footsteps of each other; and we must remain satisfied with what is good, or at least with what is tolerable, without always requiring what is best.

"This university, which is now attended by from 1200 to 1400 students, and consists of the classes already enumerated, arose slowly to its present importance. At first, in 1593, only one professor was appointed, Mr. Robert Rollock; but afterwards it was made to consist of a principal, a professor of divinity, four teachers of philosophy, and a professor of Latin, called Humanity. Originally each professor continued to teach the same students till they left the university; but the improved plan was soon adopted of confining each professor to one particular branch. By degrees the various other professorships were instituted which have been already enumerated. The medical school was instituted in the course of the late century. Dr. Monro senior, having given lectures privately with great success upon anatomy, was invited by the magistrates of the city to assume the character of a professor in the university. Other professorships in this branch of science were instituted in a similar manner, in consequence of the previous success of the first professors in the character of private lecturers. It may be remarked also, that in another department, the chair of rhetoric and belles lettres was not instituted till the late celebrated Dr. Hugh Blair had first been able to secure the attendance, in his own house, of a considerable number of students upon his course of lectures."

The remainder of the volume describes the counties of Mid and East Lothian and Berwickshire.

We shall resume our account of this valuable and interesting work in our next volume,

ART. XX.—*Descriptive Excursions through South Wales and Monmouthshire, in the Year 1804, and the four preceding Summers.* By E. DONOVAN, F. L. S. 8vo. Two Volumes, and Thirty-one coloured Plates.

TWO more volumes on South Wales! exclaimed we, as opening one of our bookseller's huge parcels we laid our hands on the work before us. What in the name of wonder can be found respecting Monmouthshire and South Wales, that has not been said over and over again, *usque ad nauseam*? Has not every cranny in every old wall been examined with microscopical attention, and its length and breadth and depth ascertained to a tenth of an inch? Has not every genealogy, in all its various ramifications, been traced upwards and downwards and sideways; so

that we are now as well acquainted with the stock and progeny of all the Welsh princes, as with our own great-grandmothers? Has not every monumental *hic jacet* been transcribed with most meritorious fidelity? and are not all the great and little men who have had the honour of being born or even of residing within this selected territory, already biographized, and hung round with rags and tatters of anecdote like any scarecrow? What that is worth gathering can be expected from so exhausted a soil? for who in these days of antiquarianism would de-

viate from the straight Roman high-road, into the wild paths of nature, or condescend to inspect a thronged manufactory after a solitary moonlight ramble through the roofless echoing aisles of a ruined abbey? So thought we on opening the present book; but finding that it is written by a gentleman who last year came under our notice as a naturalist, and that it is the result of five annual visits, we took courage, cut the leaves open, and, though we were alarmed now and then, in the early part of the work, by the red faces of Roman bricks and potsherds, persevered to the end, and shall be well inclined to employ our first leisure in republishing a book from which we have derived more pleasure and more information than from any publication of its class that has fallen under our notice for a long time past. We shall proceed therefore to give a summary analysis of its contents.

Chapter I. carries Mr. D. and his readers from London into Monmouthshire, by the way of Bristol. The extraneous fossils in the limestone strata of St. Vincent's rocks, near the latter place, give occasion to a short but unsatisfactory discussion concerning the cause or causes which have filled the beds of Floetz and secondary limestone with these indisputable remains of organized bodies.

In the second chapter the author gives a particular account of the Roman remains of Venta Silurum, now Caer Gwent, in which various errors and incongruities of former describers are corrected and explained.

Chapter III. is, for the most part, devoted to Caerleon. This place, first remarkable as a permanent station of the Romans, and afterwards still more renowned as the princely residence of Arthur and his valiant knights, was afterwards the scene of various bloody contentions between the Welsh and Saxons and Normans, and at length, together with the rest of the principality, became a part of the English dominions, under the triumphant and vigorous reign of Edward the first. Since that period it has remained in safe but inglorious obscurity, and has dwindled to a small, straggling, thinly inhabited country town.

"Ruins of Roman buildings, pillars, pavements, bricks, monumental stones, urns, sarcophagi, and coins, must have once been numerous here beyond all conception; since, after an interval of fourteen hundred years, during which they have been certainly sought after, and applied to various purposes, the

store appears inexhaustible. Some few of the more industrious among the labouring poor, find every winter a profitable employment, in digging at a venture for the stones, and even bricks and tiles; many, if not the far greater number of small houses about the place, have been also built, and are kept in repair with the materials purloined from these subterraneous resources. There is no kind of restriction upon the inhabitants, to prevent their digging for these materials in the broadway, which has hitherto furnished them with plenty. The space enclosed within the walls, if examined with the like unceasing perseverance, would perhaps be no less productive. Last winter, in clearing the bear-house field, opposite to that in which Arthur's table is contained, in order to set potatoes, a vast number of large and small stones were found, more than a dozen of which were estimated at little less than half a ton, or a ton weight each; and some much more. The expense of raising these stones out of the ground is trifling, rarely exceeding sixpence or ninepence per ton, except for the largest; the discovery of these was of some consequence to Mr. Hughes, who has a lease of the field, the whole being of fine free-stone."

After describing with the zeal, but without the usual tediousness of an antiquary, the remains of old Caerleon, Mr. Donovan proceeds to mention its present state. Caerleon stands upon the Usk, and is celebrated it seems for the firmness and flavour of its salmon, for which it is in a considerable degree indebted to the following peculiarity in the mode of cooking:

"The fish is no sooner caught in the adjacent river, than it is conveyed to the town; and if sold, the purchaser, after cutting it into pieces of a convenient size, parboils it in spring water. After this, the pieces are allowed to cool, and when required for the table, they are boiled in the former liquor. This mode of dressing salmon has evidently the ascendancy over any other that can be devised, in towns and other places remote from the haunts of this useful fish; the flesh acquiring by that means a degree of firmness and delicious flavour, very far superior to what might be conceived.

"The fish, it appears, must be parboiled immediately after it is taken; or at the farthest before the tide returns; and unless this precaution can be taken, they tell you, 'the salmon is good for nothing.'"

Newport and its vicinity furnish the principal materials of the next chapter, and these consist, for the most part, of antiquarian details. The fifth chapter is devoted to a description of Cardiff, once celebrated for the strength of its fortifications, but now rising into commercial

importance in consequence of a recently executed canal, by which it communicates with the vast manufactories of Merthyr Tydvil, and Aberdare. The sewen, a species of salmon commonly supposed to be almost peculiar to South Wales, is caught here in considerable abundance; a circumstance that afforded Mr. Donovan an opportunity of minutely examining, and of ascertaining it to be no other than the grey of Ray and Willughby, the *salmo eriox* of Linnæus. Though most abundant in the Severn and British channel, it is by no means unfrequent in the bay of Beaumaris, and occurs, though rarely, in the rivers of the southern counties of England. The following clear description of this hitherto obscure fish will, we doubt not, be gratifying to our readers.

"From the common salmon (*salmo salar*) the sewen differs in various particulars that will not fail to strike the eye of the judicious naturalist. The general contour of the whole fish is slightly dissimilar: the head is shorter and more sloping; while the lower jaw extends rather beyond the upper one, the precise contrary of which is observable in the common salmon. The back is of a pale greyish colour, glossed with blue, and by no means so dark as in the common salmon; this greyish colour prevails under the scales from the back to the lateral line, beneath which the whole fish is of the brightest silver. Both on the back and sides, above and below the lateral line, the body is marked with dusky purple spots of a roundish shape, which on close inspection appear to be somewhat cruciform: the lateral line is straight, and placed rather lower than in the generality of fishes. The tail is slightly forked, but not semi-lunate as in the common salmon: when the flesh is cut, it is of a pale red, and in point of size the sewen rarely exceeds twelve or fifteen inches, weighing from one to two pounds each.

The three next chapters describe Llandaff, Cowbridge, Penline castle, Llantwit Major, the village of Newtown, and various other objects which our limits will not allow us to particularize. In the account of Newtown is some valuable matter for the naturalist respecting the vegetable and animal marine productions of the vicinity. Mr. Donovan employed the fishermen of the village to cast their nets in the bay; and, among other interesting specimens procured by this means, the *sepia media*, a small species of cuttle-fish, whose exquisitely beautiful and evanescent colours acquired for it, among the ancient naturalists, the appellation of the sea chamæleon, and which is described by Mr. Donovan

with the eloquence of Buffon, and the accuracy of Linnæus.

"When first caught, the eyes, which are large and prominent, glistened with the lustre of the pearl, or rather of the emerald, whose luminous transparency they seem to emulate. The pupil is a fine black, and above each eye is a semilunar mark of the richest garnet. The body nearly transparent, or of a pellucid green, is glossed with all the variety of prismatic tints, and thickly dotted with brown. At almost every effort of respiration, the little creature tossed its arms in apparent agony, and clung more firmly to the finger, while the dark-brown spots upon the body, alternately faded and revived, diminishing in size till they were scarcely perceptible, and then again appearing as large as peas, crowding, and becoming confluent nearly all over the body. At length the animal, being detained too long from its native element, became enfeebled, the colours faded, the spots decreased in size, and all its pristine beauty vanished with the last gasp of life."

In the tenth chapter is a very pleasing description of the village of Margam, the ruins of its fine abbey, and the park and gardens, which, till lately, inclosed an antique mansion-house belonging to the Mansel family: an excellent rhyming Latin epitaph on a huntsman in the same family, is also introduced in a note.

Swansea and its neighbourhood furnish a very entertaining miscellaneous chapter: from which, however, we shall only quote a humane and judicious regulation respecting the debtors confined in the castle, as we are persuaded that it might be adopted with the happiest effects in many other places.

"An indulgence extends to every debtor confined in the prison of Swansea castle, by virtue of which they have an opportunity, if their debts be small, with a little exertion, prudence, and economy, to liberate themselves from the horrors of a jail. Having obtained this indulgence, which on proper representation it is in the power of the high bailiff to grant, they are allowed to expose whatever articles their slender funds may enable them to muster, for sale in the open street, on that side of the market-place next to the castle. The limits of this bailiwick is distinctly pointed out by a range of small stones down the high-way, and within this boundary the debtors are as secure from the molestation of their creditors, as though they were confined to their dismal cells within the walls of the castle."

The peninsula of Gower is next noticed, and the peculiarities that yet characterize its inhabitants, said to be descended from

a colony of Flemings, settled here by Henry the first in the twelfth century. At the conclusion of the chapter the author returns to Swansea, and describes, at some length, the large and flourishing pottery established there.

Kidwelly, Caermarthen, and that gallant warrior sir Rhys ap Thomas, must not be allowed to detain us; neither can we do more than barely notice a remarkably good account of a tin-plate manufactory in the same chapter.

The ancient and modern state of Pembroke furnishes materials for a distinct chapter; and the two concluding ones of the work are devoted to Tenby. Of these, if we were to quote the whole of what is particularly interesting, we might save ourselves the trouble of selecting, and transcribe them entire; but this is inconsistent with our plan, and would be at the same time unjust towards the author. We trust, however, that he will take in good part our concluding this article with the following extract.

"In the sea round Caldy island, we captured many of the *Medusa* in the trawl net that had been previously fastened to the end of the boat by the fishermen. One of these, a remarkable, though not uncommon species, is *Medusa purpurea*; a sort distinguished by having a light purple cross in the center of the body, with a horse-shoe mark of the same colour, only darker, between each of the bars. Another kind, captured in the same manner, has a milk-white cross upon the body, a characteristic mark, by means of which the species *cruciata* is discriminated. As the creatures of this tribe rove about in search of food along the surface of the sea, they shine with uncommon splendour, especially when the sun strikes directly on them, or in the night time when it is very dark, appearing in the latter instance highly luminous and phosphoric. These, with a variety of other marine vermes, and fish of a small size, are the principal food of the cormorants, gulls, and a host of other sea-fowl that haunt the rocks upon this coast.

"Shaping our course to the south-west of Caldy island, we soon arrived upon the oyster-bed described on a former occasion. The dredging tackle being incomplete, we were content to take a few only of the oysters from

the bed. These are of a larger size than any I ever saw before on other parts of the British coasts by nearly one half. Some of the largest I had the curiosity to measure, one of which proved to be no less than nineteen inches in the exterior circumference of the shell. The fish we tasted; it has a strong flavour, and is by no means to my mind so pleasant, or so palatable, as that of the smaller kinds of oyster when eaten raw, although for culinary purposes they may be equally good, or, as many esteem them, very far superior.

"I was astonished at the number of *asterias*, *echini*, and other offensive creatures that infest the oyster-beds. These prow about to the great annoyance of the oysters; the *asterias*, or star-fish in particular, which are highly injurious to them. When these creatures find an oyster open, or gaping to take its food, they instantly seize upon it by thrusting one of their long straggling arms into them, and killing the animal before it is able to close the shell, in which case one of the star-fish enters the oyster, and remains in perfect security to devour the contents. One should the oyster be apprised in time of the imminent danger to which it is exposed, the moment the arm of the star-fish is inserted it snaps the shell close, and the *asterias*, unless very dexterous, is compelled to retreat with the loss of the arm, or ray so offending, a mutilation of the less importance to the animal, since time will repair the mischance by producing another arm, though somewhat of a smaller size, in lieu of that which the oyster has deprived it of. The *echini* are more destructive to the young spat of the oyster, whose tender shells they bruise with those formidable spines with which their bodies are completely covered, or macerate them with their teeth; the firm grasp of which their tender shells are unable to resist. The species most injurious is the edible one, *esculentus*, which grows here to a large size. The latter is known upon most of our sea coasts by the name of *sea-eggs*, *sea hedge-hogs*, and various other local epithets. In former times they were esteemed dainties for the tables of the great, and even now when boiled are eaten by some people."

As the high and various merit of this work cannot but be apparent from the specimens that we have cited, we may safely commit it without further remark to the public patronage.

ART. XXI.—*Select Views of London and its Environs; containing a Collection of highly finished Engravings from original Paintings and Drawings; accompanied by copious Letter-press Descriptions of such Subjects in the Metropolis and the surrounding Country, as are most remarkable for Antiquity, architectural Grandeur, or picturesque Beauty.* Vol. II. 4to.

AT the conclusion of the fifth chapter of the first part of this work; and intimated that the engravers proposed to make

some alterations in their second and last part. This is now completed; and, upon comparing it with the former, we are glad to acknowledge that it bears some marks of improvement. It still, however, falls far short of the title, and is therefore a work likely to disappoint the expectations of those who order it from that circumstance. Some of the plates in this second volume, from drawings by Powel, are executed with much taste; but if we consider them as historical or antiquarian subjects, they are trifling indeed. Several of the etchings of fragments, tombs, &c. are the

most useful plates in the work: because they afford that kind of information which the man of science and taste can dwell upon with gratification and advantage. The accompanying descriptions are evidently written with careless haste; and are replete with vulgarisms and false syntax. On the whole, these "select" views may serve to gratify those indiscriminate collectors, who think it necessary to have every print that is published, to illustrate other books; but it can never be ranked as a useful or complete work in itself.

CHAPTER VII.

G E O G R A P H Y.

ART. I.—*Geographical Delineations ; or a compendious View of the natural and political State of all parts of the Globe.* By J. AIKIN, M. D. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE happy application of clear and precise description, judicious selection, and graceful plainness of style to the illustration of geography, has already been felt and approved by the public in Dr. Aikin's "England delineated." Nor will these geographical delineations, which at present demand our attention, be found in any respect unworthy of their author. Differing materially as to its object, both from the elementary treatises, and the more complete systems of this important and interesting branch of general science, this work may be considered as occupying a newly discovered station, whence young persons of both sexes may review with pleasure and advantage the real extent and bearings of their former studies. They may also hence probably acquire a clearer idea of the characteristic features and relative importance of the various countries of the globe, with their inhabitants, than they are likely to gain while their undivided attention is required to those minutæ, and, in some degree, topographical branches of enquiry, which, however, are essential to solid and really useful geographical knowledge.

In arranging and proportioning the various information concerning each country, Dr. Aikin has adopted for his two leading considerations, the characters that are impressed upon it by nature, and those which it derives from its human inhabitants. Hence his primary divisions are not always coincident with the present political distribution. Thus the extinct kingdom of Poland, and Hungary with Transylvania, have been each considered as entitled to a separate description, while Prussia and Austria, from their connections with the other states of the empire by similarity of language, form only subdivisions under the general title of Germany. In like manner Switzerland, Hol-

land, and the Catholic Netherlands, are detached from France and described apart.

A somewhat minute attention has been very properly paid to the boundaries of the countries, the course of the rivers, and the direction of the principal mountainous chains, so as to render frequent reference to a good map, both interesting and indispensable.

The principal materials of this work, Dr. Aikin observes, are "necessarily compiled from other books;" but a very pleasing part of it, the delineation of national characters, is original; and the strong tincture of liberal moderation diffused through the whole, together with the uniform good taste and simplicity of the style, give to it a certain charm that is easier felt than described.

For the gratification of our readers, and as a fair specimen of the work, we shall select part of the chapter descriptive of Holland.

"Under the name of Holland is comprehended the state of the Seven united Provinces of the Netherlands, of which that province is the principal. Situated on the north-western angle of Germany, it is separated from it, not so much by a precise natural boundary, as by a general diversity of aspect and local circumstances. It constitutes the Low-country of the German continent, a region in which land and water hold divided dominion; broken into peninsulas and islands, intersected with rivers and canals, and rescued, as it were, from the grasp of the ocean by the unremitting efforts of human industry.

"Methinks her patient sons before me stand,
Where the broad ocean leans against the land,
And, sedulous to stop the coming tide,
Lift the tall rampire's artificial pride.
Onward, methinks, and diligently slow,
The firm connected bulwark seems to grow;
Spreads its long arms amidst the watery roar,
Scoops out an empire, and usurps the shore.

GOLDSMITH.

"The Seven Provinces are bounded to the north and the west by the German sea; to the east by Germany; to the south by those provinces which have usually borne the name of the Catholic Netherlands. That part of it which fronts the sea exhibits strong marks of those encroachments made upon it by the destructive element, which history records. A sweep of low islands to the north gives admission through narrow channels to an expanse of salt water called the *Zuyder-Zee*, which occupies the place of a large tract of land, the *Batavian* isle of the Romans. The waters of this gulf have a communication with those of the *Haarlem Meer*, which last is separated only by a narrow slip of land from the German sea. The southern part of the coast is torn into a number of islands, which constitute the province of *Zeeland*. The whole range of coast presents only land almost level with the surface of the water, or, indeed, beneath it, and defended by artificial banks, or by a line of low sand-hills, from the incursion of the tides.

"The Dutch Provinces (for that is one of their appellations) lie between the latitudes 51. 30. and 53. 30. From east to west their extent is less; and in the whole they are estimated to contain only about 10,000 square miles. The face of the country is, for the most part, an unvaried level; but it gradually swells into gentle risings on approaching the German border. Its compass is too narrow, and its surface too flat, to give birth to any considerable river, but it is the drain and outlet of several from other countries.

"The *Rhine*, on arriving at its south-eastern boundary in the province of *Gelderland*, divides into two main branches, of which the more southern, under the name of the *Wahal*, goes to join the *Maes*; the more northern soon forms two more branches: one, the *Leck*, flows due west to join the *Maes*, not far from its entrance into the German sea; the other, under the name of the *Issel*, runs northwards to the *Zuyder-Zee*. A diminutive stream detached from the first of these branches, and passing by *Utrecht* and *Leyden*, alone bears the name of *Rhine* to the sea.

"The *Maes*, or *Meuse*, coming out of the Catholic Netherlands, reaches the Dutch border a little southward of the entrance of the *Rhine*, and, turning westward, forms the limit between Dutch *Brabant* and the United Provinces. After the junction of the *Wahal*, it divides into several channels, forming islands belonging to South Holland. One of its channels, joined by the *Leck*, passes *Rotterdam*, to which it gives a fine harbour, and at length discharges itself into the German sea below the town of *Briel*. The *Scheld*, which is likewise a river of the Catholic Netherlands, passes near the termination of its course, between Dutch *Flanders* and *Zeeland*, thus giving to the United Provinces the possession of the keys of its navigation to the sea.

"That part of Holland which is the bed of the *Rhine* and *Maes*, and their branches, is

naturally a fen or morass, rendered habitable only by numerous drains and canals, protected by embankments, which yet scarcely secure it from inundations. A large lake-like expanse of water near *Dordrecht* indicates the site of numerous villages, which, near four centuries ago, were suddenly overwhelmed by a sea breach, with a prodigious loss of lives and property. The lake or meer of *Haarlem* has already been mentioned, which, with its communicating branch, the *Ye*, and other meers in North Holland, prove the low and watery surface of that district. The province of *Friseland*, on the eastern side of the *Zuyder-Zee*, is almost crossed by a line of meers; and several of the like kind are met with in the adjoining province of *Groningen*.

"From this sketch of the country it will not be expected to afford much scenery attractive to the lover of the picturesque, nor even to abound in the common charms of rural landscape. The provinces of *Utrecht* and *Overijssel* alone present some of the agreeable interchange of hill and dale; the latter, however, near the German border, is deformed by wide naked heaths, which are continuous with those of *Westphalia*. The same features mark the eastern parts of *Friseland* and *Groningen*.

"The climate is not more inviting than the face of the country. Its characteristic is moisture, with its concomitants of fog and mist, frequently enveloping both land and sea. The winters are often attended with severe cold, so as to freeze not only the rivers and lakes, but even the shallow *Zuyder-Zee*. The summers, however, are sufficiently warm and constant to bring to perfection the ordinary products of the latitude. The marshy exhalations and chill damps are prejudicial to health, and few European countries are less favourable to longevity.

"The soil is chiefly sand, or the muddy deposition from rivers, with frequent intermixture of turf or peat, the fuel of the country. When properly drained and manured it affords excellent pasturage, on which domestic animals arrive at a great size. The cows of Holland are remarkable for their produce of milk, whence butter and cheese are the principal objects of rural economy. On the light sandy soils, duly cultivated, abundant crops of green vegetables are grown. Some articles are brought to greater perfection in Holland than in most other countries, of which are madder and other dying drugs. Tobacco is successfully planted on the richer soils. For horticulture the Dutch have long been famous, and their florists supply the curious in that branch throughout Europe with the choicest flower-roots.

"Nature affords so little in this country to engage the attention, that a survey of it must almost solely be occupied with the works of art. Man, and the operations of his industry, can no where be contemplated with more advantage and interest than in Holland. The people of these provinces, anciently celebrat-

ed for valour and the love of freedom, were rendered laborious, hardy, and frugal, by the necessities of their situation. The climate further contributed to fix their character, which was marked by phlegmatic patience and slow diligence. Fitted to undertake tasks of great toil and extent, and not easily disheartened by casualties or failures, they accomplished the arduous enterprise of first conquering their country from the ocean, and then rendering it a comfortable abode.

"These provinces had acquired a large population and moderate opulence under the limited sovereignty of the house of Austria, when, in the 16th century, the tyranny of Philip II. of Spain impelled them to a revolt, which, after many years of bloody and dubious contest, terminated in their being acknowledged an independent state. No nation ever purchased liberty by more heroic and persevering efforts; for the cool phlegmatic character, when once sufficiently excited by great passions, is most to be relied upon for carrying its aims into full effect. The coincidence of zeal for religious with that for political reformation, infused double vigour into their exertions, and they at the same time freed themselves from the fetters of Spanish despotism, and from the chains of papal authority.

"Their losses by land in the earlier part of the struggle induced them to seek an indemnification in the other element, to which they were already habituated by means of their fisheries and their traffic in the neighbouring seas. They assaulted the Spanish trade and settlements (then also including the Portuguese) in both Indies, and laid the foundation of that vast system of foreign commerce and colonization which raised them to the rank of one of the great powers of Europe. They opened an asylum for the oppressed of all countries: their cities were filled with skilful and industrious artisans; their ports were crowded with shipping; and Holland became the grand depository and mart for the

richest products of all quarters of the globe. Their population augmented far beyond the sustenance afforded by their native land; but they drew great resources from the ocean, and the harvests of all the neighbouring countries were theirs through the medium of commerce.

"The form of government established by the Dutch, when become independent, was that of a federal republic, in which each of the seven provinces retained a domestic sovereignty, while affairs of common concern were managed by the states-general, composed of deputies from every province. In times of particular danger a captain-general had been appointed under the title of Stadtholder, which office at length became hereditary in the house of Orange, and gave to the government a kind of monarchical mixture. The ecclesiastical establishment was of the calvinistical form, and adherence to it was required from all persons in public trusts; but a free toleration was granted to all religious sects, which accordingly existed in greater variety in Holland than in any other European country, England perhaps excepted. This liberal policy proved of the greatest advantage to the state.

"The French conquest of Holland in the late revolutionary war has subverted its ancient constitution, and destroyed its independence; and it can at present be regarded in no other light than as a dependency of that overgrown and usurping power, obliged to adopt its friendship and enmities, and to accept whatever new form of government may be imposed upon it. The stadtholderate has been abolished, together with the jurisdiction of the provincial states, and the supreme power is nominally vested in a Batavian republic. New changes, however, are depending, and it is impossible to conjecture to what degree they may be carried, or how long the separate existence of a Dutch nation may be permitted."

CHAPTER VIII.

B I O G R A P H Y.

WE are glad to find that a temporary stop, at least, has been put to that lazy, prolix, and indecorous method of composing biography, by printing, without selection or reserve, the correspondence of the person to be celebrated; and thus, as the phrase is, making him his own biographer. The "Correspondence of the Countess of Hartford" is the only specimen of this idle common-place chit-chat that the last year has produced. The largest and most valuable portion of the present chapter is occupied by works relating to foreigners of eminence, either originally composed in English, or translated from the French and German. Of these Mr. Roscoe's *Leo X.* unquestionably occupies the foremost rank; and for liberal impartiality, and accuracy of research, claims our entire approbation. The auto-biography of Marmontel, and Tibault's *Anecdotes of Frederic of Prussia*, cannot fail of being interesting to every class of readers; and the Linnæan school of naturalists has reason to be thankful to Dr. Maton, for the new and enlarged form which he has given to Dr. Pultney's account of their illustrious master. Of domestic biography the *Memoirs of General Thomas*, an Indian adventurer, are worthy of being particularized, as throwing light on the politics, manners, and state of society among the native princes of India. Mr. Cayley's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* is a valuable addition to the mass of our literature; and Mr. Cumberland's *Life*, from his own pen, closes with dignity our annual list.

ART. I.—*The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth.* By WILLIAM ROSCOE. 4 vols. 4to.

A HISTORY of *Leo X.* has long been one of the works most wanted in literature. Collins had meditated such a history, and is said to have published proposals for it.

"Among the friends of Collins, who seem to have shared his confidence and his studies, was Mr. Thomas Warton, by whom the design of giving a history of the restoration of letters in Europe was continued, or revived. In the excellent essay of his brother Dr. Warton, on the life and writings of Pope, is the following passage. 'Concerning the particular encouragement given by *Leo X.* to literature and the fine arts, I forbear to enlarge, because a friend of mine is at present engaged in writing the History of the Age of *Leo the Tenth*. It is a noble period, and full of those most important events which have

had the greatest influence on human affairs: such as the discovery of the West Indies by the Spaniards, and of a passage to the East by the Portuguese; the invention of printing; the reformation of religion; with many others, all of which will be insisted upon at large, and their consequences displayed.' As the essay which contains this passage was first published in 1756, the same year in which Collins died, it is possible that this notice was intended to refer to his undertaking; but it is also certain, that on his death the design was not abandoned by his surviving friends. In a conversation which I had the pleasure of enjoying with Dr. Warton, in the year 1797, the progress made in an undertaking which had been so long announced to the public, became an object of my inquiry. By him I was informed that it had been the intention of himself, his brother, and several of their liter-

rary friends, to give a history of the revival of letters, not only in Italy, but in all the principal countries of Europe; and that the history of English poetry, by Mr. Thomas Warton, was only a part of this great design. When we advert to the various and excellent critical productions of these liberal and learned brothers, and consider that among the names of their coadjutors, would probably have been found those of West, of Walpole, of Mason, and of Gray, we cannot sufficiently lament the want of public encouragement, which was, in all probability, the chief cause that prevented this noble and extensive undertaking from being carried into complete execution."

The want of public encouragement for worthy undertakings is always to be lamented; in this instance, however, it has rather been beneficial to literature than injurious; for highly as we respect the great names which have been thus mentioned, we cannot but feel that the history of Leo could not have been in better hands than in those of Mr. Roscoe. By writing the life of Lorenzo de Medici, he had fully prepared himself for the task; that work has received the stamp of approbation, in the country where its merits can most truly be appreciated, and the name of *Dottor Guglielmo Roscoe* stands as high in Italy as in England.

It is well known what rare and valuable documents this writer had the good fortune to procure for his former work—he has not been less fortunate in his researches for the present. By the assistance of Lord Holland, and Mr. Penrose, and the liberality of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the archives of Florence were opened to him, from whence two volumes of important papers were transcribed. Mr. Johnson, in like manner, collected materials from the Vatican; and while Mr. Roscoe was thus indebted to the truly praiseworthy assistance of his countrymen, he was likewise favoured with communications from many of the most learned men in Italy. Mr. Shepherd, the biographer of Poggio, examined for him the unpublished part of the diary of Paris de Grassis, in the national library at Paris. The public libraries in England were diligently explored, and private collections opened to him with that liberality which, we rejoice to say, characterises the present age.—Having acknowledged these various sources of assistance, Mr. Roscoe speaks of the work itself with that manliness and candour which so honourably distinguish his writings.

"With respect to the execution of the following work, I cannot but be well aware,

that many circumstances and characters will be more represented in a light somewhat different from that in which they have generally been viewed, and that I may probably be accused of having suffered myself to be induced by the force of prejudice, or the affectation of novelty, to remove what have hitherto been considered as the landmarks of history. To imputations of this kind, I feel the most perfect indifference. Truth alone has been my guide, and whenever she has steadily diffused her light, I have endeavoured to delineate the objects in their real form and colour. History is the record of the experience of mankind in their most important concerns. If it be impossible for human sagacity to estimate the consequences of a falsehood in private life, it is equally impossible to estimate the consequences of a false or partial representation of the events of former times. The conduct of the present is regulated by the experience of the past. The circumstances which have led the way to the prosperity or destruction of states, will lead the way to the prosperity or destruction of states in all future ages. If those in high authority be better informed than others, it is from this source that their information must be drawn; and to pollute it, is therefore to poison the only channel through which we can derive that knowledge which, if it can be obtained pure and unadulterated, cannot fail in time to purify the intellect, expand the powers, and improve the condition of the human race.

"I cannot deliver this work to the public without a most painful conviction that, notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, and the most sedulous attention which it has been in my power to bestow upon it, many defects will still be discoverable, not only from the omission of much important information, which may not have occurred to my inquiries, but from an erroneous or imperfect use of such as I may have had the good fortune to obtain. Yet I trust that, when the extent of the work, and the great variety of subjects which it comprehends, are considered, the candid and judicious will make due allowance for those inaccuracies against which no vigilance can at all times effectually guard. With this publication I finally relinquish all intention of prosecuting, with a view to the public, my researches into the history and literature of Italy. That I have devoted to its completion a considerable portion of time and labour will sufficiently appear from the perusal of the following pages, and it may therefore be presumed that I cannot be indifferent to its success. But whatever inducements I may have found in the hope of conciliating the indulgence, or the favour of the public, I must finally be permitted to avow, that motives of a different, and perhaps of a more laudable nature, have occasionally concurred to induce me to persevere in the present undertaking. Among these is an earnest desire to exhibit to the present

times an illustrious period of society ; to recall the public attention to those standards of excellence to which Europe has been indebted for no inconsiderable portion of her subsequent improvement ; to unfold the ever active effect of moral causes on the acquirements and the happiness of a people ; and to raise a barrier, as far as such efforts can avail, against that torrent of a corrupt and vitiated taste, which, if not continually opposed, may once more overwhelm the cultivated nations of Europe in barbarism and degradation. To these great and desirable aims, I could wish to add others, yet more exalted and commendable ; to demonstrate the fatal consequences of an ill-directed ambition, and to deduce from the unpurged pages of history, those maxims of true humanity, sound wisdom, and political fidelity, which have been too much neglected in all ages, but which are the only solid foundations of the repose, the dignity, and the happiness of mankind."

Giovanni, afterwards Leo X., second son of Lorenzo de Medici, was born at Florence, 1475, the year of jubilee. Various motives induced his father to destine him to the church. As politics became more systematized, princes were desirous of procuring a seat in the college of cardinals for their relatives, as a necessary step to the papal chair. No person had stronger reasons to form such a plan than Lorenzo, who had suffered severely from the enmity of the papal see, and he knew no other means which could so effectually secure his family in the possession of their usurped power. Accordingly Giovanni received the tonsure* when only seven years old, and was declared capable of ecclesiastical government. The abbey of Fonte-dolce was given him by the king of France, and from thenceforth he was called Messire Giovanni. The next year came a courier from the same king, to say that he had conferred upon him the archbishopric of Pisa: the Pope made some objection to him on account of his youth ; but it soon appeared that there was an objection which is not so easily to be removed as his father's scruples, for the next news was that the archbishop was not dead. Some compensation for this disappointment was made by the pope, who gave him the abbey of Passignano. "It would not be difficult," says the historian, "to defend against the corruptions of the Roman hierarchy, and the absurdity of conferring ecclesiastical preferments upon a child ; but in the estimation of an impartial observer, it

is a matter of little moment whether such preferment be bestowed upon an infant who is unable, or an adult who is unwilling, to perform the duties of his office ; and who, in fact, at the time of his appointment, neither intends nor is expected ever to bestow upon them any share of his attention."

But the purple was the important object.—The history of Giovanni's advancement to this dignity is given from Lorenzo's confidential correspondence, with amusing minuteness. In the articles signed by Innocent, on his election, he had solemnly promised not to raise any person to the rank of cardinal who had not attained thirty years of age ; but this difficulty, as well as all others, yielded to the persevering policy of Lorenzo. His first step was to induce the pope to make a promotion of cardinals ; a design which the infirm and inactive old man delayed from time to time to execute. "This event," says he, in a letter to his envoy at Rome, "ought not to be delayed longer than can possibly be avoided : for when his holiness has completed it, he will be another pope than he has hitherto been ; because he is yet a head without limbs, surrounded by the creatures of others, whereas he will then be surrounded by his own."—While he thus makes it appear to be the pope's interest to take this step, he merely adds, concerning his own object, "he may also gratify me, if he thinks proper." But when the promotion was positively determined on, his solicitations became more pressing. He wrote to the pope himself, saying that "he most earnestly intreats, if he is ever to receive any benefit from his holiness, that it may be conceded to him on this occasion ;" requesting his favour with no less fervency than he would request from God the salvation of his soul ! To one of the cardinals who espoused his cause, he says "he considers the favour in no other light than as if he were raised from death to life." No candidate ever canvassed more assiduously, even at an election in England ; what other electioneering arguments were applied, we are left to conjecture ; whatever they may have been they were successful, and Giovanni, at the age of thirteen, was made a cardinal, under the title of S. Maria in Domenica. The day after he had received the welcome tidings, Lorenzo sent the measure of his son's stature

* Mr. Roscoe used the Latin word *tonsure*. This should not be done when we have a respondent word in our own language.

to Rome; "but in my eyes," he adds, "he seems to have grown since yesterday." Politiano, partaking his patron's joy, had even the folly or the assurance to compliment the pope upon the wisdom of his choice. "Allow me," he says in this curious epistle, "to congratulate your holiness, that by this exertion of your own discriminating judgment, you have added immortal honour to your other great distinctions: our young cardinal has had the happiness to be so born and constituted by nature, so educated and directed as to his manners; so instituted and taught, as to his literary acquirements, that in his genius he is inferior to no one; neither is he surpassed by any of those of his own time of life, in industry; by his preceptors, in learning; or by mature age, in gravity and seriousness of deportment. From his cradle he has meditated on the sacred offices of the church; and such was the specimen which he had given, while yet a child, of his virtues and talents, that the reputation of them induced that most wise and most pious king, Louis XI., to judge him not unworthy of the high dignity of an archbishop. Doubt not but he will fill the august purple. He will not faint under the weight of the hat, nor be dazzled by the splendour that surrounds him: you will find in him, a person not unequalled for such a state, nor unequal to such a burthen. Already he appears in full majesty, and seems to exceed his usual stature."

Lorenzo had too much good sense to approve of such a letter, and there is reason to suppose that it was suppressed. Politiano designed it to be read in the consistory, and printed it in the collection of his epistles! The pope, in conferring this dignity upon a boy, had decency enough to stipulate that he should not assume the insignia of his rank, nor be received as a member of the college, for the space of three years; restrictions with which Lorenzo could never induce him to dispense.

Whether it is advisable to unite general history with individual biography, as in the present work, has frequently been disputed; we have no hesitation in saying that it was absolutely necessary here. The life of Leo, in his early years, was so materially affected by the politics of Italy, then the great theatre of contention between France and Spain, that it could not be fairly understood, unless the history of those transactions were related at large.

Many of the young cardinal's colleagues

were men who afterwards became conspicuous in the history of Europe. Rodrigo Borgia, the famous or infamous Alexander VI., was the eldest member of the college; bad as he was, his memory has been blackened. In sketching his character at this time, Mr. Roscoe observes, that his attachment to his mistress Vanozza appears to have been sincere and uniform, and that he regarded her as a legitimate wife. Francesco Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II., and afterwards Pius III., was another member; his character was high and unblemished. A third was Giulio della Rovere, the restless Julius II. These distinguished men are briefly, but ably introduced, chap. ii. The state of literature in Italy is then examined. A few members of that academy at Rome, which the brutal and ignorant Paul II. had persecuted, were still living. Pomponius Lætus was the chief of these old scholars. Callimachus Experiens, his associate, had taken shelter in Poland, where he composed his excellent history of the affairs of Hungary. Paolo Cortese had formed a new society in the capital of the christian world. Literature however was not in a flourishing state at Rome; it prospered more at Florence, at Naples, at Mantua, at Milan, and above all at Ferrara, where Ariosto was now succeeding to Boiardo. This second chapter concludes with an account of Aldo Manuzio, the great benefactor of learning. Pico of Mirandola was one of his most intimate friends; and it was in his conversations with him, and with Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, that Aldo formed the idea of his great undertaking to which, in all probability, they contributed their pecuniary assistance.

"The place which he chose for his establishment was Venice, already the most distinguished city in Italy for the attention paid to the art, and where it was most probable he might meet with those materials and assistants which were necessary for his purpose. In making the preparations requisite for commencing his work, he was indefatigable; he the more particular object of his wishes was the discovery of some method by which he might give to his publications a greater degree of correctness than had been attained by any preceding artist. To this end he invited his assistance a great number of distinguished scholars, whom he prevailed upon, by his influence, and that of his friends, or the stipulation of a liberal reward, to take up their residence at Venice. That he might attract them still more to the place, and to each other, he proposed the establishment of a literary association, or academy, the chi-

object of which was to be the correcting the works of the ancient authors, with a view to their publication in as correct a manner as possible. Of this academy Marcus Musurus, Pietro Bembo, Angelo Gabrielli, Andrea Navagero, Daniello Rinieri, Marino Sanuto, Benedetto Ramberti, Battista Egnazio, and Giambattista Ramusio, were the principal ornaments, and will be entitled to our future notice. For the more effectual establishment of this institution, it was his earnest wish to have obtained an imperial diploma; but in this respect he was disappointed; and the Venetian academy, which ought to have been an object of national or universal munificence, was left to depend upon the industry and bounty of a private individual, under whose auspices it subsisted during many years in great credit, and effected, in a very considerable degree, the beneficial purposes which its founder had in view.

"Such were the motives, and such the preparations for this great undertaking; but its execution surpassed all the expectations that its most sanguine promoters could have formed of it. The first work produced from the Aldine press, was the poem of Hero and Leander, of Musæus, in the year 1494; from which time, for the space of upwards of twenty years, during which Aldo continued his labours, there is scarcely an ancient author, Greek or Latin, of whom he did not give a copious edition, besides publishing a considerable number of books in the Italian tongue. In the acquisition of the most authentic copies of the ancient authors, whether manuscript or printed, he spared neither labour nor expence; and such was the opinion entertained of his talents and assiduity by the celebrated Erasmus, who occasionally assisted him in revising the ancient writers, that he has endeavoured to do justice to his merits, by asserting in his *Adagia*, 'that if some tutelary deity had promoted the views of Aldo, the learned world would shortly have been in possession, not only of all the Greek and Latin authors, but even of the Hebrew and Chaldaic; insomuch, that nothing could have been wanting, in this respect, to their wishes. That it was an enterprize of royal munificence, to re-establish polite letters, then almost extinct; to discover what was hidden; to supply what was wanting; and to correct what was defective.' By the same eminent scholar we are also assured, that whilst Aldo promoted the interests of the learned, the learned gave him, in return, their best assistance; and that even the Hungarians and the Poles sent their works to his press, and accompanied them by liberal presents. How these great objects could be accomplished by the efforts of an individual will appear extraordinary; especially when it is considered, that Aldo was a professed teacher of the Greek language in Venice; that he diligently attended the meetings of the academy; that he maintained a frequent correspondence with the learned in all countries; that the prefaces

and dedications of the books which he published were often of his own composition; that the works themselves were occasionally illustrated by his criticisms and observations; and that he sometimes printed his own works: an instance of which appears in his Latin grammar, published in the year 1507. The solution of this difficulty may however, in some degree, be obtained, by perusing the inscription placed by Aldo over the door of his study, in which he requests his visitors to dispatch their business with him, as expeditiously as possible, and begone; unless they come, as Hercules came to Atlas, with a view of rendering assistance; in which case there would be sufficient employment, both for them, and as many others as might repair thither."

Chapter III. The tranquillity of the country was now to be disturbed. While the young cardinal was taking his seat in the consistory, Lorenzo died; Innocent VIII. died also within a few months, and Alexander VI. was elected his successor, to the disgrace of the Romish church, and the misfortune of Italy. He had purchased the papacy as openly as Didius Julianus, in old times, had purchased the empire; and he employed his power as ill as he had obtained it. The cardinal was one of the five members of the conclave who did not sell their votes upon this occasion; on other accounts he was inimical to Alexander, and he now thought it prudent to retire to Florence. The storm overtook him there. Lodovico Sforza, for the sake of usurping the dukedom of Milan, and the pope, with a view to the aggrandizement of his children, formed a league with the Venetians against Naples. Piero de Medici united with the king of Naples to oppose them; means were found to make the pope change his party, and Sforza invited Charles VIII. of France into Italy. This memorable expedition was one of the historical subjects which Gibbon meditated, before he fixed upon a better theme. It is not a happy subject; the expedition, though most important in its after-consequences, was in all its circumstances insignificant. A profligate and cowardly king blundered into Italy at the head of a fine army; obtained his object, because the misconduct of his opponents was even greater than his own; and at the first approach of any real danger, blundered home again; leaving, as the effects of his conquest, long and obstinate wars to France and Spain, and Italy; and to the rest of Europe, the most tremendous disease that has ever yet been dispensed to man as the punishment of his vices.

It is a history which holds out no splendid event to the admiration, no virtuous character to the love of mankind. There has perhaps never been an age of such moral turpitude, and political villainy, as that of Ferdinand, the catholic king, Charles VIII., and Alexander VI.

Of this expedition we have here, for the first time in our language, a full account. Its consequences to the Medici family were disastrous; and to Piero, the head of that family, they were ruinous. As he was in alliance with Naples, the French marched towards Florence. The popular party, no longer restrained by the authority, nor conciliated by the virtues of Lorenzo, regarded Piero as the cause of their danger, and thwarted him in all the measures which he would have taken to guard against it. He himself had not talents to contend with the difficulties of his situation, and unhappily imitating the example of his father, though the circumstances were so different, went to the French camp, and put all the places of strength and importance into the invaders' hands. In consequence, as soon as he returned to the city, an insurrection took place; from which he and his brethren with difficulty escaped. His errors did not terminate here. Had he claimed the protection of Charles at this juncture, it would have been granted him; instead of this, he fled to Bologna, and a popular government was established at Florence, under the auspices of France.

In the fourth and fifth chapters the farther progress of the French arms is related; and the return of Charles to France; his death; and three unsuccessful attempts of the Medici to regain their authority in Florence.

Chapter VI. The internal commotions which the first irruption of the French had occasioned in Italy had not subsided before a second was planned, and by an enemy far more formidable than the debauched and pusillanimous Charles. The pope and the Venetians once more allied themselves with France. The cardinal, who had now been five years an exile from his native city, disheartened by so many fruitless attempts to return, and foreseeing what new troubles were about to arise, wisely resolved to withdraw from so tumultuous a scene. Rome ought to have been his safe residence, but Alexander was his enemy. He therefore, with his cousin Giulio di Medici, formed a party of twelve friends, and travelled incognito through the principal kingdoms of Europe,

waiting for better times. He wished to have crossed from Flanders into England, but his companions dissuaded him, for they were "terrified at the waves of that vast and profoundest sea!" When they returned to Italy they found the cardinal Guiliano delle Rovere at Savona, where he had fled from his enemy Alexander:—a singular meeting;—three refugees sitting at one table, each of whom was afterwards pope. From Savona he went to Genoa, and remained a while with his sister. Great events mean time had taken place in Italy. Louis XII. had seized Milan, and cast Lodovico Sforza into that prison, where the punishment of his manifold crimes commenced: he languished there ten years in solitary confinement, till his death. Cæsar Borgia, to whose aggrandizement all the schemes of Alexander tended, was pursuing his career in Romagna. In the midst of these commotions the cardinal hoped that something might occur to restore his family; and he accordingly went to Rome, to be in the very centre of the intrigues of Italy. Alexander treated him with respect, and apparent intimacy, because he was desirous it should be believed that a man so respectable was his friend. Their political views also now concurred; the Medici hoped, by Borgia's assistance, to be reinstated in Florence, and he probably was willing, under their name, to obtain possession of the Tuscan state for himself. But Louis peremptorily interfered, and this fourth attempt also proved in vain.

The infamous secret treaty between France and Spain, for the partition of Naples, was now formed, and carried into effect:—"a plan," says Mr. Roscoe, "which has served as a model on subsequent occasions, and which, if the moral sense of mankind be not extinguished by the subsequent repetition of such enormities, will consign the memory of these royal plunderers to merited execration." Borgia too, by one of the most memorable instances of perfidious murder which is upon record, for the shame of the human race, had rid himself of those persons whose opposition he most feared, and seized upon their territories. All Romagna was in his possession; his eye was upon Pisa and Siena, and Florence; and Alexander had already proposed to the college of cardinals to bestow upon him the title of king of Romagna and Umbria. Italy perhaps has reason to regret that these ambitious hopes were disappointed; for Borgia might have consolidated such a

kingdom as would have defied the attempts of foreign powers, and secured the peace of the country. But at the very time when he seemed certainly to have attained his object, the death of his father deprived him of every thing ; and all his intrigues, and all his crimes, were rendered useless. Mr. Roscoe has summed up the character of Alexander VI. with his usual ability and candour, and fair judgment ; abominable as he was, his crimes have been highly overcharged. The incestuous intercourse with his daughter, which has been imputed to him, is satisfactorily disproved in an appended dissertation on Lucretia Borgia, which effectually clears her from the charge ; and Caesar Borgia is as clearly acquitted of the murder of his brother.

Chapter VII. The royal robbers soon quarrelled concerning the division of the spoil, and Ferdinand, by means of the great Gonsalvo, secured the whole to himself. This completed the ruin of Borgia. Julius II., the new pope, was the old enemy of his family ; Borgia had credulously listened to his fair promises, when he was soliciting the papacy, and assisted him in obtaining it. Machiavelli has enumerated this as one of the few mistakes of his political life, and the mistake was fatal. Julius had no sooner obtained the papal throne than he seized upon him, and did not liberate him till many of his fortresses in Romagna were delivered up. Borgia expected aid from the Spaniards ; they had promised it ; and Gonsalvo had given him a safe-conduct : but this great, and otherwise excellent man, had not yet learnt that the duties between man and man are of a higher nature than those between subject and sovereign ; and that when a sovereign's commands are iniquitous, it becomes the duty of the subject to refuse obedience. By Ferdinand's order he violated his pledged word, and sent Borgia prisoner to Spain. He remained two years a prisoner at Medina del Campo ; and having escaped from thence, entered the service of Jean d'Albret, his brother-in-law, and was killed under the walls of Viana.

"Of this extraordinary character it may with truth be observed, that his activity, courage, and perseverance, were equal to the greatest attempts. In the pursuit of his object he overlooked or overleaped all other considerations ; when force was ineffectual he resorted to fraud ; and whether he thundered in open hostility at the gates of a city, or endeavoured to effect his purpose by negotiation

and treachery, he was equally irresistible. If we may confide in the narrative of Guicciardini, cruelty, rapine, injustice, and lust, are only particular features in the composition of this monster ; yet it is difficult to conceive, that a man so totally unredeemed by a single virtue, should have been enabled to maintain himself at the head of a powerful army ; to engage in so eminent a degree the favour of the people conquered ; to form alliances with the first sovereigns of Europe ; to destroy or overturn the most powerful families of Italy ; and to lay the foundations of a dominion, of which it is acknowledged that the short duration is to be attributed rather to his ill-fortune, and the treachery of others, than either to his errors or his crimes. If, however, he has been too indiscriminately condemned by one historian, he has in another met with as zealous and powerful an encomiast, and the maxims of the politician are only the faithful record of the transactions of his hero. On the principles of Machiavelli, Borgia was the greatest man of the age. Nor was he, in fact, without qualities, which in some degree compensated for his demerits. Courageous, munificent, eloquent, and accomplished in all the exercises of arts and arms, he raised an admiration of his endowments, which kept pace with, and counterbalanced the abhorrence excited by his crimes. That even these crimes have been exaggerated, is highly probable. His enemies were numerous, and the certainty of his guilt, in some instances, gave credibility to every imputation that could be devised to throw his character into deeper shade. That he retained, even after he had survived his prosperity, no inconsiderable share of public estimation, is evident from the fidelity and attachment shewn him on many occasions. After his death, his memory and achievements were celebrated by one of the most elegant Latin poets that Italy has produced. The language of poetry is not indeed always that of truth ; but we may at least give credit to the account of the personal accomplishments and warlike talents of Borgia ; although we may indignantly reject the spurious praise, which represents all Olympus as interested in his fate, and places him among the heroes of antiquity, and at the summit of fame."

Caesar Borgia, as well as his father, has been calumniated. He was the Bonaparte of his age ;—as able, as ambitious, as treacherous, as cruel, only not as fortunate ; if each be tried by the standard of morality in his own age, the comparison will be in favour of Borgia. To expect honour or honesty in an Italian statesman of the sixteenth century, is as ridiculous as it would be to look for chastity in Otaheite, or a fair complexion in Negroland. Borgia was only a more able gamester than the gamesters whom he cheated ; they whom he deceived and assassinated were

traitors and assassins themselves. Far more nefarious in the sight of God and man, is he who renews these crimes, when wisdom, and religion, and morality, had succeeded in making even statesmen respect the common decencies of life. The seizure of the English travellers, the imprisonment of Toussaint, the assassination of Pichegru, and the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, are actions as much more flagitious than the crimes of Borgia, as the nineteenth century is more advanced than the age of Alexander VI.

The success of the Spaniards proved fatal also to Piero de Medici; flying on board a galley to Gaeta, he perished by shipwreck, after ten years of exile and disappointment. A far more eminent character was also about to withdraw from the stage. Ferdinand and Louis were reconciled, and met at Savona, where they passed four days in secret and important conferences. "The superstition of mankind," says Mr. Roscoe, "has sought for the prognostics of future evils, in the threatening aspects and conjunctions of the planets; but a conjunction of this kind is a much more certain indication of approaching commotions." The league of Cambray is referred to this interview. Gonzalvo was on this occasion treated with distinguished honour, and permitted to sit at the same table with the two kings.

Chapters VIII. IX. X. The league of Cambray brought the cardinal de Medici into a more conspicuous situation. When Julius found it his interest to desert his allies, and league with the Venetians against them, he determined to restore the Medici: the cardinal was appointed his legate, and in that character was present at the battle of Ravenna, and there made prisoner. When the French would have carried him with them in their retreat out of Italy, he effected his escape. The tide had now turned in favour of his family. The pope and the Spaniards threatened the Florentines; the friends of the old tyranny took arms in the city, and seized Soderini, the gonfaloniere. In this manner were the sons of Lorenzo restored. Soderini escaped into the Turkish dominions; the friend who had assisted him in his escape was tortured so cruelly by the pope, to make him discover the place of his retreat, that he died in a few days. The popular government of Florence was destroyed; and the people were amused with pageants, and with the institution of two orders of merit, to make them forget their liberties. On this occasion the car-

dinal took a yoke for his emblem, with the scriptural motto, "My yoke is easy and my burthen light." The pious or hypocritical moderation of the motto, did not atone for the insolence of the emblem. A conspiracy was formed against the Medici by Boscoli and Capponi, men worthy of a better fate, and of a wider theatre of action, that their fame might have been equal to their merits. Among other eminent men, Machiavelli was engaged in the plot: it failed by the common and inexcusable imprudence of making a list of the conspirators. But before the cardinal could thoroughly investigate the business, he was summoned to Rome, in consequence of the death of Julius, and elected to succeed him.

Leo X., as henceforth we must call him, conducted himself towards his Florentine enemies with a moderation, which the cruelty of his predecessors rendered more remarkable. Boscoli and Capponi had already been beheaded, or it was supposed he would have pardoned them, as he did the others who had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He invited Soderini to Rome, treated him with favour, and connected the two families by marriage. It was Leo's wish to preserve the peace of Christendom, but he was destined to struggle with the same difficulties as his predecessors. Louis XII. again attacked the Milanese; and by the active measures of the pope, who kept an army of Swiss in pay, was once more expelled. Louis was now in sufficient danger: the Swiss on one side, and Henry VIII. on the other, attacked France, both acting in concert with the pope. He found it necessary to make peace, and submit himself to the see, whose authority he had opposed, and Leo was now for a while at leisure to attend to the interests of literature.

The eleventh chapter relates the foundation of the Greek Institute at Rome; the establishment of a Greek press there by Agesteno Chigi, a merchant, deserving of the grateful praise of all lovers of learning; the progress of Greek literature under Leo's patronage; and the rise of the study of oriental literature.

Chapters XII. XIII. XIV. If Leo had more good qualities, and more professional decorum than his two predecessors, he was equally devoted to the aggrandizement of his family. This was his first object; to preserve the independence of Italy was only the second. While, therefore, there appeared some fickleness in his pub-

conduct, as he was at one time formed alliances to prevent Louis from attacking the Milanese, and at another inducing him to make the attack, still the thing in view was the aggrandisement of the Medici. He wanted Naples for his brother Guiliamo, whose better and more liberal mind would have been well contented with the enjoyments of literature. He had also to unite Ferrara and Urbino to the state of Tuscany, and he purchased the papacy for the papacy. The death of Leo changed the situation of public affairs. Leo's part became now more difficult. The late king's ambition had spent itself while he was indulging himself in pleasures, or attending to the internal affairs of his kingdom, it might have been otherwise, and perhaps easy, to render his politics favourable to the views of the Medici. But it was otherwise with Francis I., too young and too restless to let his projects be opposed by another. Immediately on his accession he assumed the title of duke of Milan; in this capacity he had a claim to the duchies of Parma and Piacenza; in vain did the pope exert all his cunning and all his policy, accede to treaties which he meant to observe, and form alliances which he designed to adhere to no longer than it should suit his interest; appearing on different sides, and with his systematic insincerity notorious in the world, he was obliged to submit to the demands of these states. After his reconciliation with Francis they had an interdict which the Pragmatic Sanction was dissolved, and the Concordat established in 1516, a measure by which the right of the French clergy and the claims of the pope were bought and sold. If these concessions did little honour to the character of Leo, the death of his brother Guiliamo occasioned others far more dishonourable. He had designed the duchy of Milan for him; but Guiliamo had fled to refuge there during his exile, and the sense of gratitude and honour, and the little to have been expected in the Medici, would not have accepted of the spoils of his benefactor. Leo, the nephew of the pope, and the object of his hopes, had no such feelings; he has even been accused of poisoning Guiliamo to make way for his promotion; but accusations of this nature, says Mr. Roscoe, which rest on presumption, deserve no credit, and are not probable; want of munificence was not the vice of the fa-

On the first cessation of hostilities, Leo excommunicated the duke of Urbino, on pretences too shallow to impose upon any one, and seized his states. The duke, collecting an army of the various disbanded troops, recovered them; but Leo, sacrificing everything to the aggrandisement of his nephew, exerted all his influence as pope, and lavished his treasures once more to eject him. The forces of the contending powers were nearly equal, when the duke sent his secretary and a Spanish officer, under a safe-conduct, to propose that the difference should be decided, by an equal number of soldiers on each side, from four to four thousand, or by single combat between himself and his competitor. Lorenzo, in violation of the common laws of war, seized the messenger, and sent the secretary to Rome, where Leo put him to the torture, to make him divulge the secrets of his master. Mr. Roscoe does not fail to speak with due abhorrence of this atrocity. No single instance of duplicity or injustice in the pope escapes his reprehension; but he seems only to consider them singly, and to forget them in his general feeling of partiality to the great personage of his history.

During this war a conspiracy was formed among the cardinals against Leo, provoked by his ingratitude and injustice towards the Petrucci family; but be the motive what it may, it does not justify the means. The plan was to apply a poisoned dressing to a fistula with which he was troubled; and nothing but a fortunate and foolish delicacy, which made him in the absence of his own surgeon refuse to be dressed by a stranger, saved him. The plot was discovered, cardinal Petrucci strangled in prison, and two of the inferior agents executed with a cruelty which made Leo almost as criminal as themselves. This danger induced him to make a new promotion of cardinals, for his own security, and in one day he created thirty-one. Some were promoted for their merit, some for their attachment to him, some for their rank, and many, it is asserted, purchased the honour at a high price, a charge which Mr. Roscoe considers as probable. Leo had exhausted the treasury by the villainous war of Urbino, and by his extravagance as well as his liberality, and he was not over-scrupulous as to the means of replenishing it.

Chapter XV. This necessity led the way to "that schism," says the historian, "which has now for nearly three centuries divided the christian world, and intro-

duced new causes of alienation, discord, and persecution, among the professors of that religion, which was intended to inculcate universal peace, charity, and goodwill." The history of the Reformation should have been introduced with a happier feeling. Imperfect as that reformation has been, and as we feel it to be, though war and persecution were its immediate effects, though it has every where injured the arts, and in some places annihilated them, and though in some places also the twilight of popery has been succeeded by the total darkness of Calvinism, still it is to the Reformation that we are indebted for our civil and religious liberties; and dogmatist as he was, there hath not lived so great a benefactor to the human race as Martin Luther, with reverence be it spoken, since Christ himself.

We have never seen the commencement of the Reformation so ably and so dispassionately related as in these volumes. To fill his exhausted treasury, Leo had recourse to the sale of indulgences. Mr. Roscoe asserts, in contradiction to Guicciardini and Fra Paolo, that a portion of the profits had not been granted by this pontiff to his sister, because the Roman prelate Felice Contelori, who had the keeping of the papal archives, could discover no memorial whatever of the donation. But any such memorial might easily have been destroyed, and would have been as soon as the circumstance was considered of importance. But whatever were the causes which had drained the treasury, and however the supplies thus raised were applied, the ways and means to which Leo resorted, afford, as his historian concedes, no proof of that prudence and that sagacity which all persons have so liberally allowed to him. Let the popular faith be what it would, there can be no question that Leo did not believe his own infallibility, or the efficacy of this precious commodity which he was manufacturing for sale; and however well disposed he was to continue the juggles which his predecessors had found so gainful, he ought to have known that it was time to exhibit some new tricks; for the old ones were going out of fashion.

The first tidings of Luther's opposition excited but little sensation at Rome; Leo could not apprehend much from such an opponent, and might perhaps be amused by the violence of the disputations.

As the affair became more serious, the charge of reconciling Luther to the church was entrusted to the cardinal of Gaeta, a man of talents and of moderation.

"Luther, on his first visit, was received not only with kindness, but almost with respect, by the cardinal, who being unwilling to enter into any discussion, proposed to him that he should retract his erroneous propositions, and should in future refrain from asserting such doctrines, or any others, in opposition to the authority of the church. To this Luther replied, that he was not conscious of any errors; and requested to be informed in what they were supposed to consist. It might at this juncture have occurred to the cardinal, that between an open opposition to authority, and a misconception of its decisions, there is a very evident distinction. The answer of Luther might have been considered as applicable only to the latter; and the cardinal might have been justified in inferring, that Luther was an obedient son of the church, although he had mistaken its precepts; an error which he might have left to his own judgment, or to the future decisions of the church to correct. By this conduct, the great point of supremacy and infallibility would have been secured; and the construction of the voluminous and contradictory dogmas of scriptures, and fathers, and councils, and popes, would have been referred to future decision, in which the church might have availed itself of a thousand resources to retain as much of its ancient influence as the spirit of the times would have allowed. Incautiously, however, the cardinal construed the answer of Luther, not into a submission to the church, but into a vindication of his own doctrines, and immediately objected to him two points on which he had advanced erroneous opinions. The first of these was, 'that the spiritual treasure of the church which it distributed in indulgences did not consist of the merits of Christ and his saints.' The second, 'that in order to obtain the benefit of the sacrament, it was requisite to have an absolute faith in its efficacy.'

"What further could remain to be said on this occasion? Were the contending parties to try the weapons of controversy, and oppose authority to authority, through the immense mass of all that related, or did not relate, to the subject? And at last, who was to be the umpire between them? Or what could prevent either of the parties from claiming the honour of the victory? The legate was not however, aware of his error; but having cited on his part, the decisions of the church, and in particular, one of the extravagants, or decretals, of Clement VI. called *Unigenitus*, Luther answered him with such full knowledge both of the tenor of the decree, and the commentaries upon it, as to convince him that nothing was to be obtained by a further controversy. He therefore endeavoured to recover the ground which he had lost; and with a condescending smile told Luther, that it was not his intention to enter into a dispute with him, but paternally to exhort him to disavow his errors, and submit himself to the judgment of the church. Luther had now

felt his superiority, and was less inclined to comply with this request, than before the interview began. Not choosing, however, and perhaps not thinking it safe, to avow an absolute dissent, he requested further time to deliberate, with which the cardinal having complied, he took his leave."

In so bad a cause as that of the Romish church, the only mode of suppressing heresy is by fire and sword. Luther might have been silenced as John Huss and Jerome of Prague had been silenced before him; there was no other method. Leo resolved to put his sincerity to the test; and issued a bull, declaring in express terms that the pope, as the successor of St. Peter and vicar of Christ upon earth, hath an indisputable power of granting indulgences, which will avail as well the living as the dead in purgatory, and that the doctrine is necessary to be embraced by all who are in communion with the church. Upon this Luther boldly appealed from the pope to a general council, which was openly declaring war. The political state of Europe occupied more of Leo's attention at this time, and the leaven of reformation was suffered to work.

Two circumstances greatly contributed to the success of Luther; he combined his cause with that of the promoters of literature, which the barbarous ignorance of his first opponents enabled him easily to do; and he appealed to reason and the scriptures.

"This conduct on the part of Luther, at the same time that it confirmed the attachment of his friends, depressed and injured the cause of his opponents; who, by declining the challenge, gave rise to suspicions that they were unable to defend by reason, those doctrines which they wished to enforce by violence and by threats. Plausible, however, as this conduct may appear on the part of Luther, it must be confessed, that its success was much beyond what might reasonably have been expected from it; and that it was, in a little more than a veil thrown over the eyes both of his enemies and his friends. The parties might, without any extraordinary faculty, have perceived, that between an entire obedience to the decrees of the Romish church, and a direct opposition to them, there was no medium. To doubt the supreme authority of the holy see in matters of faith—to appeal upon her to defend her doctrines by arguments—to question the rectitude of those decisions which have been silently and re-

spectfully assented to for ages—to assert those of a contrary tenor—to enforce them, not only by reason and scripture, but by sarcasm and abuse—and finally, to impeach the authority of the church itself, by requiring the dispute to be heard by impartial judges, is to throw off all obedience, and to appear in open rebellion. Could the supreme pontiff lay aside his infallibility, and surrounded by the venerable college of cardinals, enter into a dispute with a German monk, on questions which involved both the spiritual and temporal authority of the holy see? Could the successor of St. Peter betray the interests of his high office, and consent to submit the decision of points of faith to any inferior tribunal? Was it to be tolerated, that an obscure individual should be allowed to range at large through the holy scriptures, the decisions of councils, and the decretals and bulls of two hundred successive pontiffs, in order to convict the church itself of error, and to combat her with her own weapons? If it had been possible that the pontiff, and his advisers, could have stooped to this humiliation; he must have appeared to the world as a self-convicted impostor, and the triumph of Luther would have been complete. But although the pope and his adherents were in no danger of disgracing themselves, by submitting their cause to the test of reason and scripture, yet they imprudently suffered themselves to be discountenanced and repulsed by the bold attitude and daring approach of their adversary; and Luther, individually, for a long time, balanced the scale against the whole Christian world, and at length broke the beam which he could not wholly incline in his favour. Warmly as the protestant writers have inveighed against the arrogance and unbending pride of the cardinal of Gaeta, and the other opponents of Luther,* it is sufficiently clear, that the cause of the church was rather injured by the concession and moderation which he experienced, as well as by the writers who entered with him into discussions on contested dogmas, and intricate points of faith. The first measure adopted by Luther in the publication of his propositions at Wittenberg, was sufficiently hostile to have justified the pontiff in calling upon him for an unqualified submission, and in case of refusal or hesitation, to have separated him, as an infected limb, from the body of the church. Of the feeble conduct of the Roman see, both on this, and on other occasions, Luther was well aware; and had employed his time to such advantage, that before Leo assailed him with the thunders of the Vatican, he was already prepared to obviate their effects; to retort violence for violence, and abuse for abuse. Throughout all his writings, this great reformer has repre-

* "It is sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by Cajetan," says the learned editor of Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 21., "to draw Luther anew under the papal yoke, because these measures were indeed nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most frontless impudence."

sented his own cause as the cause of truth, of religion, of justice, and of sound learning; and by the skilful management of these topics, his efforts were, in a great degree, crowned with success. Being thus aware of the weapons to which he owed his victory, he was enabled, after he had once established himself in the public opinion, to defend himself against those who presumed to differ from him, as he had before differed from the church of Rome; and the conduct of Luther, in enforcing his own peculiar dogmas, and silencing those who opposed his tenets, may justify the assertion, that if he had been pope instead of Leo X. he would have defended the church against a much more formidable adversary than the monk of Wittenberg."

Chapter XVI. This chapter relates to the Italian poets of Leo's age; the gay tribe, says Mr. Roscoe, that exist only in the sunshine of prosperity. The metaphor is erroneous; he has been listening to the tom-tits that twitter in the garden, and the canary-birds that whistle taught tunes in gilt cages, and has lost sight of the eagles. Poets of secondary merit are articles of which the supply will always be equal to the demand; the honey of patronage attracts swarms of these fine-weather flies: but the great and lasting works of the art have been produced in sorrow and in suffering, in poverty, in exile, and unmerited disgrace.

The list commences with Sanazzaro, whose reputation would probably have been more permanent if the success of Pietro Bembo had not discouraged him from Italian poetry, and induced him to write in Latin. Next are noticed in succession Tebaldeo, Accolti of Arezzo, known by the name of *L'Unico Aretino*, who was rewarded with a duchy for his talents, and Bembo, whose merits are thus ably appreciated.

"In estimating with impartiality the talents of Bembo, and ascertaining the services which he rendered to the progress of taste, it will be necessary to make a distinction between the advancement of Italian poetry, and the improvement of the Italian language; between the efforts of genius and the result of industry. The poetical works of Bembo consist chiefly of *Sonetti* and *Canzoni*, in the style of Petrarca, and are frequently more correct and chaste; but at the same time more unimpassioned and cold, than the model on which they are formed. In the perusal of these pieces we perceive nothing of that genuine feeling, which proceeding from the heart of the author, makes a direct and irresistible appeal to that of the reader; and but little even of that secondary characteristic of genius, which luxuriates in the regions of fancy, and by its vivid and rapid imagery delights the imagination.

On the contrary, whilst these pieces stand approved to our deliberate judgment, we feel a conviction that any person of good taste and extensive reading might, by a due portion of labour, produce works of equal merit. That this conviction is well-founded is proved in no unequivocal manner, by the innumerable throng of writers who have imitated the manner of Bembo; and who, availing themselves of the example of this scholastic style of composition, have inundated Italy with writings which seldom exhibit any distinction either of character or of merit. That the introduction of this manner of writing was fatal to the higher productions of genius cannot be doubted. Internal worth was sacrificed to external ornament. The vehicle was gilt and polished to the highest degree, but it contained nothing of any value; and the whole attention of these writers was employed, not in discovering what should be said, but *how* it should be said."

After Beazzano and the profligate Molza, comes the great name of Ariosto, the only poet, truly speaking, of the age. An interesting account is given of Vittoria Colonna, a woman not unworthy to be the wife of Pescara, and the friend of Michelagnolo. Many other female writers of the same age are noticed, but all far inferior to this distinguished and excellent person. A race of writers widely different is next introduced: that of the burlesque poets, men whose fame will become infamy, as the world becomes better. Berni, the leader of this class, has left a singular character of himself.

"Such was his aversion to a state of servitude, if we may credit the humorous passages in which he has professedly drawn his own character, that he no sooner received a command from his patron, than he felt an invincible reluctance to execute it. He delighted not in music, dancing, gaming, or hunting; his sole pleasure consisting in having nothing to do, and stretching himself at full length in his bed. His chief exercise was to eat a bit, and then compose himself to sleep, and so sleep, to eat again. He observed neither almanacks; and his servants were ordered to bring him no news, whether good or bad.

Teofilo Folengi, better known by his assumed name of Merlino Coccajo, the inventor of macaronic verse, is a more interesting man. His talents were of higher order, though equally misapplied. In his latter works he seems to have imbibed some of the opinions of the reformers which he did not dare to avow, and, like Rabelais, to have mixed up his meaning with ribaldry and extravagance. Last come those writers who imitated the classics; Trissino at their head, the dearest of all dull versifiers, who seems to have studied Homer only to acquire his taste.

which appear in his imitations like vermin in a solar microscope. He is probably the only heroic poet who was ever so accurate in his dates as to specify the day of the week and of the month.

Accio, che voi diman, piacendo a Dio,
Che surd Murte a vintedue d'Aprile
Partir possiate.

Mr. Roscoe prefers the *versi sciolti* for works of length to either the *terza rima* or the *ottava stansa*. This metre however is far inferior to our blank verse, on account of its monotonous trochaic termination.

The ode and the sonnet have been carried to higher perfection in Italy in later times; so also has heroic poetry; for if Tasso has not exceeded Ariosto in execution he certainly has in design. The satires of Leo's age have not been equalled, the blank verse not improved. Tragic poetry is that branch of the art which has since been cultivated with most advantage by Maffei and Metastasio, and in our own days by Alfieri and Monti; but these writers, and more especially the two latter, have been rated above their merits. Tragedy thrives best in our northern climates. After Shakspeare, whose excellence will for ever remain unapproachable, no writer is to be compared with Schiller. The Italians stand in the scale only above the French, who are below O.

Chapter XVII. The Latin poets pass here in review: Sadoleti; Bembo once more; Augurelli, to whom, in return for his poem on the art of making gold, Leo appropriately presented an empty purse; Sanazzaro, who has left decisive proofs of labour and learning, and execrable taste, in his poem *De Partu Virginis*: profaneness is not to be imputed to him, for blasphemy has never been so daring as the piety of catholic poets. We could adduce ample and almost incredible proofs of this, were this the place. Vida's reputation is better founded; his life was respectable, an extraordinary circumstance in those times for a dignified ecclesiastic, and his piety sincere. Of Fracastoro it is said, that when he was born his lips adhered together in such a manner that it was necessary to separate them by a surgical operation. His infancy was marked by a far more awful event; his mother was struck dead by lightning while carrying him in her arms. Navagero receives his due praise; it is not mentioned that he was the occasion of introducing the Italian taste in poetry into Spain. Marc Antonio Flamingo closes this illustrious list; the

sweetest poet that ever wrote in Latin, without any exception, antient or modern.

"It would be unjust to the characters of the illustrious scholars before-mentioned, and particularly of Fracastoro, Flaminio, Navagero, and Vida, to close this brief account, without adverting to some circumstances which apply to them in common, and which confer the highest honour on their memory. Although they devoted their talents to the cultivation of the same department of literature, yet so far were they from being tainted in the slightest degree with that envy which has too often infected men of learning, and led them to regard the productions of their contemporaries with a jaundiced eye, that they not only passed their lives in habits of the strictest friendship, but admired and enjoyed the literary productions of each other, with a warmth and a sincerity which were at once a proof of the correctness of their judgment, and of the liberality of their minds. This admiration they were not more ready to feel, than to express; and their works abound with passages devoted to the commemoration of their friendship, and to the mutual commendation of their talents and writings. This example extended to their contemporaries, and humanized and improved the character of the age; inasmuch that the scholars of the time of Leo X. were not more superior to those of the fifteenth century, in the proficiency made in liberal studies, than in the urbanity of their manners, the candour of their judgment, and the generous desire of promoting the literary reputation of each other. Hence it is further to be observed, that these authors have never dipped their pens in the gall of satire, or degraded their genius by combining its efforts with those of malignity, of jealousy, of arrogance, or of spleen. Not confining their talents to the cloistered recesses of learned indolence, they obtained by their conduct in public life the esteem and confidence of their fellow-citizens; whilst their hours of leisure were devoted to the cultivation of the severer sciences, and enlivened by those poetical effusions to which they are now indebted for the chief part of their fame. The intrinsic merit and classical purity of their writings are rendered yet more estimable by the strict attention to decency and moral propriety, which they uniformly display; and which, added to the consideration of the ease and simplicity with which they are written, might justly entitle them to a preference even to the remains of many of the antient authors, in promoting the education of youth."

After a few other names of less celebrity the Latin *improvisatori* are introduced, who amused Leo by their talents or their buffoonery: Brandolini and Morone, men of real erudition, and Querno the arch-poet, or court-fool under a new title.

Something like the absurd and unpardonable extravagance of the old Roman epicures seems to have revived in this age of luxury; if it be true that Leo used to regale his jesters with peacock sausages, and that Agostino Chigi had parrots' tongues served up at his table!

Chapter XVIII. Italy was now in peace, but not in security, for the Mahomedan power, while its progress was stoop in Asia by Albuquerque, had become more formidable than ever to Europe. Selim the Ottoman, after clearing his way to the throne by the murder of his father, his brother, and his brother's children, had overthrown the last sultan of the mamelukes, and added Egypt to his empire. The histories of Alexander and Cæsar were his favourite study, and it was his ambition to tread in their steps. Thus, says Mr. Roscoe, is the world destined to pay the penalty of its blind admiration of those whom it dignifies with the name of heroes. Where he might next turn his arms was uncertain; Italy had most reason to be alarmed; for it was not forty years since Otranto had been captured by the Turks, and it was that part of Christendom where, from the weakness of all its separate states, the enemy could with least difficulty hope to keep what he should conquer. The pope had even personal motives for fear; he had once himself very narrowly escaped from an attempt of some corsairs to carry him off. It is remarkable that about this very time a plan had been formed by the great founder of the Portuguese empire in Asia, to carry off the body of Mahomed from Medina: if both attempts had succeeded, it would have been an odd anecdote for the historian to record the exchange of a living pope for a dead prophet.

The Ottoman empire was in full strength, yet perhaps there never was a time at which it might have been attacked from so many quarters, and with such probability of success. The Persians would have attacked it on their side, and have fought as inveterately for the honour of Ali, and the turban of Ismael Sofi, as the Christians for the cross; a Portuguese force would have landed from the Red Sea, and the Greeks are at all times ready to rise against their oppressors, if they could but depend upon assistance. Leo did all that he could do to form a general alliance against this common enemy: he published a truce for five years, subjecting all such princes and states as should contravene it, to the penalties of excommunica-

tion. But the age of crusading was over; and in all ages princes and states have been as little disposed to forego their plans of ambition for the fear of God, as for the love of man. The truce was accepted with apparent cheerfulness, and the sovereigns of Europe all promised much and did nothing, except Emanuel of Portugal, by whom, if the actions of great men are to be attributed to those who happen to be their sovereigns, a final stop was put to the progress of the Mahomedan religion. Leo's agents, if they could not effect the object of their mission, raised heavy taxes for their master; and, by filling his treasury, perhaps consoled him for the disappointment of his great and laudable project. The cardinal de Bibbiena also negotiated a marriage between Lorenzo, the usurper of Urbino, and Madeleine de la Tour; an unhappy alliance, which occasioned that connection between the royal families of France and the Medici, so disgraceful in its consequences to both, and so disastrous to humanity. The infamous and accursed Catharine was the daughter of this marriage. Her mother died in child-bed, and Lorenzo survived his wife but a few days, the victim of his debaucheries. His death was regarded with satisfaction by the true friends of Leo, who had beheld with sorrow the prodigality of the pope towards his nephew, and the wicked means by which he had procured his advancement. Leo was now the only legitimate surviving male of the elder branch: the illegitimate ones, on whom his affection descended, were children; he united Urbino to the territory of the church, and sent the cardinal de Medici to govern Florence. Machiavelli, who was called upon for his advice, endeavoured to persuade him how glorious it would be to restore the liberties of his native place, but in vain.

Chapter XIX. The emperor Maximilian was dead, and during the intrigues occasioned by the election of his successor, the court of Rome had been too busy to attend to Luther, and the work of reformation had rapidly advanced. But when Leo was at leisure to think of what had happened, the danger was felt to be formidable. His bull had been answered by an appeal to a general council; but Leo, perhaps unwilling to persecute, and probably afraid to provoke farther discussion, because he knew the weakness of his own cause, resolved to try conciliatory measures. Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, who had served him for some years in a

military capacity, and now held the office of counsellor and apostolic chamberlain, was entrusted with this difficult commission, which a secular envoy was likely to transact better than an ecclesiastic. To avoid the appearance of sending expressly to treat with Luther, he was charged with the consecrated rose for the elector of Saxony. The elector had already imbibed so much of the reforming spirit, that he received this special mark of favour with coldness or contempt. Miltitz however found Luther in a tractable mood, and by his seeming candour, and by the public censure which he passed upon Tetzel, as the cause of all this dissension, by his misconduct and violence, he influenced him soon to write to Leo in a peaceful and obedient tone. Leo replied in the same temper; and here, perhaps, the Reformation might have been nipt in the bud, if the champions of the church would have imitated the prudence of the pope. But Eccius mean time was imprudent enough to agree publicly to dispute with Carlstadt upon the opinions of Luther. The great question which Carlstadt maintained was, that the human will had no operation in the performance of good works, but was merely passive to the power of divine grace. Eccius perhaps expected a sure victory, because the common sense and common feeling of mankind contradicted this absurdity; but his own religion ought to have taught him that those doctrines which most impudently set both at defiance, have usually been the most eagerly adopted, and the most obstinately believed. Luther could not keep from the lists; in the heat of argument, he advanced farther than he had yet done, and asserted that purgatory could not be proved by scripture, and that the primacy of the pope was supported by man, not by divine authority. Still Miltitz persisted in his conciliatory measures, confessing the corruptions of the Roman court, and bearing testimony to the talents and virtues of Luther, with imprudent candour, in the hope of soothing an opponent whom he saw it was not possible to intimidate. Finding these means fail, he requested the Augustine monks to send a deputation to their erring ruler, for the purpose of recalling him to a sense of his duty. Luther listened with apparent satisfaction at this mark of respect, and promised to write again to the pope, in explanation of his conduct. Availing himself therefore of the opportunity, says the historian, he addressed

another letter to Leo X., which in its purport may be considered as one of the most singular, and in its consequences as one of the most important, that ever the pen of an individual produced. Under the pretext of obedience, respect, and even affection for the pontiff, he has conveyed the most determined opposition, the most bitter satire, and the most marked contempt, insomuch that it is scarcely possible to conceive a composition more replete with insult and offence than that which Luther affected to allow himself to be prevailed on to write by the representations of his own fraternity." Protestant writers have either affected not to perceive the bitter irony of this letter, or have less impudently passed over it in silence. The passages which Mr. Roscoe has introduced amply justify the character of it which he has given. It was impossible to affect farther moderation after so decided, and it may be added, so unprovoked an insult, and accordingly the bull of condemnation was fulminated against the offender. This bull Luther publicly burnt.

Leo now called upon the secular arms, and Luther appeared before the diet. This most important trial, if so it may be called, is well related, and an excellent abstract given of that memorable speech which Luther concluded by saying, in his own language, Here I take my stand—I can do no other—God be my help!—Amen.

Happy had it been for Christendom if Charles had now inclined towards those opinions which he is supposed to have entertained in his latter days. It is not to be wondered at that he chose to become the defender of the catholic faith; he might have seen that when the main pillars of authority were shaken by so mighty a hand, if the temple of Dagon fell, down would come "the lords and the Philistines." Luther was ordered to quit the imperial dominions within twenty days; and a month after this decree, another was issued, whereby all persons were required to seize him and his adherents. The elector of Saxony effectually concealed him meantime in the castle of Wartburg, and in this *Patmos*, as he called it, he remained till the death of Leo.

The character of Luther is summed up with strict impartiality: as the opponent of the papal power, he is praised as he deserves; as the founder of a new church, labouring to establish a new tyranny in the place of that which he had overthrown, he is as justly censured.

" Whilst he was engaged in his opposition to the church of Rome, he asserted the right of private judgment in matters of faith with the confidence and courage of a martyr; but no sooner had he freed his followers from the chains of papal domination, than he forged others, in many respects equally intolerable, and it was the employment of his latter years, to counteract the beneficial effects produced by his former labours. The great example of freedom which he had exhibited, could not, however, be so soon forgotten; and many who had thrown off the authority of the Romish see, refused to submit their consciences to the controul of a monk, who had arrogated to himself the sole right of expounding those scriptures which he had contended were open to all. The moderation and candour of Melancthon in some degree mitigated the severity of his doctrines; but the example of Luther descended to his followers, and the uncharitable spirit evinced by the Lutheran doctors, in prescribing the articles of their faith, has often been the subject of just and severe reprobation. Happy indeed had it been for mankind, had this great reformer discovered, that between perfect freedom and perfect obedience, there can be no medium; that he who rejects one kind of human authority in matters of religion, is not likely to submit to another; and that there cannot be a more dangerous nor a more odious encroachment on the rights of an individual, than officiously and unsolicited to interfere with the sacred intercourse that subsists between him and his God."

Did our limits permit us we should willingly copy the whole of this passage, and make farther extracts from the concluding remarks upon the effects of the Reformation, and the intolerance of the reformers. Some dreadful particulars are given, in a note, of the martyrdom of Servetus. An essay was published last year by one of the united Calvinist preachers upon the conduct of Calvin in that atrocious murder, to show that Melancthon, the mildest of the reformers, not only approved the deed, but was astonished that any person should disapprove it, and to justify the action. We noticed it at the time,* and we repeat the notice here, that it may be known what are the principles of these men, and what would be their practice, if their power were but according to their inclination. In our last volume we said that if the Devil were to die, St. Domingo would have better claims to succeed him than any other soul in his dominions—we beg John Calvin's pardon for forgetting him upon the occasion—he might certainly contest the election. It is to be wished that more of the history of the Reformation had fallen within the

bounds of Mr. Roscoe's subject; he has treated it not with the asperity and dishonesty which (perhaps with the solitary exception of Robert Robinson) all ecclesiastical historians, papists and protestants, alike have displayed; not with the cold-hearted and mischievous indifference of infidelity, like Hume; but as one alive to all honourable and ennobling feelings, zealous for the best interests of human kind, and convinced that those interests are most certainly promoted by an inflexible adherence to the great and permanent principles of morality. Had history always been written in this spirit, the world would not have been in its present state of oppression and ignorance. Persecutors and conquerors have done less evil than the writers who have justified and extolled them.

Over the two next chapters we must hurry with unwilling rapidity:—the one relates to the metaphysics, and the natural and moral philosophy of the age; the other to the establishment of the Laurentum and Vatican libraries, and to the contemporary Italian historians.

Chapter XXII. We now come to consider Leo as the patron of the fine arts, unquestionably the most favourable light in which his character can be viewed. His predecessors had prepared the way for him; more especially Julius II. who, if he could have changed places with Maximilian, would have recovered Constantinople, and built a new tower of Babel there on a larger scale, in monument of his conquest. With three such artists as Bramante, Michelagnolo, and Raffaello, what would not such a man have accomplished had he but found an Adept for his treasurer! Bramante died, during the pontificate of Leo. Michelagnolo owes him nothing; he called off this great man from the tomb of Julius, his favourite task, and sent him to work at Florence upon marble; they quarrelled—the artist was intractable, and the pope was less disposed to conciliate than even Julius had been, whereas his mind was of a higher character, and a truer reverence for genius; and during Leo's administration, the greatest of modern artists was unemployed. It is Raffaello who is the glory of this pontificate. Mr. Roscoe discovers much taste, and much penetration, in commenting upon the pictures of this wonderful man, and explaining their political allegories.

Chapters XXIII. XXIV. The short remainder of Leo's life was disgraced by action of perfidy which equals any crime

of Borgia or his father. Gian-Paolo Baglione governed the city of Perugia:—he is represented as an impious and cruel man, and perhaps was so; at least if he were not, he was unlike most other statesmen of his age and country. This, however, is certain, that he never could have committed a more deliberate villainy than that which Leo made use of to destroy him. The pope pretended that he wished to consult with him upon affairs of importance, and invited him to Rome. Baglione affected sickness, and sent his son to discover the intentions of the pontiff, whom Leo treated with the greatest kindness, and after some time sent back with a safe-conduct for his father. Baglione, being a little sovereign himself, ought to have known at what value oaths and safe-conducts passed current among princes: he went to Rome, and had the honour to kiss the pope's feet; and the next day was tortured, till he had confessed crimes which were made a pretext for beheading him. Leo seized his states, and proceeded to clear the march of Ancona of its petty tyrants; the particulars are not related, but enough is said to show that they were little honourable to his character. A conspiracy which he formed against the dominions of the duke of Ferrara, if not against his life, was discovered and defeated.

While Leo was thus recovering the territories of the church, he was planning schemes for the delivery of Italy from the French and Spaniards; a great design, worthy of Julius II. whose merits as a prince may atone upon earth for his misdeeds as pope. He succeeded so far as to recover Parma and Piacenza, and to expel the French from Milan. Never had his political prospects promised so fairly. That it was his intention to keep the Milanese is certain: those territories, united with Tuscany and the papal states, and with the help of the Swiss, would have enabled him to attack, and probably to conquer, Naples; but at this very time he was seized with his death-sickness. There can be little doubt that he was poisoned: vengeance had overtaken him at last.

Mrs. Hannah More has well noticed Mr. Noble's curious eulogium upon the house of the Medici. "Their having restored knowledge and elegance," says this gentleman, "will in time obliterate their faults. Their usurpation, tyranny, pride, perfidy, vindictive cruelty, parricides, and incest, will be remembered no more. Future ages will forget their atroc-

cious crimes in fond admiration." Excellent moralist! Mr. Roscoe is too intimate with the Medici family not to feel greater affection for them than a stranger will do, but he is not blind to their vices.

"It is impossible that the conduct of Leo X. as a temporal prince, can either be justified or extenuated. If a sovereign expects to meet with fidelity in his allies, or obedience in his subjects, he ought to consider his own engagements as sacred, and his promises as inviolable. In condescending to make use of treachery against his adversaries, he sets an example which shakes the foundations of his own authority, and endangers his own safety; and it is by no means improbable, that the untimely death of the pontiff was the consequence of an act of revenge. The same misconduct which probably shortened his days, has also been injurious to his fame; and the certainty, that he on many occasions resorted to indirect and treacherous means to circumvent or destroy his adversaries, has caused him to be accused of crimes which are not only unsupported by any positive evidence, but are in the highest degree improbable. He has, however, sufficient to answer for in this respect, without being charged with conjectural offences. Under the plea of freeing the territory of the church from the dominion of its usurpers, he became an usurper himself; and on the pretext of punishing the guilt of others, was himself guilty of great atrocities. If the example of the crimes of one could justify those of another, the world would soon become only a great theatre of treachery, of rapine, and of blood; and the human race would excel the brute creation only in the superior talents displayed in promoting their mutual destruction."

His ecclesiastical character stands trial better. Catholics accuse him of want of vigour: they blame him for not nipping the Reformation in the bud; that is, for not being a persecutor. The censure which protestant writers bestow upon him, falls rather upon his rank than himself. Undoubtedly, he who accepts the situation of pope, acts in violation of the express words of Christ; there can be as little doubt that to believe in Christ, and knowingly to disobey his precepts, is sinful; but it must not be forgotten how easily we are deluded, how easily we delude ourselves, and how few are entitled to throw the first stone at such an offender. To accuse him for being pope is ridiculous; in that station of life to which he was called, no man could have acted better; he promoted learning; he restored decency in a court from whence it had long been banished; and he did his utmost

to establish peace in Christendom, and to arm Christendom against the Turks.

The tales of his impiety rest on no better authority than John Bale and Luther, witnesses altogether unworthy of credit upon such a subject. That he was an infidel is very probable, but it is by no means probable that he himself should have said so; he had no want of prudence. Paullus Jovius has slandered his moral character by the foulest of all imputations; Paullus Jovius was a liar, who invented facts like Vertot and Raynal, and made calumny his trade as systematically as if he had served his apprenticeship to a ministerial news-editor in England. The slander is confuted by abundant evidence; and it is indisputable that Leo's conduct exhibited, 'not only in his early years, but also after his elevation to the pontificate, an example of chastity and decorum, the more remarkable, as it was the more unusual in the age in which he lived.' He was more fond of cards, of buffoonery, and of hunting, than beseemed his station. Mr. Roscoe concludes by examining what are his claims to the gratitude of after-times, as a munificent encourager of literature and the arts. No contemporary rivalled him, for the summer days of Naples were over.

"That an astonishing proficiency in the improvement of the human intellect occurred during the pontificate of Leo X. is universally allowed. That such proficiency is principally to be attributed to the exertions of that pontiff, will now perhaps be thought equally indisputable. Of the predominating influence of a powerful, an accomplished, or a fortunate individual; on the character and manners of the age, the history of mankind furnishes innumerable instances; and happy is it for the world, when the pursuits of such individuals, instead of being devoted, through blind ambition, to the subjugation or destruction of the human race, are directed towards those beneficent and generous ends, which, amidst all his avocations, Leo the Tenth appears to have kept continually in view."

We have analysed this work at length, as its magnitude and importance required. Mr. Roscoe had surprised the world by his history of Lorenzo de Medici; his reputation, as was said of sir John Denham, broke out like the Irish rebellion, eighty thousand strong. The life of Leo was eagerly called for by the public, and eagerly expected, and such high-raised expectations always affect a work unfavourably, be it ever so excellent. The public knew not what it was which they ought

to have expected. Because the age of Leo X. was the golden age of Italy and the fine arts, it was supposed to be a splendid subject for history; a strange mistake, which a school-boy's experience of history might have corrected. The reign of Augustus is the splendid age of Rome, and the least interesting period of its whole annals. Poets and painters supply matter for the critic, and sometimes anecdotes for the biographer, but they are poor personages in the history of kingdoms and revolutions: pageants, and pictures, and processions, are as dull in description as they are brilliant in reality; a feast is better than a fray; but every reader is curious to see 'bloody news from abroad' in the newspapers, while nobody cares for an account of the lord-mayor's dinner.

What we have said of the expedition of Charles VIII. applies to the whole age of Leo, except that little part which relates to the commencement of the Reformation, which is of a higher character. Great changes were produced by mean causes and unworthy agents. We feel no interest for any of the contending parties; nothing in which man is concerned is at stake; the point in dispute always is, who shall be master of that to which neither claimant has any other right than the law of the strongest. To feel a hope or a fear for the issue of such contests, is as impossible as it would be to shed tears at the Beggar's Opera, if it were turned into tragedy, and Macheath were hung in goal earnest. For these reasons Mr. Roscoe's book will disappoint common curiosity, but it will satisfy, and fully satisfy, those who knew what they ought to expect, and it will please better upon a second perusal than a first. Nor is the period the less important; the system of European politics then first began to settle into that form in which it has remained till our own eventful days.

Perhaps the appendix is too copious. It is desirable that rare documents should be adduced, but it should be remembered to how very small a proportion of readers they are of any value, and how materially they increase the bulk and the price of the book. Without these documents the work might have been comprized in two volumes, of no inconvenient magnitude. The prevalent fashion of thin volumes is to be reprobated for this reason among others, that it so heavily increases the heavy expence of binding. There is another point of nearer interest which au-

thors may find it their advantage to take into consideration. Mr. Godwin has informed us, on the authority of his bookseller, that two quarto volumes were as much as Chaucer would bear, and we know Chaucer was made to bear as much as he could. This seems to be a limit beyond which an author in these days of indolence must not venture. Let us not deceive ourselves: this is a reading age, but it is an age of such reading as might as well be left alone. The main motive which induces the majority of readers to take the trouble of perusing a new book, (old ones they never lock into—'any thing new?' is the question at the bookseller's, as it is at the milliner's) the main motive is, that they may have the pleasure of criticising it in conversation; and to give them much trouble is the fault of all others, which they are least willing to forgive. Brevity is the humour of the times; a tragedy must not exceed fifteen hundred lines, a fashionable preacher must not trespass above fifteen minutes upon his congregation. We have short waistcoats and short campaigns; every thing must be short except law-suits, speeches in parliament, and tax-tables.

Thus much as to what might have been expedient for the sake of immediate popularity. It is of more consequence to enquire if any alteration could advantageously be made in the form of a work which is destined to hold a permanent rank in English literature. It might, we think, have been better, if Mr. Roscoe had divided it into two parts, keeping the political and the literary histories distinct from each other. The arrangement of the chapters upon literature is capricious, not in that necessary sequence which order requires: they come in like music

between the acts of the play, and interrupt the series of events. Mr. Roscoe adheres to the original orthography in his French and Italian names; he should have done the same with the Spanish; and if he had extended this very desirable improvement to the names of places also, such an innovation would have derived great weight from his authority. If a thing so trifling deserves to be mentioned, we may notice that the literary biographies are introduced with too much of a *τον δ' απαμειβομενος* formality, and it is too frequently said that a particular account of such an author 'cannot but be interesting,' or 'cannot be uninteresting.'

Industry is the first great and indispensable requisite in an historian, and in this our English writers have usually been deficient; the want of industry in this case is want of honesty. Hume is chargeable with this fault, and Robertson in a far greater degree, beyond any other writer of eminence, not even excepting the abbé Raynal. The present work discovers a wide and well-directed range of research. Mr. Roscoe has sought for materials in the whole contemporary literature of Italy. His style is easy and perspicuous, and with the public this is the one thing needful. The school of Chesterfield predominates in letters as well as in life, and books make their way by style, as men by manners, with little reference to the real merits of either. But the peculiar excellence of Mr. Roscoe's work, is the admirable rectitude of mind which it every where and always evinces, and which distinguishes him above all other historians.

We must not close our account without noticing the wooden vignettes. They would not have disgraced the best age of Italy.

ART. II.—A general View of the Writings of Linnæus, by RICHARD PULTENEY, M. D. F. R. S. The second Edition, with Corrections, considerable Additions, and Memoirs of the Author, by WILLIAM GEORGE MATON, M. D. F. R. S. F. S. A. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and a Vice-president of the Linnæan Society. 4to. pp. 600.

THE first edition of this work was published in 1781; and although it was so favourably received, as, in the technical language of booksellers, to be *out of print* at the end of the year 1785, it was not republished by its author, who lived till 1801. A writer who had uniformly manifested a warm regard to the interests of natural science, and who, by his unwearied exertions, had actually contributed much to the diffusion and accept-

ance of the Linnæan system in England, might have been expected to have speedily gratified the public with a new edition. It seems probable that he was induced to delay it by the hope of obtaining additional materials, and of rendering it more interesting and useful. He had originally committed it to the press, not as a complete life of Linnæus, for which he acknowledged his sources of intelligence were not sufficiently copious, but as a 'ge-

neral review, and in some cases, analysis of his printed works, for the purpose of making them more generally known, and rendering the study of them more easy: and for this he was eminently qualified. From an early period of his life he had diligently examined the productions of the great Swedish naturalist, as they successively appeared, and had observed with a penetrating eye the gradual improvement of the system. Of the earlier tracts he professed to give only a cursory account, and directed his chief attention to the *Systema Naturæ*, the grand object to which they all tended, and in which they were finally brought to their projected completion.

An enlarged edition from the hand of the author would doubtless have been highly acceptable; but, as that gratification has not been obtained, the lovers of science have reason to rejoice that the task has devolved on one of the able authors of the historical view of testaceological writers, lately published in the seventh volume of the Linnean Transactions, who had long been the intimate friend of Dr. Pulteney, and to whom he bequeathed his botanical manuscripts. The grand work, and general composition of the whole, is of course Dr. Pulteney's. But Dr. Maton, having obtained possession of documents to which his deceased friend had not access, in particular of an important manuscript which he rather improperly calls the diary of Linnæus, and having moreover the advantage of writing twenty years later, has made so many additions and improvements, as in some degree to entitle this new edition to the rank of an original publication. It was his first intention 'to subjoin all the additional matter in the form of notes; but finding as he proceeded, that many corrections and alterations of arrangement in the text became necessary, he at length resolved to remodel some part of the substance of the work, in preference to perplexing the reader with a multitude of annotations.' He has accordingly not scrupled to take liberties with the original text, which are not usually hazarded by editors. Where the language appeared too diffuse, he has compressed it into a narrower compass. Where the information of his author was imperfect, he has supplied the defect without formally obtruding himself on the notice of the reader, or making an ostentatious parade of superior knowledge: and in a few cases, where it was erroneous, he has silently expunged the

passage. To the biography of Linnæus he has made many valuable additions, and has not only given a fuller account of several of his works, but has also annexed a summary view of the editions which have been published since his death, and of the changes which have been introduced into several parts of the system by some of the editors, 'seeming,' as he expresses it, 'to render the volume as complete a view of the existing state of Linnæan literature as his opportunities of information would admit.'

The earliest composition of Linnæus, known to be preserved, is a manuscript catalogue of his botanical observations, now in the possession of Dr. Smith, under the title of *Spolia Botanica, sive Plantarum rariores per Smolandiam, Scaniam & Roslagiam observatæ & enumeratæ a Carolo Linnæo, Smoland. Med. Bot. & Zool. cult. Stipend. reg. (Upsal. 1729, pp. 30.)* It is arranged after the system of Tournefort. This system he had begun to study, by the advice of Dr. Rottmann, in the year 1726, before he removed from the gymnasium at Wexiö to the university of Lund: and, as he himself tells us in the diary, was never easy till he could refer every plant he had collected to its proper place, according to the arrangement of that celebrated botanist. At that early period he had penetration enough to discover its defects, and was involved in great perplexity by several plants which he could not reduce to its rules. He particularly mentions *Cornus herbacea*, *Lobelia Dortmanna*, *Elatine*, *Hydropiper*, *Peplis Portula*, *Linum Radiola*, *Plantago Monanthos*, afterwards called *Littorella lacustris*, *Isoetes lacustina*, *Narthecium ossifragum*, *Aphanes arvensis*, *Trientalis Europæa*, *Scheutzeria palustris*, *Andromeda polyfolia*, *Caltha palustris*, *Stratiotes Aloides*, and *Utricularia vulgaris*. This interesting circumstance is fully stated in the diary, but has been overlooked by Dr. Maton in his narrative.

It has been conjectured that Linnæus received the first idea of the sexual system from the writings either of Jungius or Burkhard: but we now learn from himself, that during his residence at the university of Upsala, to which he removed from Lund in 1728, his curiosity was excited to a close investigation of the stamina and pistilla, by the perusal of a review of Vaillant's Treatise on the Sexes of Plants, published in the Leipsic commentaries; and that finding these parts of a plant of essential importance, and as

variable as the petals, he formed a design of constituting a new sexual method. A dissertation de Nuptiis Plantarum happening at that time to be published at Upsala, Linnæus, having no opportunity of publicly opposing it, drew up in writing a little treatise on the subject, and shewed it to Dr. Celsius, who put it into the hands of Dr. Rudbeck, by whom it was honoured with the highest approbation.

Dr. Pulteney having mentioned with regret that the public are deprived of the expectation of ever seeing the *Lachesis Lapponica*, or full account of the botanical expedition which gave rise to the *Flora Lapponica*, we have the satisfaction to be informed by Dr. Maton, that the manuscript of this work, written in the Swedish language, is in the possession of Dr. Smith, and that an English translation of it will soon be presented to the public.

These particulars appeared to us of too much importance to be passed over in silence; but as it is not possible, within our prescribed limits, to mention all the numerous additions to the original edition which occur in the present, we shall henceforward notice only those which have been made to the synoptic views of the principal works. An epitome of the *Genera Morborum* occupies a conspicuous place in Dr. Pulteney's book, but the *Materia Medica* did not receive from him the same attention. The omission is supplied by Dr. Maton, and the classification of that work is now exhibited conformably with the plan adopted in respect to the former. Abstracts from the *Systema Naturæ* were given only partially before; in the present edition there is a conspectus of all the grand divisions of that incomparable performance. The first four classes of the animal kingdom stand nearly as they did in the original edition, with slight notices of the additions and alterations in the arrangement, which have been made by Gmelin, Pennant, Shaw, Schreber, Erxleben, and Latham. Of the other two nothing had been given, besides the characters of the order and the names of some of the genera: Dr. Maton, by adding the abbreviated characters of all the genera, has made the whole an uniform and elegant development of this part of the system.

In the vegetable kingdom, Dr. Pulteney prescribed to himself a similar brevity, and annexed to the description of the classes only some examples of plants throughout all the classes and orders,

with the number of genera under each order, and of species in each class. This he comprized in little more than five octavo pages. Dr. Maton's conspectus extends to fifty-one quarto pages, and contains the names of all the genera, with some of the most remarkable species, and the number in each genus; but as he thought the genera too numerous to admit the insertion of the abbreviated generic characters, he has not only broken in upon the uniformity which he had before preserved, but has presented his readers with near thirteen sheets of what appears to us to be little better than waste paper. For, with all due deference to so excellent a naturalist and able a writer, we cannot conceive what advantage can possibly be obtained, either by the student or the proficient in the science, from a mere catalogue of names. The worthy author, we trust, will excuse our freedom: we esteem ourselves bound by our duty to the public to speak, though with reluctance, our real sentiments; and it is the same strict regard to the unbiased decisions of our own judgment which enables us to enjoy the satisfaction of expressing, with equal frankness, the pleasure and instruction we have received from all the other parts of the work.

The view of the vegetable kingdom is brought down to the present time by a brief account of the changes which have been made by Schreber and Gmelin in their respective editions; the one of the *Genera Plantarum*, the other of the *Systema Naturæ*. With respect to the new edition of the *Species Plantarum*, now publishing at Berlin by Willdenow, Dr. Maton observes, that as the work is not advanced beyond the class *syngenesia*, it does not yet appear how far he intends to adhere to the original system, excepting that, in agreement with almost all botanists of the present day, he excludes from that class the whole order *Monogynia*, and distributes its genera in the monogynious order of *Pentandria*: but a moment's consideration will make it evident that as none of the plants in *Gynandria*, *Monœcia*, *Diœcia*, and *Polygamia*, are removed to any of the preceding classes, he has not adopted any of the supposed improvements made by Thunberg and Gmelin; and that, as he has not placed *Valantia cruciata*, &c. under *Galium*, he intends, in opposition to most modern botanists, to preserve the class *Polygamia* in all its Linnæan integrity.

In addition to Dr. Pulteney's analysis

of the mineral kingdom, as it is displayed in the last edition of the *Systema Naturæ*, published by Linnæus, Dr. Maton has given a similar analysis of the same, as it appears in Gmelin's edition, where it is so modified and modernized, as to be in fact the system of Werner, rather than that of Linnæus, which, from the present improved state of mineralogical knowledge, has ceased to be of any utility, any farther than as it marks the progress of the science, and constitutes an important link in the chain of literary history.

As we doubt not that Dr. Maton's work will soon come to a second edition, we will venture to intimate a wish that he may be induced to give a particular account of the alterations and additions which occur in the successive editions of the *Systema Naturæ*, from the first, which consists of only fourteen pages, to the twelfth and last from the hand of the author. An analysis of that in which the Cete were first arranged under the order *Mammalia*, and the *Chondopterigii* detached from the *Pisces*, has been drawn up by Dr. Pulteney himself, and published in the 29th and 35th volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which, with a few corrections and additions, is worthy of being extracted from that miscellany, and admitted to an honourable place in the *General View of the Writings of Linnæus*. Such an analysis would be highly curious and instructive; and would be the more valuable, as very few naturalists are in possession, or can obtain a sight, of all the earlier editions. It is probable that Dr. Pulteney had not the means of making his work thus complete. But the extensive library of sir Joseph Banks is liberally open to the researches of all who wish to consult it; and that of Linnæus himself, now the property of Dr. Smith, who, with equal public spirit, is ready to contribute all in his power towards the advancement of natural science, would furnish ample materials for the purpose.

Only seven volumes of the *Amœnitates Academicæ* were published before the year 1781. Dr. Pulteney's brief account of the dissertations in each, of course, extends no farther. Dr. Maton has given a similar view of those contained in the

eighth; but has done little more than copy the titles of those in the ninth and tenth, as Linnæus is not known to have communicated any part of them to the respective respondents.

The character of Linnæus, drawn up by Dr. Pulteney, is retained without any material alteration; but the conclusion is chiefly from the pen of Dr. Maton, and will afford a pleasing specimen of his style and manner.

"Those who feel a reverence for the memory and merits of Linnæus will naturally experience some gratification in forming an idea of his person, habits, and manners. In stature he is described as having been rather short than tall, yet his limbs were muscular, and he was of moderate corpulency. His head was large, with a very strong gibbosity of the occiput or back part of it. His features were agreeable, and his countenance animated, the eyes, which were brown, being remarkably bright, ardent, and piercing; he speaks of having enjoyed excellent sight. His hair, in infancy, was as white as snow, but it became brown when he grew up, and, in advanced age, hoary; at which last period many large wrinkles appeared on his forehead. His teeth were weak, and very early became carious, in consequence of an hereditary tooth-ache, to which he was subject in his youth. In temper he was quick and irritable, yet easily appeased; he possessed a natural cheerfulness*, and even in old age exhibited nothing like torpor or inactivity. He did not appear to take much interest in the fine arts, nor was his ear sensible to music. Wholly devoid of pride, and valuing his honours and titles only as they marked his scientific greatness, he was always affable and courteous, and his style of living had nothing in it either of ostentation or luxury; on the contrary, his establishment was so moderate, that he sometimes incurred the imputation of avarice. From the extreme difficulties, of a pecuniary nature, which he experienced in the early part of life, it is not improbable that he acquired habits of very strict economy and frugality; but that the love of riches was not a passion with him, is proved by his acknowledged liberality respecting fees from his pupils, and by the scanty profit with which he was content from his publications. Linnæus's *foible* (if it be necessary to record it) was his love of fame, which must be confessed to have been boundless, and it is no where more apparent than in the pages of his own diary. Yet who will charge this great

* Mr. Dryander informs me, that Linnæus would often make up dances for his family and pupils, at Halmnarby, where, with unaffected and amiable gaiety of mind, he used to look on, and even to derive amusement from these little domestic festivities. (Editor).

† He is understood to have never received more than a ducat a sheet for any of his writings, which, from the time of his being settled in Sweden, were purchased by Laurence Salvius, of Stockholm, who for many years made large exportations of books to the Dutch fairs.

man with having arrogated to himself merit that did not justly belong to him, or with having disputed the pretensions of others, because they interfered with his own?—He ever showed the most sacred regard for truth. All his actions and employments were regulated by the strictest order. He never deferred any thing; and whatever fact came to his knowledge he made a point of noting immediately, in its proper place, never trusting to his memory.

“So exact was he in the distribution of his time, that he always proportioned the duration of his repose to the season of the year, sleeping in the winter from 9 in the evening to 6 in the morning, and in the summer only from 10 to 3; but he never extended his application of mind beyond the moment at which he felt fatigue, nor did he disdain social enjoyments when his faculties were unfitted for exertion. In fact, it was by such management alone, that he could have accomplished those extraordinary labours which it has been our business to record; and notwithstanding his regulated relaxation from intellectual exertion, so intensely had his memory been exercised, that its powers very obviously declined many years before his death, and had at last almost wholly deserted him.”

The diary to which Dr. Maton refers as a proof that the prominent foible of Linnæus was a boundless love of fame, is annexed to the work, translated into English by a Swedish gentleman, resident in London. It is a real curiosity, and well worthy of being preserved; though some passages in it certainly manifest a degree of vanity which may be expected to disgust the squeamish delicacy of modern refinement. But as dean Swift said of over-cleanly people, that they have a larger portion of dirty ideas than their neighbours; so we are sometimes inclined to think of those weak-nerved minds which are shocked at the appearance of self-exaltation, that, conscious of being at least as vain as other men, they attempt to conceal it under an affected humility. We are not ashamed to acknowledge that we can read the honest boastings of a Cicero without thinking worse of him as a magistrate, a philosopher, or a man. Of all literary productions, those in which the authors are their own biographers, afford us the greatest pleasure, especially when the writers record their actual sentiments with sincerity and frankness, and permit us to look into the inmost recesses of their bosoms. All of them, though not in precisely the same manner, give abundant indications of vanity: but they are not on that account the less amiable; nor if, like Cicero and Linnæus, they possessed

great talents and great virtues, is this real dignity at all degraded; it is only when they boast without reason, and, as is sometimes the case, attribute to themselves qualifications in which they are palpably deficient, that they render themselves contemptible and ridiculous. It is seldom, indeed, that any of them wish to make the public acquainted with all they think of their own merits. Most of them tell more than they intend, and give us a knowledge of their character by inadvertent expressions from which they do not suspect that the true conclusion will be drawn. Nor is there reason to believe that Linnæus himself, notwithstanding the remarkable simplicity of his character and frankness of his disposition, and however he might express to the friend of his youth, all his thoughts and all his feelings, without concealment or disguise, designed to lay himself open, with as little reserve, to the world at large. The contrary, we apprehend, may be fairly inferred from his letter to Dr. Menander, copied in the editor's preface.

“I have here drawn up my own panegyric, and found that *propria laus sordet*. I should never have shown it to any body in the world, if not to the only one of all my friends, who has been unalterably such, from times when I was in less advantageous circumstances. If you should be pleased to extract any thing from it, my dear friend, it would attract notice, when coming from such a pen as yours. I am quite ashamed to lay it before you, and should never have done so, had I not been convinced of your friendship and uniform sincerity.”

But whatever may have been the wish of Linnæus, we rejoice that so important a memorial has been preserved, and pity the man who can read the following passage without interest and without admiration.

“Over the door of his room he caused this sentence to be inscribed:

“INNOCUE VIVITO—NUMEN ADEST!”

“He always entertained veneration and admiration for his Creator, and endeavoured to trace his science to its Author.

“*Tu decus omne Tuis, postquam Te fata
tulere:* VIRGIL.

“Having been brought to the point of death by the gout, in the year 1750, but cured by eating wood-strawberries, he ate every season as much of this fruit as he could, and as his stomach would bear; by which means he not only escaped the gout entirely, but also from so doing derived more benefit than others from drinking mineral waters, and got rid of the scurvy which every year rendered him heavy.

"The Lord himself hath led him with his own Almighty hand.

"He hath caused him to spring from a trunk without root, and planted him again in a distant and more delightful spot, and caused him to rise up to a considerable tree.

inspired him with an inclination for science so passionate as to become the most gratifying of all others.

given him all the means he could either wish for or enjoy, of attaining the objects he had in view.

favoured him in such a manner, that even the not obtaining of what he wished for, ultimately turned out to his great advantage, caused him to be received into favour by the *Maccnates Scientiarum*; by the greatest men in the kingdom; and by the Royal Family.

given him an advantageous and honourable post, the very one that, above all others in the world, he had wished for.

given him the wife for whom he most wished, and who managed his household affairs whilst he was engaged in laborious studies.

given him children who have turned out good and virtuous.

given him a son for his successor in office.

given him the largest collection of plants that ever existed in the world, and his greatest delight.

given him lands and other property, so that though there has been nothing superfluous, nothing has he wanted.

honoured him with the titles of

Archiatre,

Knight,

Nobleman, and with

Distinction in the learned world,

protected him from fire.

preserved his life above 60 years.

permitted him to visit his secret council-chambers.

permitted him to see more of the creation than any mortal before him.

given him greater knowledge of natural history than any one had hitherto acquired.

"The Lord hath been with him whithersoever he hath walked, and hath cut off all his enemies from before him, and hath made him a name, like the name of the great men that are in the earth. 1 Chron. xvii. 8.

"No person ever acquitted himself of the duties of his professorship with greater zeal, or had a larger audience at our university.

was more conversant with, or made

more discoveries in, natural history.

"No person has ever had a more solid knowledge of all the three kingdoms of nature.

proved himself a greater botanist or zoologist.

formed so good a plan of, or written so well on, the natural history of his country, its Flora, and Fauna, and Travels.

written more works in a more precise and methodical manner, and from his own observation.

so completely reformed a whole science, and created therein a new æra.

arranged all the productions of nature with so much perspicuity.

had so extensive a correspondence all over the world.

sent his pupils to so many parts of the globe.

given names to a greater number of vegetables, insects, and, in short, to all parts of nature.

seen so many of the works of the creator, with so much exactness.

become so celebrated all over the world.

sowed in any academical garden so many seeds.

discovered so many animals (in fact, he discovered as many as all preceding naturalists put together).

was ever chosen into a greater number of scientific societies."

It has long been known that the uncommon talents of Linnæus were in danger of being confined to some mechanic profession: but the particulars, we believe, were never before distinctly related; As the passage is curious, and affords a striking instance of that narrowness of intellect which can discover no excellence beyond its own dimensions, and out of its own direction, we shall lay it before our readers.

"1726. The father came to Wexiö, hoping to hear from the preceptors a very flattering account of his beloved son's progress in his studies and morals. But things happened quite otherwise; for, though every body was willing to allow how unexceptionable his moral conduct was, yet on the other hand, it was thought right to advise the father to put the youth an apprentice to some taylor or shoemaker, or some other manual employment, in preference to incurring any further expence towards giving him a learned education, for which he was evidently unfit. The old clergyman, grieved at having thus lost his labour, and at having supported his son at school for twelve years (his circumstances, too, very ill admitting of superfluous ex-

pences) to no purpose, went to the provincial physician, who was also lecturer in physics, Dr. Rothmann, to consult him respecting a complaint under which he had suffered for some weeks. In the course of conversation, he likewise made known to the Doctor his sufferings of mind, on the score of his son's failure in his studies. Rothmann intimated that he found himself equal to the cure of both complaints, remarking that correct as might be the opinion of his colleagues with respect to the boy's inaptitude for those theological studies to which his father had destined him, so much stronger ground was there for hoping that he would distinguish himself in the profession of medicine, and for expecting him to accomplish great things in the pursuit of natural history. These remarks afforded so much the more comfort to the old clergyman, as they were advanced confidently and decidedly by Rothmann, who at the same time handsomely offered, in case the father's circumstances or inclination did not admit of his son being maintained in that course of studies, to take him into his own house, and to give him board and instruction during the year that it would be necessary for him to remain longer in the *gymnasium*.

" 1727. He went to complete his education at the university. But the rector (that year) of the *gymnasium*, Nils Krok, worded his *testimonium* in this manner—viz. Youth at school might be compared to shrubs in a garden, which will sometimes, though rarely, elude all the care of the gardener, but, if transplanted into a different soil, may become fruitful trees. With this view therefore, and no other, the bearer was sent to the university, where it was possible that he might meet with a climate propitious to his progress.

" Provided with this, not very creditable, certificate, he set out for the university of Lund, where his old preceptor Håk, keeping it back, presented him to the rector and dean, as his private pupil, and procured his matriculation.

We ought not to omit that Dr. Maton has prefixed to the work, concise memoirs of the original author, who was as amiable in his private manners, as he was worthy to be imitated in his public energies. They will be read with pleasure by every friend to science and mankind.

ART. III.—*Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, who, by extraordinary Talents and Enterprize, rose, from an obscure Situation, to the rank of a General, in the Service of the native Powers in the North West of India. Through the Work are interspersed, Geographical and Statistical Accounts of several of the States, composing the Interior of the Peninsula, especially the Countries of Jypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajpootaneh, the Seiks of Pun-Jaub, the territory of Beykaneer, and the Country adjoining the great Desert to the Westward of Hurrianch. Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas's original Documents. By WILLIAM FRANCKLIN, Captain of Infantry; Member of the Asiatic Society; Author of a Tour to Persia, and the History of Shah Zulum.*

MR. GEORGE THOMAS was a native of Tipperary in Ireland. The circumstances which led to his embarkation are unknown; but he arrived in India, on board a British ship of war, in the year 1782, being then a quartermaster. Shortly after landing in the vicinity of Madras, he determined to quit the ship, and seek his fortune in the interior. His first service was among the Polygars of the Deccan. He next traversed the central part of the peninsula, and about the year 1787, arrived at Delhi. Here he received a commission in the service of the Begum Sumroo. He had a commanding figure, being upwards of six feet high, and though uneducated, had noble manners and strong natural talents. The Begum, who had all the discrimination and some of the frailties of her sex, eagerly promoted him in her service; he became the commander of her troops, and the companion of her pleasures. In Mr. Francklin's history of Shah Annum, is narrated one of the more conspicuous actions conducted by Mr. Tho-

mas, during his service with the Begum; but the affair ought here to have been repeated: it forms an essential part of this biography.

After a stay of about six years, Mr. Thomas found himself supplanted in the Begum's favour, by one Levasso, who eventually obtained her hand in marriage. He withdrew to Anopshire, a frontier station of the British army, in the expectation of receiving overtures from some of the native powers. Nor was he disappointed. In 1793 he entered into the employment of Appa-kandarow, a Mahratta chief, formerly in the service of Scindia, but at that time in rebellion against him. Mr. Thomas had with him two hundred and fifty cavalry, chosen men of tried valour.

Huge empires have usually terminated in feudal anarchy. The great land-owners lend one another a silent protection against the sovereign, which at length reduces him to insignificance; each nobleman then finds himself sovereign in his own village;

the squires coalesce under peers; and provincial wars of wapentake against wapentake, and shire against shire, extirpate manufactures, desolate fields, level cities, and quench instruction. Such was the condition of Europe, on the cessation of the Roman empire: a condition distinctly retained in modern Italy, even under the pontificate of Leo X. When every city must defend itself as it can against the plunderings of the neighbour gentry, a race of *condottieri* naturally grow up, captains of small bands of troops, who are invited to the successive scenes of hostility, and whose hired assistance commonly turns the scale in the skirmish of the moment. Into this state of feudal anarchy the empire of the Moguls was dissolved: and Mr. Thomas was become one of the eminent *condottieri* of the Punjab. The property he had acquired in the service of the Begum was invested for the pay and maintenance of a troop of horse, the wages of whose transferable alliance were to replace, with a large profit, the capital advanced for keeping them together. By the direction of Appa-kandarow Mr. Thomas increased his horsemen by one hundred, and raised one thousand infantry: for the maintenance of which the pergunahs of Thajara, Thopookara, and Ferozepoor, were assigned: but these districts were in irregular subjection, and were to be reduced before they could be amerced. One of these predatory incursions will give an idea of a long series of similar adventures.

"In the march towards his districts, Mr. Thomas retaliated upon the Begum Sumroo, whom he now considered his bitter enemy, laying under contribution that part of her country which came within his route.

"Arriving at Goorath, a large and populous village, he imposed heavy contributions. These amounted to a considerable sum. He found here also, an ample supply of bullocks and forage.

"Continuing his march, after a long and tedious day's journey, he encamped near the town of Tejara, a place in the centre of the Mewattee district. The night was dark and rainy. This and the extreme fatigue of the soldiers conspired to render successful an attempt which the Mewattys made, and they carried off a horse from the very centre of the camp.

"In the morning a party was detached to discover the village to which the horse had been conveyed. The party had not proceeded far, when they were attacked, and obliged to retreat. Orders were then given for the cavalry to advance, and cover the detachment. And Mr. Thomas himself leading the

infantry, hastily marched, and with his collected force, attacked the enemy at the village, to which, it appears, the horse had been carried. By this time they had assembled and became formidable. The centre division of Mr. Thomas's troops, in a short time, set fire to the village, and there seemed no doubt of a complete victory, when the divisions on the right and left giving way, fled with precipitation. The wounded left on the field, were even at this crisis of the action cut to pieces by the enemy.

"The centre division, under the special command of Mr. Thomas, now following the example of their brethren, left him of his troops only a dozen infantry and a few cavalry.

"Thus discomfited and vexed by the steadiness of his troops, Mr. Thomas, as a last resort, encouraged his small party to exert themselves in extricating a nine-pounder, which unfortunately, previously to the battle, had stuck in the bed of a nullah. In this he had just succeeded, when the enemy, as certain of victory, recommenced a furious attack, and endeavoured to seize the gun.

"The commandant of cavalry, a man of distinguished bravery, still adhered to Mr. Thomas, and desperately with a few others, threw himself between the gun and the enemy. They were cut to pieces, but the gallant effort afforded time to remount and oppose a well directed fire of grape from the nine-pounder. This saved Mr. Thomas and the brave few of his surviving party. For, after the discharge of a few rounds, the enemy retired to the surrounding ravines.

"Mr. Thomas now collected the fugitives, who, with his veteran party, formed a detachment of about three hundred men. With these he unconcernedly challenged the enemy to a renewal of the combat, which they, now, as cautiously declined.

"In its first view so disastrous, this action, by the dread it spread among the enemy, proved highly fortunate. Great as was Mr. Thomas's loss of brave and attached soldiers, that of the Mewattys was infinitely more considerable. The immediate consequence was an overture, on the part of their chief, of terms which shortly led to an amicable adjustment. They agreed to pay Mr. Thomas a year's rent, and to restore to him the property that had been stolen. The performance of these articles was guaranteed by securities.

"The punishment of this village, the strongest in the whole district, and its inhabitants the most refractory, was highly favourable to Mr. Thomas's interest; the more so as in a preceding campaign, the whole force of Begum Sumroo had been in vain exerted to reduce it. Mr. Thomas next prepared to march against the remaining districts which were still in rebellion; and having recruited his force for this purpose, he was ordered by Appa-kandarow to assist the collector of the district of Kishnaghar.

"Convinced by experience that vigorous measures could alone ensure success, Mr. Thomas marched towards the refractory villages, of which having gained possession, they were quickly consumed by fire.

"An example so severe, deterred others from pursuing a similar conduct. Of these, the most considerable was the town of Jyjur, which, however, submitting on the approach of the troops, opposition was at an end, and Mr. Thomas returned to Tejara."

After the death of Appa, who, being afflicted with a painful and incurable disease, announced and executed the determination to drown himself in a sacred river, Mr. Thomas passed into the service of his nephew, Vavan Row; but having been disappointed of the agreed disbursements, he determined to set up a sovereignty of his own. He fixed on Hurriash, which was the quarry of rival chieftains, and which comprehended a district, eighty coss in diameter, situate on the left bank of the Cugger, west or north-west of Delhi. Hansi was the name of his metropolis. This province for a long time submitted to his sway, and enjoyed his protection, until a French *condottieri*, named Perron, of whom much mention is made in marquis Wellesley's notes on the Mahratta war, (see Annual Review, vol. iii. p. 186) succeeded in dispossessing him. Mr. Thomas retired to the territories of the India company, to which he transferred his rights, and the care of their vindication. He died before he could obtain the requisite assistance. His character was formed for command, and in circumstances the most difficult asserted its natural supremacy. It was not exempt from faults; his conviviality often degenerated into intemperance, and his anger into ferocity. His allegiance was too much at the service of the highest bidder; his generosity too much proportioned to his occasional means. Adversity has no resource when party fidelity is neglected; power has no prop when the means of recompence are not reserved.

This biography is valuable, not merely on its own account, but for the many notices it contains, geographical, historical, and statistical, of the provinces in which its hero glittered. The description of Delhi is accompanied with a good engraving of the Cootub Minar, a conical tower of marble, embossed with sculpture, and channelled with inscriptions. The mausoleum of Humaioon, and the sepulchre of Khan Khanan, are also noticed: the proprietors are selling for a paltry consideration the marble of these magnificent

remains of departed greatness. Panniput is explored, its mosques and its tombs. The canal of Ali Merdan Khan is out of repair, and the paradisaical range of country it had created, is withered into a desert.

A good account of the Seiks occurs at p. 70.

"The Seiks, though united, have never made any considerable opposition against the force of Zemaun Shah who has frequently attacked them, but it may be urged, that a great difference is to be expected from a formidable army of sixty thousand men, led on by the Shah in person and the princes of the blood, compared with the detached bodies already described. Hence it would appear that this nation is not so formidable as they have been represented, and in all probability they never will be formidable when opposed by regular troops.

"The Seiks are armed with a spear, matchlock and scymetar: their method of fighting, as described by Mr. Thomas, is singular; after performing the requisite duties of their religion by ablution and prayer, they comb their hair and beards with peculiar care, then mounting their horses, ride forth towards the enemy, with whom they engage in a continued skirmish advancing and retreating, until man and horse become equally fatigued; they then draw off to some distance from the enemy, and, meeting with cultivated ground, they permit their horses to graze of their own accord, while they parch a little gram for themselves, and after satisfying nature by this frugal repast, if the enemy be near, they renew the skirmishing; should he have retreated, they provide forage for their cattle, and endeavour to procure a meal for themselves.

"Seldom indulging in the comforts of a tent, whilst in the enemy's country, the repast of a Seik cannot be supposed to be either sumptuous, or elegant. Seated on the ground with a mat spread before them, a Bramin appointed for the purpose, serves out a portion of food to each individual, the cakes of flour which they eat during the meal serving them in the room of dishes and plates.

"The Seiks are remarkably fond of the flesh of the jungle hog, which they kill in the chase, this food is allowable by their law. They likewise eat of mutton and fish, but these being deemed unlawful, the Bramins will not partake, leaving those who chuse to transgress their institutes to answer for themselves. In the city or in the field the Seiks never smoke tobacco; they are not however averse to drinking spirituous liquors, in which they sometimes indulge to an immoderate excess; and they likewise freely take opium, *bang*, and other intoxicating drugs. In their convivial parties each man is compelled to drink out of his own vessel.

"Accustomed from their earliest infancy to a life of hardship and difficulty, the Seiks despise the comforts of a tent; in lieu of this, each horseman is furnished with two blankets, one for himself and the other for his horse.

These blankets, which are placed beneath the saddle, with a gram bag and heel ropes, comprise, in time of war, the baggage of a Seik. Their cooking utensils are carried on tattoos. Considering this mode of life, and the extraordinary rapidity of their movements, it cannot be matter of wonder if they perform marches, which to those who are only accustomed to European warfare, must appear almost incredible.

"The Seiks, among other customs singular in their nature, never suffer their hair, or beards, to be cut, consequently, when mounted on horseback, their black flowing locks, and half naked bodies, which are formed in the stoutest and most athletic mould, the glittering of their arms, and the size and speed of their horses, render their appearance imposing and formidable, and superior to most of the cavalry in Hindoostan.

"In the use of their arms, especially the matchlock, and sabre, they are uncommonly expert, some use bows and arrows. In addition to the articles of dress which have been described in recent publications* of the times, Mr. Thomas mentions that the arms and wrists of the Seiks are decorated with bangles of gold, silver, brass and iron, according to the circumstances of the wearers, but among the chiefs of the respective tribes, the horse furniture, in which they take the greatest pride, (and which, with the exception of the malaying of their fire-arms, is their only luxury) is uncommonly splendid, for, though a Seik will scruple to expend the most trifling sum on his food, or clothing, he will spare no expence in endeavouring to excel his comrades in the furniture of his horse and in the richness and brightness of his armour, a circumstance, which appears to bear no inconsiderable resemblance to the customs of the ancient Spartans.†

"Considerable similarity in their general customs may be traced with those of the Jauts; though these, in some districts, apparently vary, the difference is not material, and their permitting an interchange of marriages with the Jauts of the Doonab and Hurrianeh amounts almost to a conclusive proof of their affinity of origin.

"The Seiks allow foreigners of every description to join their standard, to sit in their company, and to shave their beards, but excepting in the instance of the Jauts, they will not consent to intermarriages, nor will they eat or drink from the hands of an alien, except he be a Bramin, and for this cast they always profess the highest veneration.

"If indeed some regulations which are in their nature purely military, and which were introduced by their founder Nanick, be excepted, it will be found, that the Seiks are neither more or less than Jauts in their primitive state.

"Thus far, says Mr. Thomas, we have seen the fair side of the picture; let us now consider the reverse. The Seiks are false,

sanguinary and faithless, they are addicted to plunder, and the acquirement of wealth by any means, however nefarious; instances have occurred of a child's arm being raised against his parent, and of brothers destroying each other.

"Women amongst them, are held in little estimation, and though ill treated by their husbands, and prohibited from accompanying them in their wars, these unhappy females nevertheless attend to their domestic concerns with a diligence and sedulousness deserving of a better fate!

"Instances indeed, have not unfrequently occurred, in which they have actually taken up arms to defend their habitations, from the desultory attacks of the enemy, and throughout the contest, behaved themselves with an intrepidity of spirit highly praise-worthy.

"In the Seik army the modes of payment are various, but the most common is at the time of harvest, when every soldier receives the amount of his pay in grain and other articles, the produce of the country; to some is given money in small sums, and to others lands are allotted for their maintenance. Three-fifths of the horses in the Punjab are the property of the different chieftains, the remainder belong to the peasantry who have become settlers.

"A Seik soldier has also his portion of the plunder acquired in the course of a campaign: this is set aside as a reward for his services, and in addition to it, he sometimes increases his gains, by secreting part of the public plunder.

"The nature of the Seik government is singular, and probably had its origin in the unsettled state of the tribe, when first established in their possessions. Within his own domains each chief is lord paramount. He exerts an exclusive authority over his vassals, even to the power of life and death, and to increase the population of his districts, he proffers a ready and hospitable asylum to fugitives from all parts of India. Hence, in the Seik territories, though the government be arbitrary, there exists much less cause for oppression, than in many of the neighbouring states, and, hence likewise, the cultivator of the soil being liable to frequent change of masters, by the numerous revolutions that are perpetually occurring, may be considered as one of the causes of the fluctuation of the national force."

The map of Hurrianeh and the contiguous country is accompanied with important and new geographical matter.

Of Rajpootana much additional knowledge is communicated; of the country of the Batties, and of Beykaner: but the curious in Asiatic geography must consult the work itself.

Mr. Francklin has executed his task in

* Consult the history of Shah Aulum.

† See Cornelius Nepos, and Pausanias.

a manner which deserves high encomium. He may somewhat forget the actors for the scenery, and the hero for the conquest; but he has made a remarkable life subservient to various instruction, and has carefully preserved that information which is most likely to be useful to the government of Hindostan. For European readers a glossary is sometimes desirable: a *mullah* we presume to be a torrent, a river which occasionally dries up; but the word is used as familiarly as if it was universally understood in Great Britain. We are pleased to see the productions of the Calcutta press multiply; they attest the growth of an intellectual culture, which

they will stabilitate and diffuse. One painful observation, however, must accompany the perusal of them. How rapidly the English language is becoming in the east a distinct dialect! The vast numbers of oriental words, which have no parallel terms in European diction, compel, no doubt, the use of a macaronic style, in which every twentieth word nearly is alien. By degrees the forms of combination will approximate the Tamul phraseology; the poets of Calcutta, like those of Edinburgh, will begin to compose in the local jargon; and a book-language will at length be got up in a great degree unintelligible at London.

ART. IV.—*The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt.* By ARTHUR CAYLEY, JUN. Esq. Two Vols. 4to. pp. 320 and 333.

A TAYLOR who has no objection to wear motley, may certainly make himself a great coat with half a yard of his own stuff, by eking it out with cabbage from every piece which comes in his way; and after this manner two quarto volumes might be filled with a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, as well as with a Life of Geoffrey Chaucer. The first minute's inspection of the book before us dispelled this unjust, but not unreasonable suspicion. The volumes are very thin, though with a fairer proportion of type to margin than is usual in this age of quartos. There is an appendix of considerable extent, and the original narratives of Sir Walter's voyages are given at length. After the whole was printed, Mr. Cayley became apprehensive that it might have been better to have given the condensed substance of these accounts in the text, and to have inserted the whole of the originals in the appendix. On this point, he adds, I have now only to listen to the voice of candid criticism, and should the work reach a second impression, shall be ready to alter the present plan, if objected to. We have seldom seen so modest or so prepossessing a preface.

Raleigh, for so he wrote the name himself, was born upon a farm called Hayes, in the parish of Budley, Devonshire, near the mouth of the river Otter, that 'wild streamlet of the west,' upon whose banks so many distinguishing men have been born. His father had only the remainder of a lease of the estate; Sir Walter in his prosperity wished to have purchased it; 'for the natural disposition I have to the place,' he says in his letter upon the subject, 'being born in that house, I had ra-

ther seat myself there than any where else.' "He was born in 1552, a year," says an old astrologer treating of his nativity, "remarkable in our chronicles; first, for that strange shoal of the largest sea fishes, which, quitting their native waters for fresh and untasted streams, wandered up the Thames so high, until the river no longer retained any brackishness; and, secondly, for that it is thought to have been somewhat stained in our annals, with the blood of the noble Seymer, duke of Somerset; events surprisingly analogous both to the life of this adventurous voyager, Sir Walter Raleigh, whose delight was in the hazardous discovery of unrequented coasts; and also to his unfortunate death."

He entered at Oriel, but was never, as has been asserted, a student in the Middle Temple; for in his reply to the attorney-general on his arraignment, he lays a heavy imprecation on himself, *if ever he read a word of law or statutes, before he was a prisoner in the Tower*. He served some years with the Hugonots in France, and, as is surmised, took refuge with Philip Sidney, on the night of the massacre, in the English ambassador's house; afterwards he bore a part with sir John Norris in defeating don John of Austria. On his return home in 1579, he sailed on a voyage of discovery with his uterine brother sir Humphrey Gilbert. The expedition was unfortunate; a weaker fleet than had been designed put to sea, they met with a Spanish force, and were obliged to return with the loss of one ship. Raleigh had now past ten years of severe apprenticeship to war and enterprize; the pains which he took meantime to improve him-

self were surprising; by never sleeping more than five hours of the night, he was able to employ four regularly in study. After this he fought in the Irish wars under lord Grey; this was no pleasant service; it was his misfortune to see the Spanish prisoners at Smerwick fort put to the sword by lord Grey's orders. In a letter to Leicester, he says, "I have spent some time here under the deputy, in such poor place and charge, as were it not for that I knew him to be as if yours, I would disdain it as much as to keep sleep. I will not trouble your honour with the business of this lost land; for that sir Warram Sentleger can best of any man deliver unto your lordship, the good, the bad, the mischiefs, the means to mend, and all in all, of this common-wealth, or rather common-woe."

After his return he was noticed at court, and employed to escort Simier to France, and the duke of Anjou to Antwerp. He fitted out a ship to send with sir Humphrey Gilbert on a second expedition, even more unhappy than the first, for sir Humphrey, with two of his ships, was lost on their return. This loss did not dishearten him; he obtained letters patent for himself, his heirs and assigns, to discover and hold such remote heathen and barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any christian prince, and with the help of his friends sent out two ships on the expedition. They discovered Virginia, and three attempts were made to colonize it, which were ruined partly by the ill conduct of the settlers toward the natives. After having expended 40,000*l.* upon the project, he assigned over his patent to a company of gentlemen and merchants, reserving to himself the fifth part of all gold and silver ore.

One important consequence resulted from these voyages. On the 27th of July, 1586, some of the returning settlers first brought tobacco into England. Those who love smoking and snuff, are of opinion that sir Walter Raleigh's name should be written in red letters against that day in the calendar, and that he should have a statue made of pipe-maker's clay in St. Paul's. If the Persian king offered a reward for the discovery of one new pleasure, surely these honours would be well bestowed upon the man who taught us two. There is a good anecdote of sir Walter connected with the pipe.

"Queen Elizabeth one day conversing with Raleigh on the virtues and properties of the new plant, he happened to observe,

that he was so well acquainted with it, that he knew the exact weight of the smoke which would be produced by any given quantity. Her majesty dwelling on the idea of bounding the smoke in a balance, suspected that he was playing the traveller, and laid him a wager he could not make good his words. Raleigh weighed the tobacco, smoked it, and then weighed the ashes. The queen did not deny, that the difference had evaporated in smoke; and added, *many labourers in the fire turn gold into smoke, you have turned smoke into gold."*

Raleigh meantime was advancing in favour at court. He had a patent granted him for licensing the venders of wine throughout the kingdom; which was afterwards augmented by a tonnage and poundage: he had also a grant of 12,000 acres from the forfeited estates in the counties of Cork and Waterford, which he sold to Richard Boyle, afterwards earl of Cork, a purchase which was the foundation of that family's fortune. He was knighted, an inconsiderable honour in that illustrious reign.

"It has been justly remarked of queen Elizabeth, that she kept the temple of honour closely shut, and bestowed titles with frugality and great discrimination. An intelligent observer of her reign has remarked, that 'No prince then extant took an exact estimate of her subjects' abilities to serve her, or made a deeper inspection into their aptitude, nature, and humours, to which, with a rare dexterity, she fitted her favours and their employments; as may be instanced in sir Francis Vere, a man nobly descended, sir Walter Raleigh, exactly qualified, with many others set apart in her judgment, for military services, whose titles she never raised above knighthood, saying, when importuned to make general Vere a baron, that in his proper sphere, and in her estimation, he was above it already; therefore, all could be expected from such an addition would be the ennobling of the spirit of a brave soldier, in the corpse of a less slightly courtier; and by tempting him from his charge, hazard that repute upon a carpet, his valour had dearly purchased him in the field.'"

He was also appointed captain of the guard to the queen, and lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall; and Babington's lands were granted him. Will it be misplaced to mention here that Babington is the hero of the best novel in its kind in our language, the merit of which is not duly known? Our female readers will thank us for adding that it is called *The Jesuit*.

He bore his part in the exertions against the armada, and afterwards joined the expedition under sir Francis Drake and

sir John Norris, which was undertaken to conquer Portugal for Antonio, the prior of Crato, but ended in a mere privateering adventure upon a large scale. Above half the men perished by sickness, famine, or the sword: of eleven hundred gentlemen (and the most adventurous spirits would have been of the number) only three hundred and fifty returned. A fatality seems to have attended our expeditions since the days of the Plantagenets.

Shortly afterwards Raleigh fell into disgrace, and was sent, or banished, to Ireland; the cause is not ascertained, though the jealousy of Essex had some share in it. The event is important in literary history; for Raleigh visited Spenser at Kilcolman. Hear how beautifully that visit has been recorded to all posterity!

"One day, quoth he, I sat, as was my trade,
Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hoar,
Keeping my sheep among the coolly shade
Of the green alders, by the Mulla's shore:
There a strange shepherd chanc'd to find me
out;

Whether allured with my pipe's delight,
Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
Or thither led by chance, I know not right.
Whom when I asked from what place he came,
And how he hight, himself he did cylep
The shepherd of the ocean by name;

And said he came far from the main sea
deep.

He, sitting me beside, in that same shade,
Provoked me to play some pleasant fit:
And when he heard the music which I made,
He found himself full greatly pleas'd at it.
Yet, emuling my pipe, he took in hand
My pipe before that emuled of many,
And play'd thereon, for well that skill he cou'd,
Himself as skilful in that art as any.

He pip'd, I sung; and when he sung, I pip'd;
By change of turns each making other
merry;

Neither envying other, nor envied,
So piped we until we both were weary."

Farther on we have
"His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindness and of usage hard,
Of Cynthia, the lady of the sea,
Which, from her presence, faultless him
debarr'd.

And ever and anon, with singults rife,*
He cried out to make his undersong,
Ah! my love's queen and goddess of my life!
Who shall me pity when thou dost me
wrong:"†

It is evident enough from these lines, and from a curious document which we shall presently adduce, that Raleigh was

practising the surest means of winning favour with Elizabeth, who had as much sexual vanity and folly as the weakest of Eve's daughters. This disgrace, whatever may have been the cause, was of no long continuance; he returned to court, taking Spenser with him, whom he recommended to the queen's notice, and who, now under Raleigh's immediate patronage, published the three first books of his divine poem, a poem never to be named without love and reverence by poet or lover of poetry.

But the Timias of the Fairy Queen ere long incurred a heavier disgrace. While he paid his court to Elizabeth, he intrigued with a fairer Elizabeth, one of her maids of honour, and daughter to sir Nicholas Throckmorton; the consequences of this attachment became apparent, and both parties, I know not by what law, were confined to the Tower. How admirable a wife the lady proved we shall see in the course of this abstract. Sir Walter, however he fell upon evil days in his latter life, was well adapted for the age of Elizabeth. He had the little eyes and the long head, the talents and the cunning, which characterised the statesmen of the time. Even while he was under confinement for this marriage, he acted the gross part recorded in the following letter by sir Arthur Gorges.

"HONOURABLE SIR!

"I cannot chuse but advertise you of a strange tragedy that this day had like to have fallen out between the captain of the guard and the lieutenant of the ordnance, if I had not by great chance come at the very instant to have turned it into a comedy. For upon the report of her majesty's being at Sir George Carye's, Sir Walter Raleigh having gazed and sighed a long time at his study-window, from whence he might discern the barges and boats about the Blackfriars'-stairs, suddenly he brake out into a great distemper, and sware that his enemies had on purpose brought her majesty thither to break his gall in sunder with Tantalus' torment, that when she went away he might see his death before his eyes; with many such-like conceits. And as a man transported with passion, he sware to Sir George Carew, that he would disguise himself, and get into a pair of oars, to ease his mind but with a sight of the queen, or else he protested his heart would break. But the trusty jailor would none of that, for displeasing the higher powers as he said, which he more respected than the feeding of his hu-

* Abundant sighs.

† If we could doubt it before, this line clearly proves that queen Elizabeth was the Cynthia of the song.

mour, and so flatly refused to permit him. But, in conclusion upon this dispute, they fell flat out to choleric outrageous words, with straining and struggling at the doors, that all lameness was forgotten, and in the fury of the conflict, the jailor he had his new periwig torn off his crown, and yet here the battle ended not, for at last they had gotten out their daggers; which when I saw, I played the stickler between them, and so purchased such a rap on the knuckles, that I wished both their pates broken; and so with much ado they stayed their brawl to see my bloody fingers. At the first I was ready to break with laughing to see them two scumble and brawl like madmen, until I saw the iron walking, and then I did my best to appease the fury. As yet I cannot reconcile them by any persuasions, for Sir Walter swears, that he shall hate him for so restraining him from the sight of his mistress, while he lives; for that he knows not (as he said) whether ever he shall see her again, when she is gone the progress. And Sir George, on his side, swears that he had rather he should lose his longing, than that he would draw on him her majesty's displeasure by such liberty. Thus they continue in malice and snarling, but I am sure all the smart lighted on me. I cannot tell whether I should more allow of the passionate lover, or the trusty jailor. But if yourself had seen it as I did, you would have been as heartily merry and sorry, as ever you were in all your life for so short a time. I pray you pardon my hasty written narration, which I acquaint you with, hoping you will be the peace-maker. But, good Sir, let nobody know thereof, for I fear Sir Walter Raleigh will shortly grow to be Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer.

"Your honour's, humbly to be commanded,
A. GORGES.

"*London, in haste, this Wednesday.*

"*On a slip of paper, fastened with wax to the letter, is the following postscript:*

"If you let the Q. Majesty know hereof, as you think good be it; but otherwise, good Sir, keep it secret for their credits: for they know not of my discourse, which I could wish her majesty knew."

It is evident that this farce, gross as it was, was acted by Raleigh for the queen, and we may be sure it was not too gross for her. In a letter written about this time, and evidently designed to be shewn to her, he says, "My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear that the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison, all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less; but even now my heart is cast into the

depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, haunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus;—behold the sorrow of this world! Once amiss hath become me of all." Which is the most admirable, the folly of the queen, or the impudence of the courtier?

Upon his release, he did not find himself restored so completely to the right favour as he had expected, and therefore in the hope that time would lessen the queen's displeasure, or good fortune crown his adventure with glory, he sailed in search of El Dorado. His own account of the voyage is given at full length in these volumes. Mr. Cayley ridicules it, but to us it appears as it did to him, little honourable to the veracity, the judgment, or the morality of its author. It tells us of headless men with eyes in their breast, declaring, indeed, that he had seen them himself, but believing that who said they had. Probably he had heard the tale in the country, as the Barbary Moors persisted in their story of the petrified city to Bruce till they got near it: but how could sir Walter believe them? He had seen no monsters in the country, and the vice of his mind was credulity on other subjects. One thing he asserts which is certainly false: "I gave me a beast, called by the Spaniards *armadilla*, which they call *cascabela*, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates, somewhat like to a rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they use to wind instead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cureth deafness." The fable is taken from Dr. Monardus, but sir Walter says he had the beast, and ate it. There is also strong reason for suspecting that this narrative contains other falsehoods. We now know that no such city as Manoa exists; is it possible then that all the Indians should have assured him it did? We know it is in the maps of that age, but the fiction did not come from the savages of Orinoco. It was the lie of a Spanish adventurer, and so palpable a lie that no reasoning man ought to have believed it. A brother of the Inca flying from the destruction of Peru, had built a city two days journey in length! Whether Raleigh

believed in the existence of the empire or not, he certainly believed there were gold mines in the country, and may have repeated these fables to entice adventurers. He makes no secret of his own wishes to read in the steps of Cortes and Pizarro, while he inveighs against the Spaniards, and concludes by expressing his hope in God, that He who is Lord of lords, will do it in her heart who is Lady of ladies, to conquer the country.

Keynis commanded the second expedition to Guiana, which ultimately cost Raleigh his life. The third was entrusted to Captain Leonard Berrie: in all three nothing was done but to ascertain the course of the rivers, and to prepare the natives to throw off the Spanish yoke. A colony might successfully have been established then, but our age of colonization was not arrived.

During these latter expeditions Sir Walter was rising in favour at court. In the capture of Cadiz he had greatly distinguished himself, and greatly contributed to the success of the day. He had now argued with Cecil against Essex, occasionally courting the good-will of Essex himself, and acting as mediator between him and Cecil, as served to promote his own interests. But in his heart Raleigh hated Essex, perhaps the more before he once envied and despised him. Essex was greatly and every way his inferior in talents; but he was an open, friendly, generous, honest-hearted man: more popular than his abilities deserved, but entitled to general love by his noble nature. Raleigh was never popular, with all his talents, his enterprize, and his courage; he never deserved to be popular, his heart was not in the right place. Cecil would spare Essex, but Raleigh instigated him not to spare, and went to see his execution. He stood near the scaffold that he might answer for himself should Essex object any thing to him at his death; but some persons ascribing his presence to a love of revenge, he retired into the armoury, and beheld it from thence. He did indeed upon his own scaffold, that he shed tears when Essex died; it may be that he did; but he said also that he knew it would be worse with him when Essex was gone, implying that he grieved for his death; and the letter which he wrote to Cecil not to spare is in existence.

Little did he think, when he stood by to behold the death of his rival, that he was one day to drink of the same cup. Elizabeth did not long survive the execution.

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of her favourite, a crime which embittered her last hours; and before three months had elapsed after the arrival of king James, Raleigh was arrested upon a charge of high treason. A trial for high treason is not unfrequently a conspiracy against the prisoner, who has little chance against suborned witnesses, popular loyalty even more blind than popular faith, the desire of the crown to take his life, and the disposition of the judge to oblige it. The conspiracy of which Raleigh was accused is a state-riddle which has never been explained; that he had any the slightest share in it is exceedingly improbable, that he was illegally, unjustly and iniquitously condemned is certain. His trial is disgraceful to every person concerned in it except himself. Never had he appeared so superior to his enemies; one person said to the king, that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come; and another said that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life.

After sentence was past, Raleigh wrote the following admirable letter to his wife:

“SIR WALTER to LADY RALEGH.

“You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess;—let them go into the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself.

“First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and care taken for me; which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less. But pay it I never shall in this world.

“Secondly, I beseech you for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days after my death. But, by your travails, seek to help your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mournings cannot avail me, I am but dust.

“Thirdly, you shall understand that my land was conveyed *bona fide* to my child. The writings were drawn at midsummer was twelvemonths. My honest cousin, Brett, can testify so much, and Dalberrie, too, can remember somewhat therein. And I trust my blood will quench their malice that have thus cruelly murdered me, and that they will not

seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial, and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that, being thus surprised with death, I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness I meant you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it; half my stuff and all my jewels, but some one for the boy. But God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that Great God that ruleth all in all. But if you can live free from want, care for no more; the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on him; and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed, and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitation, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God, while he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow up with him. And then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him; a husband and a father which cannot be taken from you.

"Barly oweth me 200*l*. and Adrian Gilbert 600*l*. In Jersey, also, I have much money owing me. Beside, the arrearages of the wines will pay my debts; and, howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men.

"When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections. For they last not, but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befall you in this life, than to become a prey, and afterward to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage; for it will be best for you, both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me.

"Remember your poor child, for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it; for, know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one who, in his own respect, despiseth death, and all his misbapen and ugly forms.

"I cannot write much. God, he knoweth, how hardly I steal this time while others sleep. And it is also high time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which, living, was denied thee. And either lay it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more, time and death call me away.

"The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy, pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms!

"Written with the dying hand of, sometime thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown,

"Your's that was, but now not my own,

"WALTER RALEGH.*"

The feeling expressed by the people when Grey and Cobham were pardoned upon the scaffold, is worthy of notice. 'There was then no need,' says a by-stander, 'to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some such like accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of justice and mercy; that in this last no man could cry loud enough *God save the king*; and at the holding up of Brooke's head, when the executioner began the same cry, he was not seconded by the voice of any one man but the sheriff.' History seems to have been written in vain for the rulers of mankind.

Twelve years Ralegh remained in the Tower; twelve years king James kept this *bird in a cage*! They were the best-employed years of his life; for during this captivity he composed the greater part of his works. His estate meantime was taken from him by a trick; it deserves no better name. A flaw was found in the conveyance, the error of the conveyancer, and the 'minion-kissing king' took advantage of this to make a grant of it to his infamous favourite Somerset. At length he obtained his liberty, by means as little honourable to the nation, if a nation can be disgraced by the conduct of its governors, as his condemnation and confinement had been. Fifteen hundred pounds were given to sir William St. John, and sir Edward Villiers, to use their influence with Buckingham's nephew, to make his uncle intercede with the king!

Happy had it been for Ralegh if he had devoted the remainder of his life to those studies which had been the consolation of his captivity. But Guiana was still in his thoughts, his fortunes were ruined, and the hope of restoring them may have been

* See the Harleian and other Collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 383.

a more powerful motive now than ambition or the love of adventure. The issue is but too well known. His son was killed, the enterprize failed, and on his return he was sacrificed to the Spaniards. Execution was granted upon the old sentence of fifteen years standing, and Raleigh was brought to the block. He observed to his friends that the world itself is but a larger prison, out of which some are daily selected for execution. The dean of Westminster took some pains to make him fear death, but that was not in Raleigh's nature. 'He was very cheerful,' says the dean, 'that morning he died, eat his breakfast heartily, and took tobacco, and made no more of his death than if he had been to take a journey.' This was the fearlessness of a brave man, the calmness of philosophy, not insensibility. He died like a man. The dean says, "this was the news a week since, but now it is blown over and he almost forgotten." But these things are not forgotten either by God or man.

A fate so little deserved has been fortunate for Raleigh's reputation. We should think more of his court-intrigues, and of his conduct towards Essex, if all other feelings were not absorbed in indignation against the perfidy and meanness with which he was sacrificed to Gondomar. Raleigh, too, has a fairer claim to fame as a man of letters than as a statesman. His prose writings are full of thought, and some of his poetry exceedingly beautiful. There is some difficulty in ascertaining what is his; but the best pieces are those concerning which there is the least doubt. That which he wrote the night preceding his execution we shall copy. It is not in his usual style, and we should almost doubt its authenticity, yet there is a troubled wildness of thought and expression which may be admitted as strong external evidences in its favour.

" MY PILGRIMAGE.

" Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope's true gage,
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer,
While my soul, like quiet palmer,
Trav'leth tow'rd the land of heaven;
No other balm will here be given.

Over the silver mountains
Where spring the nectar-fountains,

There will I kiss
The bowl of bliss,
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken hill;
My soul will be a-dry before,
But after, it will thirst no more.

I'll take them first,
To quench my thirst,
And taste of nectar's suckets
At those clear wells
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

Then, by that happy blestful day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparell'd fresh like me.

And when our bodies and all we
Are fill'd with immortality,
Then the bless'd paths we'll travel,
Strew'd with rubies thick as gravel,
Cielings of diamond, sapphire flowers,
High walls of coral, pearly bowers.

From thence to heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl,
No conscience molten into gold,
No forg'd accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
For there Christ is the King's attorney;
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath angels, but no fees.

And when the twelve grand million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury
Against our souls black verdicts give,
Christ pleads his death, and then we live.

Be thou my speaker, taintless pleader!
Unblotted lawyer! true proceeeder!
Thou wouldst salvation e'en for alms,
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.

And this is mine eternal plea
To him that made heav'n, earth, and sea;
That, since my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my reins start and
spread,

Set on my soul an everlasting head!
Then am I ready, like a palmer fit,
To tread those bless'd paths which before
I writ.

Of death and judgment, heav'n and hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well."

The letter to prince Henry, which Steele first printed, is palpably fictitious. Not only the thoughts but the turn of language is modern.

Mr. Cayley would do well to make the whole narrative his own, and remove the originals to the appendix. He merits praise for the diligence with which he has sought out new documents, and the impartiality with which he has adduced them.

ART. V.—An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his Birth to his death Year. Written by himself. To which are added original Letters to Dr. Samuel Johnson. By Miss HILL BOOTHEBY. 12mo.

THIS volume was among the mass of papers which Dr. Johnson consented to be committed to the flames a few days before his death: the Doctor's black servant saved them, and the editor purchased them from his widow. In this fragmentary manner are these insignificant papers brought

before the public eye, and published in a pompous preface as relics of great curiosity and interest. We are sorry to see such fragmentary impressions on the public's attention, and feel it a duty to counteract the success of them as well as we can.

ART. VI.—Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Esq. with a Collection of his genuine Bon-Mots, Anecdotes, Opinions, &c. mostly original, and three of his dramatic Pieces, not published in other Works. By WILLIAM COOKE, Esq. 12mo. 3 vols.

THIS is a very amusing miscellany; Mr. Cooke was in habits of intimacy with this celebrated humorist, who has now been dead thirty years, and has appreciated his character as an actor, an author, and a man, with great fairness. We could have spared some of the bon-mots, but we think that Mr. Cooke has executed his task well. Anecdotes of many contemporary characters are introduced, and one of the ill-fated Dr. Dodd, which, for its singularity, we are tempted to transcribe.

"Before we relinquish this account of Dr. Dodd, it may perhaps be useful in other respects besides the mere purposes of biography, to relate the following anecdote, which has never yet been made public:—

"The day after the Doctor was convicted at the Old Bailey of the crime for which he afterwards suffered (a crime which, he must have known, can never afford even a hope for the royal mercy in this commercial country), he sent a note to the late Mr. William Woodfall, the original printer of the *Morning Chronicle*, requesting the favour of speaking to him on a very particular subject. This must have been a distressing summons to any one, but more particularly to a man of Woodfall's humanity: not to go would be unkind; to go would be incurring a scene of distress painful to his feelings. But Woodfall could never hesitate on a question of active and disinterested friendship; and he hastened to Newgate on the very morning of receiving the invitation.

"On entering the apartment where the Doctor sat, he found it impossible to avoid taking some notice of his unhappy situation; but as he was commiserating it in an embarrassed sympathizing manner, the Doctor, with

great apparent composure, interrupted him, by saying, 'Oh! Mr. Woodfall, this is not the business I sent for you about. Sit down, and I will explain. Though I have not the pleasure of personally knowing you, I am not unacquainted with the line of your professional business, which, I understand, engages you much in the labors of the theatre, the managers, and theatrical persons in general. I likewise have a particular respect for your judgment in those matters; and on this account I think you can be of some service to me.' Here the other offering his civilities, the Doctor proceeded. 'You must know, then, that being in my earlier days, like yourself, a lover of the drama, I scratched out a comedy, the hint of which I took from the story of Sir Roger de Coverley in the *Spectator*. This piece I have finished since my residence in Newgate; and if you will be so good as to revise it, and give me your interest with the manager, I shall feel myself much obliged to you.'

"Mr. Woodfall, finding himself relieved by the conference taking so different and unexpected a turn, instantly acceded to this proposal, took the manuscript away with him, suggested some alterations, which the Doctor readily complied with, and afterwards corresponded with him on this subject till the week before his execution.

"Such is the anecdote which is here given on the authority of Woodfall himself; a man of unquestionable veracity."

The three dramatic pieces which are now given to the public for the first time in print, like all Foote's farces, have a deal of humour, and it would be strange indeed if they were destitute of personality.

ART. VII.—Memoirs of Marmontel, written by himself: containing his literary and political Life, and Anecdotes of the principal Characters of the eighteenth Century. In 4 vols. 8vo.

WERE our readers to judge by the space we have allotted to the notice of these busy and various little volumes, they might conclude them to have excited in us little either of interest as an history, or

of approbation as a biographical performance. Yet our brevity is occasioned by sensations the very reverse, which convinced us, during the perusal, that it would be impossible so to extract and concoct

the substance of this treat, as to satisfy the appetite and please the palate of an epicure in literary anecdote. We therefore led him to his entertainment, sharp-set and fasting, in expectation that his pleasures, like our own, will be enhanced, by the knowing of what the various courses are to consist, till they are placed under the eye.

Though men who have lived the lives which they undertake to write, and who are sometimes be almost suspected to have lived those lives for the purpose of writing them, labour under a certain degree of suspicion; yet we consider the insight into the minuter passages of individual character resulting from the practice, more than counterbalancing all probable objections against the rigid law of impartiality.

We may well suppose the hero of his own tale to sacrifice alternately to vanity and prejudice; but he generally strikes an acute reader with a touchstone, by which to bring to the test of both the errors of which he is unconscious, and the deceptions he has laboured to establish. There have of late been thrust upon the public, in surprising abundance, many petty lives of interesting characters, who might never have been biographers, had they not provided their annalists in their own persons. This course has occasioned the reader somewhat to contract its faith in self-accredited narratives. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that to the believers of the doctrine may be drawn into a narrower compass, the truth at the pageant are nearly as eager and numerous as ever.

However, the right of men in public to call our attention to their own merits, as delineated by themselves, holds on the space they have filled in political or literary canvas, the claims of Marmontel must be regarded at once with complacency and respect. The man who was acknowledged to have embellished the literary circles of the French metropolis, at a period when Paris divided literary supremacy in science with Voltaire, and gave the tone to us in taste, manners, and refinement, may be expected to excite a wide and lively interest. This expectation will not be disappointed. We trace all the characteristic features of self-delineation: the nature of the incidents, and perhaps the manner of their narration, savours of a mind which had turned itself to romantic composition or

moral fiction. The scene is gay, the pictures are interesting: their originals are already known through the best channels of literary and courtly anecdote. Neither has the author deviated from the character of a sentimental writer, in which he has so long been received with favour throughout Europe. Whether he introduces us to the retirement of poverty, or carries us with him into the mysterious recesses of the Bastille; whether we follow him into the cabinets of princes, through the offices of ministers, or behind the scenes, at rehearsal, and coteries; in the midst of scenes too warm for the rigid purity of the present age, as well as in the simplicity of youth and rustic life, we discover every where a delicate, refined, and moral turn of mind. The actor in scenes of dissipation and licentiousness retains enough of his early impressions and temperament, to soften down his orgies and apologize for his aberrations. His pen, if not his heart, abjured the principles and passions, on which his imagination and memory have descanted with a degree of warmth dangerous to his own fame, and to the morals of his readers. This work, in point of composition, is not without its faults; and they are characteristic of its author. They are, however, of a kind rather meretricious and seductive, than offensive or disgusting. In short, they partake the moral tenor of the narrative, which will be loudly censured and universally read, because it will entertain more than it will instruct, because it will rather initiate the inexperienced in the slippery paths of the world, than elevate their prospects and direct their course beyond them.

But though we have disclaimed attempting any thing like an abstract of these memoirs, it will be expected that we give a specimen or two from those insulated parts, which will not trench on the continuity and interest of the story. As the conductors of a periodical publication, we may naturally be supposed partial to our own trade; and shall transcribe the account of the manner in which Marmontel professed to conduct the *Mercur* after it came under his direction.

"If the *Mercur* had been only a simple literary journal, I should have had, in composing it, but one endeavour to fulfil, and but one route to pursue. But, formed of different elements, and calculated to embrace a vast variety of objects, it was necessary that in all its relations it should fulfil its functions;

that, according to the various tastes of the subscribers, it should supply the place of newspapers to the lovers of news; that it should render an account of the theatres, to those who took pleasure in the drama; that it should give a just idea of literary productions, to those who, select in their reading, wished to be instructed, or amused; that, to the sane and prudent part of the public, who delight in the progress and discoveries of the useful and salutary arts, it should communicate the attempts at improvement and happy inventions of the time; that, to the lovers of the fine arts, it should announce new productions, and sometimes the writings of authors. The popular parts of science, which might present objects of curiosity to the public, were also a part of its domain. But, above all, it was requisite that it should have a local and social interest, for the provincial subscribers, and that the poetic talent of this or that city of the kingdom should there find inserted, from time to time, its enigma, its madrigal, or its epistle: this part of the *Mercur*, in appearance the most frivolous, was the most lucrative.

"It would have been difficult to imagine a periodical work more diversified, more attractive, and more abundant in resources. My work was announced: and it was well seconded. The moment was favourable. A flight of young poets began to try their wings: but while I pleaded the cause of men of letters, I did not fail to mix with temperate praises, a tolerably severe, but innocent criticism; and in the same tone that a friend would have assumed with his friend. By conciliating the favour of young men of letters in this spirit of benevolence and equity, I had them almost all for co-operators."

The following account of his triumph at the Floral Games will furnish an interesting portraiture of a youthful mind, flushed with vanity and fired by ambition, before either of those passions have assumed a destructive or degrading aspect.

"The whole hall, in the form of an amphitheatre, was filled with the principal inhabitants of the town, and the most beautiful women. The brilliant youth of the university occupied the space round the academic circle: the hall, which was very spacious, was decorated with festoons of flowers and laurel, and the trumpets of the city, as each prize was given, made the capital resound with the signal of victory."

"I had that year sent five pieces to the academy: one ode, two poems, and two idyls.

The ode failed: the prize was not given. The two poems were supposed to have equal merit: one of them obtained the prize for epic poetry, and the other a prose prize that happened to be vacant. One of the two idyls obtained the prize of pastoral poetry, and the other an inferior honour. Thus the three prizes, and the only three the academy was going to distribute, were adjudged to me: I was I who was to receive them all. I walked to the hall with such consummate vanity, that I could never recollect it since without confusion, nor without pity for my youth. I was still much worse when I was loaded with my flowers and my crowns. But where is the poet of twenty whose head would not have turned with such honours?

"An attentive silence reigns in the hall, and after the eulogy of *Clemence Isore*, foundress of the Floral Games, a eulogy inexhaustible, and pronounced every year with becoming devotion at the foot of her statue, comes the distribution of the prizes. The judges announce, that the prize for the ode is reserved. It was well known that I had sent an ode to the academy; it was known too, that I was the author of an idyl that had not been crowned: I was pitied, and I smiled at their pity. The poem is then named aloud to which the prize is adjudged; and at these words, *let the author advance*: I rise, approach, and receive the prize. I am applauded as usual, and I hear whispered around me: 'He has lost two, but he gets the third; he has more than one string to his bow, and more than one arrow to shoot.' I retire to seat myself modestly, amid the sound of the trumpets. But soon the second poem is announced, to which, the academy, they say, has thought proper to adjudge the prize of eloquence, rather than to reserve it. The author is called, and again it is I who rise. The applauses redouble, and the reading of this poem is listened to with the same favour and indulgence as that of the first. I have again taken my place, when the idyl was proclaimed, and the author invited to come and receive the prize. I rise for the third time. Then, if I had written *Cinna*, *Athalie*, and *Zaïre*, I could not have been more applauded. The interest I excited was extreme. The men bore me through the crowd on their arms; the women embraced me."

We have made these extracts from a new edition of the translation, just put into our hands, in which the translator has bestowed laudable pains in correcting the faults of the first edition.

ART. VIII.—*The Life of Erasmus, with an Account of his Writings, reduced from the large Work of Dr. John Jortin, by A. LAYCEY, Esq.* 8vo. pp. 394.

AS this publication is professedly only an abridgment of a larger work by an eminent author, which has long been known to the literary part of the public

our concern with it extends no further than to observe, that the editor appears to have executed his undertaking with accuracy, and has extracted from the work of his predecessor an interesting, connected, and for the generality of readers, sufficiently copious narrative. The literary character of Erasmus, and the services rendered by him to the cause of learning, exceed our praise; and he certainly furnishes one of the most interesting objects in an age, distinguished by the number of eminent persons to whom it gave birth, and most important to posterity by its religious and political events, as well as by its influence upon literature and science.

The object of the editor is explained in the following advertisement.

"While Le Clerc was publishing his edition of the works of Erasmus, he drew up his life in French, collected principally from his letters, and published it in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*. Our late celebrated countryman, Dr. John Jortin, taking (as he has himself informed us) this for a ground-work to build upon, translated it, not superstitiously and closely, but with more attention to things than words; making continual additions, not only with relation to the history of those days, but to the life of Erasmus.

"The learned doctor's taste, however, led him to distribute a large quantity of Latin among his copious notes, which, as he seems to have been aware, did not recommend his work to the generality of readers; and these notes, with his large appendix and other additions, swelled his book to two bulky quartos, which have never been reprinted since their first publication in 1758 and 1760.

"The present volume, it is hoped, embraces every thing material relative to the life of Erasmus, which is to be found in the doctor's work, and is offered as a moderate substitute in size to such readers as make the foregoing objection to his plan. No authorities are subjoined, but the editor here pledges himself once for all, that not a fact is adduced which shall be found unsupported by Dr. Jortin's sanction."

One specimen of the narrative must suffice.

"About this time Luther wrote a letter to Erasmus. It was not in the most elegant style, but full of life, fire, and spirit, and vexed him not a little. He begins in the apostolical manner, *Grace and peace to you from the Lord Jesus*.

"I shall not (he says) complain of you for having behaved as one estranged from us, to keep fair with the papists, my enemies; nor was I much offended that in your printed books, to gain their favour or soften their rage, you censured us with too much acrimony.

We saw the Lord had not conferred on you the discernment and resolution to join us and openly oppose those monsters, therefore dared not exact from you what greatly surpasseth your strength and capacity. We have even borne with your weakness, and honoured that portion of the gift of God which is in you."

"Then, having bestowed on him his due praise, as the reviver of good literature, by which mean the scriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he proceeds,

"I never wished that, neglecting your appropriate talents, you should enter our camp. You might indeed have favoured us not a little by your wit and eloquence; but, forasmuch as you have not the requisite courage, it is safer to serve the Lord in your own way. Our only fear was, that our adversaries should entice you to write against us, and necessity then constrain us to oppose you to your face. We have withheld some among us who were disposed and prepared to attack you; and I could have wished that the *Complaint* of Hütten, and still more your *Spongia*, in answer to it, had never been published. By which you may see, and feel at present if I mistake not, how easy it is to say fine things of the duties of modesty and moderation, and to accuse Luther of wanting them, and how difficult and even impossible it is to be really modest and moderate without a particular gift of the Holy Spirit. Believe me, or believe me not, Christ is my witness, I am concerned as well as you that the resentment of so many eminent persons (of the Lutheran party) hath been excited against you; this I must suppose gives you no small uneasiness, for virtue like yours, mere human virtue, cannot raise a man above being affected by such trials. To tell you freely what I think, there are persons (among us) who having this weakness also about them, cannot bear as they ought your acrimony and dissimulation, which you want to pass off for prudence and modesty; these men have cause to be offended, yet would not be so had they more greatness of spirit. Though I also am irascible, and have been often provoked to sharpness of style, I never acted thus save to hardened and incurable reprobrates. I have restrained myself though you have provoked me, and promised in letters to my friends, which you have seen, to continue to do so unless you appeared openly against us. For though you are not in our sentiments, and many pious doctrines are condemned by you with irreligion or dissimulation, or treated in a sceptical manner, I never can nor will ascribe a stubborn perverseness to you.

"What can I do now? Things are exasperated on both sides, and I could wish, if it were possible, to act the mediator, that they might cease to attack you with such animosity, and suffer your old age to rest in peace in the Lord: and thus they would act, in my opinion, if they either considered your weak-

ness, or the greatness of the controverted cause, which hath been long since beyond your talents. They would shew their moderation the more, since our affairs are arrived at that point, that our cause is in no peril though even Erasmus attack it with all his might; so far are we from fearing some of his strokes and strictures. On the other hand, my dear Erasmus, if you duly reflect on your own imbecility, you will abstain from these sharp and spiteful figures of rhetoric; and if you cannot or will not defend our sentiments, you will let them alone, and treat of subjects which suit you better. Our friends, even in your own judgment, have some cause

of anxiety at being lashed by you, because human infirmity thinks of the authority and reputation of Erasmus, and fears it. Indeed there is much difference between him and the rest of the papists; he is a more formidable adversary than all of them united.'

"Thus Luther exhorts him to be rather a spectator than actor in the tragedy, and to bear with others as he expected they should bear with him. This letter was written before the *Diatribes* of Erasmus against Luther was published. He wrote an answer to it, which is not in the collection of his Epistles; but Seckendorf hath given us an account of it, with some extracts."

ART. IX.—*Original Anecdotes of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, and of his Family, his Court, his Ministers, his Academies, and his literary Friends: collected during a familiar Interchange of Twenty Years with that Prince. Translated from the French of DIEUDONNE THIEBAULT, Professor of Belles Lettres in the Royal Academy of Berlin.* In Two Volumes. 8vo.

I SOLEMNLY declare, says Mr. Thiebault, no single word appears in this work which has not my entire belief. We peruse a book with much more satisfaction after such an assertion in the preface, and we fully believe M. Thiebault. Though a French philosopher, and as such sent for to Berlin by Frederic, there is not a single passage in his volumes offensive either to morals or religion.

These very interesting anecdotes are divided into five parts. The first is simply entitled Frederic the Great, and begins by considering Frederic in his ordinary conversation: the work thus naturally opening with an account of the author's first interview with him. M. Thiebault arrived at Berlin in 1765, with letters from D'Alembert: he was admitted the next evening to the king's presence; but M. le Caut, reader, or secretary of orders to the king, could not induce him to conform to the usual ceremony of kissing the flap of the king's coat. The interview was characteristic. Frederic talked much, and hardly allowed time for an answer; he spoke of French literature, and called Rousseau a madman. The cause is curious: not many months before he had written to him in these terms:—'Come, dear Rousseau, I offer you a house, a pension, and liberty.' Jean Jacques replied with less prudence than honesty, and less civility than prudence: 'Your majesty offers me an asylum, and promises me liberty; but you have a sword, and you are a king. You offer a pension to me who never did you a service; but have you bestowed one on each of the brave men who have lost either a leg or an arm in doing you service?' No

wonder that Frederic should call him a madman. The king made M. Thiebault give him his word of honour that he would not attempt to learn German: the happy consequences to German literature, of this foolish predilection for the French language on the part of Frederic, are now well known, and his impolicy may now be fully appreciated.

Frederic was a tyrant in his conversation; he liked to seem to forget that he was a king, but he liked that others should remember it, and he dealt about personal insults which would have broken up all bonds of friendship between man and man; but which the friends of his majesty dared not resist, and were compelled to suffer. Rousseau was right. The poor dog who lives in the lion's den in the Tower is tolerably well fed, but he cannot get out; it is a great proof of affection in his royal playfellow not to eat him up, but he would be far happier turning a spit, and fighting for a bone when his work was over. Frederic's literary friends had just such a life as this.

M. Thiebault thinks that he had a feeling heart; but that he considered it his duty as a king to have no feeling. It is indeed evident from his actions that he thought himself exempted from all ordinary obligations of justice or humanity. These notions make tyrants, and tyrants make republicans; the evil ultimately producing its own remedy. He spoke with derision of aerostation; the author is of opinion that he did not speak sincerely, but that he dreaded the mischievous purposes to which such a new power would be applied. M. Thiebault himself seems to believe that Montgolfier had dis-

covered an infallible method of guiding balloons in any weather not absolutely tempestuous, which was kept secret by the government; and he agrees with Frederic and M. de Calonne in his fears of the discovery. New powers, like new medicines, are always hurtful at first from their misapplication; but in like manner become beneficial at last. No doubt the first people who worked iron applied it to conquer their neighbours. That we shall ever be invaded in balloons is not very probable; the mode of warfare, if practicable, would be too perilous. If ever the art of war be brought to that perfection, that no two ships, for instance, could engage without the certain destruction of both, war would be necessarily at an end. Aerial battles are for this reason impossible; there were no other. As for M. Thiebault's apprehensions, that balloons may furnish criminals with the means of escaping from the vigilance of governments and the vengeance of the law; he seems to forget that, whenever that shall be the case, the constable may travel the same way.

Frederic in his youth. Such characters as William the First of Prussia are still to be found in private life; but there neither are, nor will be any more such sovereigns. Though wickedness and fatuity may never be considered as disqualifications for a throne, brutality will not be suffered. If a man pass muster as a human being by the report of his nurse and the midwife, he may live out the length of his days; but an emperor may be smothered for a monster at full age, and no questions asked. We shall see no more such princes as Charles XII. of Sweden, or the father of Frederic. William hated his son: he thought him a coxcomb, as he was, and did not perceive the indications of those higher qualities which a searching eye even then might have discovered. The daughter of a tradesman at Potsdam had suffered the prince to accompany her at her music; for this offence, as it was called, by the king's command, she was whipped publicly through the streets by the common hangman. Frederic bestowed a pension on her when he succeeded to the crown. A match had been concluded upon between Frederic and the princess-royal of England; it was broken off by the rascally intrigues of the Austrian ministers at London and Berlin. The queen-mother arranged a plan that the prince should make his escape to England, marry

his betrothed, and remain there till his father were appeased or dead. Over-caution in the arrangement of this led to a discovery: Frederic was seized at the moment of setting off, compelled to be a spectator of the execution of his dearest friend, and in danger of death himself; for William, like Peter the Great, was ambitious of having his son beheaded. 'He will always be a villain,' said he: the prognosis was not altogether wrong; but William did not suspect that his son's villainy would be of that sort which he and the world call heroic. The Austrian ambassador saved him, by declaring that the person of the heir to the throne of Prussia was under the safeguard of the Germanic empire. He was, however, rigorously confined for some time; his greatest indulgence, during this imprisonment, was a connivance on the part of the commandant to let him pass his evenings at a neighbouring castle belonging to the baron of Wreck. Here he enjoyed the society of an accomplished family, who supplied him with all the comforts which he could not else have procured, and even lent him money to the amount of six thousand rix-dollars. This debt he never paid, and the family was considered as under a cloud during his reign. He regarded them as criminal, in having disobeyed his father to please him, and took advantage of the law which prohibited the lending money to any of the royal family. An exemplification this of his favourite distinction between the duties of a king and a man; but had he not possessed a thankless and a bad heart, he never could so have exemplified such a maxim; to speak more truly, he could have had no such maxims. M. Thiebault acquits him of that odious vice of which he has been accused; the indecent phrases of wit, which gave occasion to the calumny, are to be attributed to his want of all respect for morals or religion.

Frederic in his private and domestic life. The same order, and the same despotism, distinguished his private as his public system. All who were in his confidence were slaves for life, and there was no refusing an appointment. Among his peculiarities it may be noticed, that he was disposed to dislike such persons as his dogs barked at angrily: he thought these animals could discover, by their scent and instinct, whether they who approached had any sort of sympathy with his character. These little greyhound bitches, of which

he was very fond, he used to call his marchionesses de Pompadour, observing that they cost less money.

"When he travelled, and even when he was engaged in war, he generally took with him one of the greyhounds, which he carried either in his arms or inside his waistcoat. It has been affirmed that, in one of his wars, having set out for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's army, and being so closely pursued by the Austrians as to risk being taken, he hid himself under one of the arches of a bridge which suddenly presented itself to his view as he was descending a hill, which the enemy passed and repassed over his head without once suspecting his stratagem: all this time the little greyhound, who was commonly charlish, had scarcely breathed, any more than his horse; and what rendered the circumstance particularly interesting to the king was, that his principal fear had been that his greyhound would discover him by her barking. This, it is said, is the reason of the great affection Frederic ever after bore her; and of his erecting a tomb, with an epitaph in praise of her qualities, to her memory in the gardens of Sans-Souci."

In general Frederic was sufficiently liberal to all those whom he invited to Berlin; but, in one instance, he was neither generous nor just. A French sculptor who forsook his service, never could get his fair demands paid; and, in his anger, he wrote the king a letter couched in plain straight-forward language. He said, that to have had to do with pickpockets and highwaymen, would, in comparison, have been advantageous to him, for against them there were means of reparation and of vengeance. Frederic treated the letter with contempt; it is some merit that he did not seek to destroy the writer. Leger, a French architect, left him, because he would mar one of Leger's plans by some preposterous alterations, and the architect preferred his art to his interest.

"When Beaumarchais purchased the manuscripts of Voltaire after his death, he had a copy taken of the article this celebrated author had composed under the title of his *will*, for the purpose of describing, in his own way, his dispute with Frederic at the time of his leaving Berlin to return to France, together with the arrest of both himself and madame Denis his niece, on their arrival in Frankfurt. Beaumarchais sent this copy to the king of Prussia, accompanied with a letter, in which he described this composition as better calculated than any other to excite the curiosity of readers; but added, that he conceived it to be his duty not to publish it till

he had laid it before his majesty, and that he was ready to suppress it entirely if such were the wish of his majesty, though it could not be doubted that the said article would have been a principal means of remunerating him the sum he had paid for the whole manuscript. The king sent back his manuscript, thanking him for his offer, but at the same time assuring him that he had his most hearty wishes for the sale of every part of the purchase. Beaumarchais, mortified no doubt at not having succeeded in obtaining from Frederic a sum of money for withholding what at some time or other would infallibly be published, immediately printed this production in a separate edition, and put it into circulation throughout Europe. Samuel Pitra, the bookseller, having received five-and-twenty copies of it, consulted me whether he should venture on selling them or send them back. I accordingly dictated a letter which he sent to the king, together with a copy of the work, requesting to know his majesty's commands on the subject. The king replied, he might sell the books, provided there was nothing improper in his manner of announcing them. The whole were bought in less than two days."

This fact is quite characteristic of Frederic's good sense. He knew the satire would be published at last, and was too wise to purchase a temporary suppression; and he knew also that, to have prohibited it at Berlin, would have excited a greater demand for it.

Old age, infirmities, and death of Frederic. He seems to have considered himself as a sort of stage-player, and to have kept up the character to the last. If he thought himself pale, he put on rouge; if he felt his mind flag, secretly conveyed a lozenge of some stimulating materials to his mouth. It has been said that, at the last, he repented of his infidelity: this is a pious falsehood. Frederic never feared death, and met it with perfect composure. He had not feeling enough—his heart was not good enough—to have any hope in death, but his mind was never influenced by fear.

Part the second. Frederic the Great and his Family. Some curious anecdotes occur of his father and grandfather. Vanities was the predominant feature in Frederic the First's character: his wife, Sophia-Charlotte, sister of our George I., was of a better nature. When she was in her last illness, some one endeavoured to persuade her that the king would be in the deepest despair for her loss. 'As for the king,' she replied, 'I need not make myself uneasy; the care of procuring me

magnificent funeral will be sure to diminish his grief; and should every thing of sort happen agreeably to his wishes, will need no other consolation.' Will is a more complex character; coarse, and tyrannical.

Being extremely fond of exercising himself in the art of painting, or rather daubing, he generally devoted one or two hours every day after dinner, to that employment; that he engaged a poor painter with a large number of children to prepare his colours, to which he paid a florin for every sitting; that he was subject to extreme sleepiness after eating his dinner, it more than once happened on these occasions to draw his paint-brush from the top to the bottom of his nose, so as to disfigure his subject; and on awaking, and perceiving what had been done, he pretended that the poor painter played him this trick from jealousy, and finally he did not fail in his fury to add a hearty kick or blows with his stick to the miserable florin.

Intoxicated with the fruits of his genius, he exhibited them to his courtiers, inviting them to declare their opinion of them: but he would not have endured the most trifling criticism, he was sure to receive nothing but assurances of their excellence. 'Well,' he said one day to one of these flatterers, 'I wish the most extravagant encomiums were of his pictures, for how much do you imagine it could be sold if it were sent to the market?'—'For a hundred ducats,' said the picture would at last be given to him.—'Take it, then, I will sell it you for a hundred ducats because I see you are a good judge, and I am glad of the opportunity to do you a service.' The poor courtier, compelled to buy the daubing, and to pay so high a price for it, resolved to take good care how he should use it in future. I have seen one of his pictures that prince Henry had bought: nothing can be worse executed. The prince himself was of the same opinion, and kept it merely because it was a faithful representation of the inside of his father's study, and had in it some figures which bore a perfect resemblance to their originals.

Some adventures he met with, however, which to a certain degree of impression on his mind, and succeeded in inducing him to change his conduct as much as a sovereign prince's character could be made to correct itself. I will mention one of them, after which he was never known to strike an officer in his army. Irritated at the imperfect manner in which some troops were executing a manoeuvre, he ran at full parade up to the front of the ranks who commanded them, and gave him a smart blow with his stick. This brave officer, already advanced in years, and much respected by the army, followed the king, and fell from his horse before that of his majesty

in the middle of the parade, and drawing his pistols from his saddle, he said, 'Sire, you have dishonoured me, and I must have satisfaction.' At the same moment he fired one of his pistols over the king's head, exclaiming, *This is for you!* Then aiming the other at himself, he cried, *This is for me!* and shot himself through the head.

Though Frederic never lived with his queen, he treated her uniformly with respect, and seems to have had a due esteem for her good qualities. When she was ill, he wrote with his own hand to his physician, beseeching him to be especially attentive, and to recollect that she was the person most beloved and most necessary to the state, to the poor, and to himself. His conduct to his eldest brother was perfectly brutal; it was a part of his detestable system of king-craft. Prince Henry was better treated; but all his relations were slaves, and all felt the full weight of their chains.

One very remarkable circumstance is the superstition of the court of Berlin, notwithstanding its avowed infidelity—we say remarkable and not extraordinary, because superstition and infidelity often co-exist. The queen of Sweden believed in Swedenburg's supernatural communications. If any of the New Jerusalem church should be among our readers, they will be edified by the anecdote.

"I know not on what occasion it was that, conversing one day with the queen on the subject of the celebrated visionary Swedenburg, we expressed a desire, particularly M. Merian and myself, to know what opinion was entertained of him in Sweden. I on my part related what had been told me respecting him by chamberlain d'Ilamson, who was still alive, and who had been ambassador from Prussia both to Holland and France. It was that his brother-in-law, ambassador from Holland to Stockholm, having died suddenly, a shopkeeper demanded of his widow the payment of a bill for some articles of drapery, which she remembered had been paid in her husband's life-time; that the widow not being able to find the shopkeeper's receipt, had been advised to consult with Swedenburg, who she was told could converse with the dead whenever he pleased; that she accordingly adopted this advice, though she did so less from credulity than curiosity; and that at the end of a few days Swedenburg informed her that her deceased husband had taken the shopkeeper's receipt for the money on such a day, and at such an hour, as he was reading such an article in Bayle in his cabinet; that his attention being called immediately afterward to some other concern, he had put the receipt into the book to mark the place at which he left off, where in fact it was found at the page

described. The queen replied, that though she was but little disposed to believe in such seeming miracles, she had nevertheless been willing to put the power of M. Swedenburg, with whom she was acquainted, to the proof; that the anecdote I had related she was previously acquainted with, and was one of those that had most excited her astonishment, though she had never taken the pains to ascertain its truth; that M. Swedenburg having come one evening to her court, she had taken him aside, and begged him to inform himself of her deceased brother the prince royal of Prussia, what he said to her at the moment of her taking leave of him for the court of Stockholm: she added, that what he had said was of a nature to render it impossible that the prince could have repeated it to any one, nor had it ever escaped her own lips; that some days after Swedenburg returned, when she was seated at cards, and requested she would grant him a private audience; to which she replied, he might communicate what he had to say before the company, but that Swedenburg assured her he could not declare his errand in the presence of witnesses; that in consequence of this intimation the queen became agitated, gave her cards to another lady, and requested M. de Schwerin, who was also present when she related us the story, to accompany her; that they accordingly went together into another apartment, where she posted M. de Schwerin at the door, and advanced toward its furthest extremity with Swedenburg, who said to her, 'You took, madam, your last leave of the prince of Prussia, your late and august brother, at Charlottenburg, on such a day and at such an hour of the afternoon: as you were passing afterwards through the long gallery, in the castle of Charlottenburg, you met him again; he then took you by the hand, and led you to such a window, where you could not be overheard, and then said to you these words.' The queen did not repeat the words, but protested to us they were the very same as her brother had pronounced, and that she retained of them the most perfect recollection: she added, that she had nearly fainted with the shock she experienced, and called on M. de Schwerin to answer for the truth of what she had said, who, in his laconic style, contented himself with saying, 'All you have said, madam, is perfectly true, at least as far as I am concerned.'

The princess Amelia used to consult fortune-tellers when her brother was at war, and spent whole days in having cards drawn to divine for him, regularly transmitting to him the results. A number of persons of the first distinction at his court were duped by a fellow who pretended he knew how to make the devil reveal all the hidden treasures in Germany. They performed all the necessary rites to the devil; and, among others, the sacrifice of a he

goat, every hair of which was black, and for which, when found with infinite difficulty, his weight in gold was paid. One of these adventurers was a canon of Brandenburg; I know not whether his clerical profession should prevent me from saying, that of all these worshippers of the devil, there was probably not a single one who believed in the existence of a God.

Part the Third. Frederic the Great and his Court. This part contains some very amusing anecdotes. M. Thiebault speaks very unfavourably of Raynal and Diderot upon which the translator (if indeed it is not translated by a female hand, as we are induced to suspect by some petty inaccuracies) has thought proper to remark that he speaks contemptuously of these men, and of such as these, not because he despises them, but because it is the fashion so to do. The translator may think as and say so; but he ought not to have suppressed any expression of the author, because his opinion of these worthies happened to be different. Nor do we see the slightest reason for accusing M. Thiebault of this ungenerous accommodation to the spirit of the times. He wrote like an honest man, never affecting to disguise his own opinions, but never offensively contradicting them. Nor is it for their opinions that he speaks unfavourably of Raynal and Diderot, but for their conduct: both were rogues, and we see no reason why infidelity should be allowed charity prerogative, of covering the multitude of their sins.

The various ambassadors at Berlin are under M. Thiebault's review. Diplomacy, like every thing else, has since those times undergone a revolution; the office of ambassador was then thought a high situation, which required matured judgment and sound talents—it is now considered as an apprenticeship to the trade of politics at home. We have not found the advantages of the alteration. Two English ministers, sir Andrew Mitchell, and Mr. Elliot, are highly spoken of in these memoirs; of the latter there is some singular secret history much to his honour.

Part the Fourth. Frederic and his Government civil and military. Methodical detail is not to be looked for in such a work as this; the anecdotes, however, by which these heads are illustrated, are numerous and curious. Highly as M. Thiebault ranks the king of Prussia, he is by no means disposed to palliate or conceal the hideous despotism of his government; the rigour of the military system in par-

icular excites his indignation. William was who established or enforced the law which makes every man in Prussia of the lower orders a soldier, if the inspecting officers chuse to take him—a slavery worse than the old feudal system. When he was first put into execution, many who lived upon the frontiers emigrated, and many mutilated themselves; but it is the nature of man to accommodate himself to every thing, and the Prussians now look upon themselves as regularly born to military service, as the Turks do to circumcision. Of the dangerous effects of cruel discipline some important examples are related. One general had so tyrannized over his regiment, that they swore to aim their first cartridges at him whenever they should be called out to face the enemy; he knew this, and had no remedy: they went into battle, and, in the first discharge, he was pierced with fifty bullets. The following story is more extraordinary, and might furnish some German dramatist with no uninteresting subject.

“A short time after this war, a private in a regiment in garrison at Neiss, in Silesia, excited considerable attention: he was a native of France, extremely handsome in person, and appeared to have received an excellent education, while he at the same time refused to satisfy the curiosity and interest his appearance had excited. His persisting to give no particular account of himself offended his officers; he was treated with severity, and resolved to revenge himself. He had with him a young woman remarkable for her beauty, and of no less resolution and discretion than himself. She, together with some other women belonging to the soldiers, engaged in a traffic of contraband goods; and every time she went into Bohemia on this account, she brought back a small supply of bullets and gunpowder, which she concealed with the utmost care. In the mean while her husband gained some other soldiers to his interests; but this with much caution, that each soldier believed himself the only person confided in: at length he had sufficient accomplices to strike the terrible blow he had premeditated. He fixed the day and hour for attacking and disarming all the sentries on the different sides of the town at the same moment. He chose for himself the *corps de garde* at the gate leading to Bohemia; his accomplices loitered unarmed near the guard, while he himself was whetting a wood-cutter's axe upon a stone that happened to be near the sentinel. At the first stroke of the hour of twelve he sprung upon the sentinel, cleaved down his head, and seized his arms: at the same instant thirty accomplices precipitated them-

selves among the guards, seized all the muskets that fell in their way, loaded them, and marched straight to the gate.

“A sentinel under the archway made an attempt to let down the portcullis; the chief of the rebels ran up to him, and at a single stroke of his axe cut off his hand at the wrist. The guards without the gate then endeavoured to impede their flight; but the former fired upon them and killed seven or eight, while the rest ran to hide themselves. Our unknown soldier had with him thirty men, and these he marched with the utmost speed toward the frontier, a long league distant from the town. What saved the garrison was, that the clocks varied in point of time: that by which our hero conducted his measures proved to be a quarter of an hour before the others, which gave time for beating the general and putting the regiments under arms. In consequence, the soldiers who were to attack the other corps of sentries were obliged to enter the ranks, and were thus prevented from executing their project; a circumstance that at the same time secured them from detection and even from suspicion.

“Some troops of cavalry were hastily dispatched after the thirty fugitives; but the latter opposed them with so much bravery and skill, that they killed the greatest part of them and put the rest to flight: the escape, however, of the thirty was retarded by this encounter, and gave time for a battalion to overtake them when they were within a quarter of a league of the frontier, where the Austrians, soldiers and others, were waiting for them. The female smugglers were hastening with a new supply of powder and bullets, when the battalion surrounded the fugitives, all of whom, like the soldiers of Catiline, fought desperately till they were either killed or wounded: they would even have made a longer resistance, and slaughtered a greater number of their enemies, but that they had exhausted their stock of cartridges.

“A singular circumstance was, that their leader was the last man who was taken, and that not till his thigh had been broken in the contest: he had still a load of powder left, but no bullets, the want of which he supplied by one of his coat-buttons; and thus, sitting on the ground, he killed the officer who first attempted to seize his person. He was brought back to Neiss, together with a small number of the remaining survivors, who, like himself, were wounded: they were immediately conducted to a council of war.

“Their leader was first asked what was his true name, his family, and country. ‘All this does not concern you,’ replied he; ‘do not waste your time in putting to me interrogations I shall never answer. The question at present is to send me to the scaffold; of what importance, therefore, can it be to know who I am?—How many accomplices have you, and who are they?’—On this point it is also useless for you to make inquiries, for the secret is in no breast but mine, and no

power on earth shall wrest it from me, or make me discover a single individual of them. Do not, therefore, torture my unfortunate companions in this respect, for they are not in possession of my secret. I have been myself the confident of all, taken individually, and none among them has been the confident of another. In my breast alone is this secret vested, and with me it shall descend to the grave inviolate."—"What motive induced you to conceive, plan, and execute so horrible a crime?"—"Your barbarity! You are all tyrants, monsters thirsting for blood, tigers; and courage, not justice, is wanting to your victims to purify the earth of both you and the deeds you execute!"

"As he pronounced these words, his captain advanced furiously toward him, and gave vent to the most extravagant invectives, at the same time striking him a blow on the breast; the soldier, with the rapidity of lightning, seized the bayonet of one of the guards who supported him, and plunged it into the heart of his captain, saying as he did it, 'Take this, monster! I shall now enjoy the consolation of sending thee to hell before I die!' Then addressing himself to the council in general, he said, 'Of what service is it to defer my execution? If, however, you wish me to reveal any thing, let me be furnished with materials for writing to the king. I will tell him every thing, provided no one sees my letter; that I shall be allowed to seal it with my own hands, and give it into those of the postmaster in the presence of several persons.' The members of the council, fearing he would prove some serious accusation against them, refused his proposal.

"When Frederic came to Neiss, at the time of the next reviews, he reproached the superior officers of the garrison, in the severest terms, for having rejected the proposal made by this criminal of writing to the king: he declared plainly, that nothing but their accusing consciences had actuated their conduct."

A similar conspiracy was once formed at Berlin. These facts were hushed up, that the people might remain in ignorance of their danger, and the army of their strength. Frederic himself one day when reviewing his troops, expressed his admiration to the prince d'Anhalt, that, in the midst of such an army, they should be in perfect safety. Here, said he, are sixty thousand men, who are all irreconcilable enemies to both you and myself; not one among them that is not a man of more strength and better armed than either, yet they all tremble at our presence! The story of the officer, shot for keeping a light in his tent in disobedience of his orders while he wrote to his wife, is without the slightest foundation.

The history of baron Trenck appears in

this part of the work: an intrigue with the princess Amelia was his real offence. They who over-value the advantages of wealth and rank, may believe it a happy thing to be a prince; but there can be no doubt that it is a very unhappy thing to be a princess. The history is exceedingly affecting. No people seem to indulge in such extravagance of feeling as the Germans; the best religion for them would be quakerism.

Part the fifth. Frederic, his Academy, his Schools, and his Friends literary and philosophical. In the commencement of this part we meet with a sad instance of literary anger. M. Pothe had written an account of all the books which had ever been published upon chemistry, in chronological order; and had made extracts from them of all the discoveries or improvements which they contained, scrupulously preserving the original text in every instance. This most valuable and most laborious work he threw into the fire, because another person was made professor of natural philosophy in the academy of Berlin, an honour which he himself had expected!

At the commencement of his reign Frederic had formed the singular design of building a huge pantheon, to serve as a temple for all religions, in which every sect might come at its separate hour, and exercise its own form of worship. He thought by this means to induce a spirit of toleration, and no doubt he thought also, by thus accommodating all religions equally, to shew his equal contempt of all. Counsellor Jordan dissuaded him from this foolish plan. It is to this person, who seems to have been the best of Frederic's friends, that Berlin is indebted for its *Hoskenkop*, an institution which might with great advantage be imitated in London. It is a large building to which all vagabonds are conducted, till it is known who they are; where their wants are supplied, but where they are compelled to work. We wish the detail of this scheme had been fuller.

Voltaire has, of course, an article of some length devoted to his Prussian adventures. He makes a better figure in the history than the king: but it is a history not very much to the honour of either. The marquis d'Argens is a more interesting character; for unlike Voltaire, all his errors were errors of the understanding only.

Frederic behaved with his usual tyranny, and not his usual generosity, to the

marquis; who did not consent to put himself into the lion's den, without making a special treaty that he should be at liberty to quit his majesty's service when he had reached the age of seventy. He had a brother in France who dearly loved him; the ties of blood grow stronger as we grow older: as the time of his emancipation approached, his brother built him a house, laid out his gardens for him, and expected him with eagerness, that they might pass the few years which remained of life together. But Frederic, though he had ceased to regard the marquis with friendship, or to treat him with kindness, could not bear to part with a man whom he was in the habit of insulting: his seventieth year arrived, he did not dare demand his release, because he knew it would be refused, and he only ventured to request a leave of absence for six months to visit his brother, which the tyrant would not grant till he had given his word of honour to return at the time appointed. The marquis kept his word, but fell ill upon his return. Frederic was indignant at the delay, and not knowing the cause, suspected that the old philosopher paid as little respect to his

promise, as he himself had done to the terms stipulated when he invited him to Berlin, and immediately he gave orders that his pension should be stopped. A friend of the marquis very properly sent him notice of what had been done, by a traveller who was exhorted to find him out, and who succeeded. His feelings were such as they ought to be, feelings of anger not of sorrow: he wrote to the king, in a style which may easily be conjectured, and returned to his brother. Frederic ordered him a marble monument when he died; there was some decency in this, but it will not prevent every reader from thinking him an ungrateful and ungenerous tyrant.

These volumes abound with interesting matter. M. Thiebault appears to be a very faithful, as well as a very intelligent writer: he writes so impartially, that though he evidently regards Frederic in a favourable light, his book leaves an unfavourable impression upon the reader. The king of Prussia appears as a worse brother, a worse friend, and a worse man, than we had before supposed him.

ART. X.—*Biographia Scotica; or Scottish biographical Dictionary: containing a short Account of the Lives and Writings of the most eminent Persons, and remarkable Characters, Natives of Scotland, from the earliest Ages to the present Times. By J. STARK. Embellished with Portraits.* 18mo.

A USEFUL book of reference, so far as the dates are concerned, of births, marriages, deaths, and the publication of works. We have before stated our general objection against such meagre memoirs; but in justice to Mr. Stark, we are happy to allow that although the portraits he has drawn are mere sketches, there are many of them likenesses. The outlines might be filled up with advantage.

Scotland has produced her full proportion of genius, talent, and enterprize: we do not like to see them compressed within the compass of a nut-shell. If this should be as the nucleus to a larger work, we are almost disposed to advise the omission of all royal personages. To delineate character is the office of history: in works of this kind, particularly on a small scale, they must necessarily occupy a disproportionate share of room, and after all very imperfectly portrayed.

Ruddiman (Thomas), was born in the parish of Boyndie, Banffshire, in October 1699. He was initiated in grammar at the

parish school of Boyndie, and having, in November 1699, gone to Aberdeen, he obtained a bursary in that university. In June 1694, he obtained the degree of master of arts. He was now engaged by Robert Young of Aulbar to assist the studies of his son. While in this situation, hearing, in February 1695, of the decease of Patrick Bellie, the schoolmaster of Laurence-kirk, in the Mearns, he obtained his place, partly by the recommendation of his present patron, though perhaps as much by his own reputation for diligence and learning. Here he remained for three years and a half, till towards the end of 1699, that an accident opened new prospects to his view. The celebrated Dr. Pitcairne being detained by violence of weather at this inconsiderable hamlet, which had not yet a library at the inn, felt the misery of having nothing to do. Wanting society, he inquired if there was no person in the village who could interchange conversation, and would partake of his dinner. The hostess informed him, that the schoolmaster, though young, was said to be learned, and though modest, she was sure could talk. Thus met Pitcairne, at the age of forty-seven, with Ruddiman, at twenty-five. Their literature, their politics, and their general cast of mind, were mutually pleasing to each other. Pitcairne invited Ruddiman to

Edinburgh, offered him his patronage, and performed in the end, what is not always experienced, as much as he originally promised. Ruddiman accordingly came to that city in 1700; and on the second of May 1702, he was appointed assistant librarian to the Advocates' Library. In 1709, he published '*Johnstoni Cantici Solomonis paraphrasis poetica*.' To an edition of the translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* by Gavin Douglas, published in 1710, Mr. Ruddiman wrote the 'large glossary, explaining the difficult words, and serving for a dictionary to the old Scottish language.' A vacancy happening soon after in the grammar-school of Dundee, the magistrates invited our grammarian to fill the office of Rector; but the Faculty of Advocates, unwilling to part with him, voluntarily gave him an addition to his annual salary, to induce him to continue in their service. In 1714, Ruddiman published '*The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*,' a work which will transmit his name with celebrity to every age, as long as the language of Rome shall be taught in the schools of Scotland. An entire edition of the works of Buchanan, with notes by our author, made its appearance in 1715, in two volumes folio. In the same year he commenced printer, in partnership with his brother Walter; and the first production of their press was the second volume of '*Abercromby's Martial Atchievements*.' In 1725 he published the first part of his '*Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones*,' and the second part was delivered to the learned world in 1721. Mr. Ruddiman engaged as the printer of a newspaper, '*The Caledonian Mercury*,' in 1724, and in 1729 acquired the property of the paper, which continued in his family to the year 1772. In 1737, when he was upon a visit at London, Ruddiman engaged to edit the '*Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*,' a work left imperfect by the death of the author, Mr. James Anderson. Mr. Ruddiman's preface to that work is a masterpiece of its kind. After this great performance, he ceased for a while from his labours, at the age of sixty-five. The '*Diplomata*,' which added more to his renown than to his fortune, was the last book of any magnitude which his diligence edited. In 1745, however, he wrote a '*Vindication of Buchanan's version of the Psalms*,' in opposition to a learned English gentleman, who had preferred the version of Dr. Johnson. In this elaborate book, which is a standard of criticism, Mr. Ruddiman shews his unbiassed regard to truth and merit; for though he had differed from Buchanan as a historian, he would maintain his superiority as a poet. During the calamitous summer of 1745, Ruddiman retired from the disturbed scenes of Edinburgh to the sequestered quiet of the country. Here he diverted the dreary days of rebellion, by pursuing his accustomed studies. It was in the retirement of a farmer's dwelling that he wrote, without any purpose of publication, '*Critical Observations on Burman's Commentary upon Lucan's Pharsalia*,' which that eminent scholar had published at

Leyden in 1740. After this time, he published several small treatises on disputes parts of the Scottish history, to which he was called by some who had attacked him with abundance of scurrility and abusive language. He preserved the dignity of a scholar and a christian. While he maintained the truth, he kept his temper; shewed he had the greatness to pity, and the charity to forgive; and was as far superior to his opponents in good breeding as in real knowledge. His principles were formed upon mature reflection; but once convinced they were right, he was very steady to them, though at the same time he could make great allowances for those who did not think as he did. In October 1751, at the age of seventy-seven, he was obliged to ask the aid of physicians for preserving his sight, which, however, they did not effect. Yet this misfortune, which to a scholar cannot be easily supplied, did not prevent him from doing good acts to his relations, and continuing his correspondence with his friends; from pursuing his studies, and producing, meantime, his edition of Livy, which Harwood declares is one of the most accurate that ever was published. Glasgow had to boast of the spotless perfection of her Horace, in 1744; Edinburgh had reason, said that able critic, to triumph in the immaculate purity of Ruddiman's Livy, in 1751. The deprivation of sight brought with it other losses besides the retardation of his usual labour, and the hindrance of his accustomed labours. Ruddiman had a spirit too conscientious and too independent to hold an office which he could no longer execute. And, on the 7th of January 1752, he gave in a resignation to the Faculty of Advocates of his charge as their librarian, which he had diligently executed for almost half a century. His letter of resignation he wrote in English, expressing his gratitude for their many favours, and offering his prayers for their future honour. When the late Dr. Johnson was told in what language our grammarian had relinquished his trust, and expressed his thankfulness, he said, '*That such a letter from such a scholar ought to have been in Latin*.' Yet of Ruddiman Johnson declared, '*That his learning is not his highest excellence*,' and sent it as a mark of his kindness, a copy of the *Babel*, when it was republished at Edinburgh. Ruddiman, however, had outlived his varieties; and the lawyers of Scotland were not learn, that their librarian could write Tully's language with Tully's purity. Ruddiman died at Edinburgh on Wednesday the 19th January 1757, when he had advanced into the 86th year of his age. He had lived for seven years under the affliction of bodily diseases of various kinds; but his mental powers remained unshaken to the end. He had been long afflicted by the strangury; he had been somewhat stupified by deafness; and at the same time that the sight of one of his eyes was lost, the vision of the other was almost extinguished. He was buried in the cemetery of the Greyfriars church."

ART. XIII.—*A Dictionary of Painters, from the Revival of the Art to the present Period; by the Rev. M. PILKINGTON, A. M. A new Edition, with considerable Alterations, Additions, an Appendix, and an Index, by Henry Fuseli, R. A. 4to. pp. 693.*

WE have been rather doubtful what portion of our pages we ought to bestow on this volume. As a republication, it would have been entitled only to a slender notice, had it not been for the high character of the present editor. But when we consider the quantity of original matter now brought forward, in the shape either of alterations, critical notes, or additional lives, we feel it a duty to pay more than ordinary attention to a work which has been so reformed.

Our principal object in the following remarks will be to point out some of the principal novelties, whether in biography or criticism, introduced for the first time into this edition. We shall also advert to a few instances, in which, according to our ideas, there are still wanting some touches from the pen of a master, to give life and zest to the judicious but cold and inanimate compilations of Pilkington. Mr. Fuseli, as an original and competent observer, should have suffered no artist of real or reputed excellence to pass by without some testimony to his merits, or reprehension of his defects.

Considering that Giovanni Cimabue, born at Florence so early as the year 1240, was the first person who revived painting after its unfortunate extirpation, it is impossible not to regret the slender notice he has obtained. After retrenching the testimony of Vasari, and the circumstance recorded by the commentator on Dante, Mr. Fuseli contents himself with simply telling us in a note, that "Dante mentions him in the eleventh canto of his purgatory, as one who considered himself without a rival till Giotto appeared."

Mr. Fuseli has corrected the date of Masaccio's birth, and has consequently suppressed the secondhand astonishment of Pilkington, at the premature "genius, judgment, talent, and execution," of a man who died at the age of twenty-six. The real ground of admiration was the liveliness with which he imitated nature. His skill in perspective has been commended by Vasari. The present editor has given, in the room of what he has omitted, a short note of his own. It furnishes a compendious but comprehensive character of a painter, who was accounted the chief of the second age, and therefore forms an important link in the chain of modern art.

"Masaccio was a genius and the head of an epoch in the art. He may be considered as the precursor of Raphael, who imitated his principles, and sometimes transcribed his figures. He had seen what could be seen of the antique, at his time, at Rome, but his most perfect work are the *friscos* of S. Pietro al Carmine at Florence; where vigour of conception, truth and vivacity of expression, correctness of design and breadth of manner, are supported by truth and surprising harmony of colour."

The manner in which Raphael struggled from his rude essays under the guidance of Pietro Perugino, till he reached the triumphant height of his later and immortal compositions, is well described in Pilkington's article. But Mr. Fuseli's note is so characteristic and discriminative, as to throw the criticisms of his predecessor altogether into the shade. He does not seem to allow Raphael those qualities which would have entitled him to the appellation of "divine," in the literal sense of the word. He tells us, and with apparent truth, that "the painter of humanity not often wielded with success superhuman weapons. His gods never rose above prophetic or patriarchal forms. The softness of his airs, so attractive to common observers, is censured on the score of defective character. Roundness, mildness, sanctimony, and insipidity, compose in general the features and airs of his Madonnas, transcripts of the nursery, or some favourite face." But the felicity and propriety of his judgment, in the dramatic department of his art, whether we consider it in respect to his "invention in the choice of the moment, his composition in the arrangement of the actors, or his expression in the delineation of their emotions," the critic considers as unrivalled. The connoisseur, and the untutored gazer, will join in their assent to the following panegyric on his Magdalene, and other characters of conflicting passion.

"The character of Mary Magdalen met his, it was the character of a passion. It is evident from every picture or design, at every period of his art, in which she had a part, that he supposed her enamoured. When she follows the body of the Saviour to the tomb, or throws herself dishevelled over his feet, or addresses him when he bears his cross, the cast of her features, her mode, her action, are the

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character of love in agony. When the drama-inspired Raffaello, his women became definitions of grace and pathos at once. Such is the exquisite line and turn of the averted half-kneeling female with two children, among the spectators of the punishment inflicted on Heliodorus; her attitude, the turn of her neck, supplies all face, and intimates more than he ever expressed by features." We conceive Mr. Fuseli's remarks on the dramatic turns of attitude and of face, in Raphael's compositions, to be particularly exemplified by the cartoon of St. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. Neither would the critic venture to speak of his "excursions into the pure epic or sublime," as becoming inadequate to the majesty and grace of the occasion, while he was contemplating his picture of the resurrection of Christ.

The labour of Vinci to produce the stroke of life by the imitation of nature, even to the hairs of the eye-brows and the pores of the skin, is curiously illustrated in the text by the portrait of Mona Lisa, which Mr. Fuseli, in his learned note, refers to the third period of this artist. Neither can we too strongly recommend to the moderns this painter's diffidence of his own powers, whose eye kept his hand under restraint, by comparing the actual performances of the latter with the excellence of the original conceptions. Mr. Fuseli's character of Vinci is among the most eloquent of his passages.

"Leonardo da Vinci broke forth with a splendor which eclipsed all his predecessors: made up of all the elements of genius, favoured by form, education, and circumstances, all ear, all eye, all grasp, painter, poet, sculptor, anatomist, architect, engineer, chemist, machinist, musician, philosopher, and sometimes empiric, he laid hold of every beauty in the enchanted circle, but without exclusive attachment to one, dismissed in her turn each. Fitter to scatter hints than to teach by example, he wasted life insatiate in experiment. To a capacity which at once penetrated the principle and real aim of the art, he joined an inequality of fancy that at one moment lent him wings for the pursuit of beauty, and the next flung him on the ground to crawl after deformity. We owe to him chiaroscuro with all its magic, but character was his favourite study; character he has often raised from an individual to a species, and as often depressed to a monster from an individual. His notion of the most elabo-

rate finish, and his want of perseverance, were at least equal. Want of perseverance alone could make him abandon his cartoon designed for the great council-chamber at Florence, of which the celebrated contest of horsemen was but one group; for to him who could organize that composition, Michael Angelo himself might be an object of emulation, but could not be one of fear. His line was free from meagreness, and his forms presented beauties, but he appears not to have ever been much acquainted, or to have sedulously sought much acquaintance, with the antique. The strength of his conception lay in the delineation of male heads; those of his females owe nearly all their charms to chiaroscuro, they are seldom more discriminated than the children they fondle, they are sisters of one family."

One of the leading articles which Mr. Fuseli has written over again, is the life of Correggio. It is selected, to be given entire, as an impartial specimen of his biographical and critical powers. Was it within our limits, we should insert Pilkington's article by its side, as the fairest criterion of either work; but we must request the reader, who wishes to compare the two, to consult the first edition.

"Antonio Allegri, celebrated by the name of Correggio, the great master of harmony, according to the most authentic conjecture, for nearly all, relative to his life, is conjecture, was born in 1494 at Correggio or near it. Of his parentage nothing is known: we only know, that he was married twice, and had children by each wife; a son, Pomponio, by the first at Correggio; and by the second three daughters at Parma.

"There are doubts likewise, about the precise time of his death: it is however, nearly certain, that he died the 5th of March, 1534, at the age of 40. Some report him to have been of low extraction, and extremely poor; others make him noble and rich: for either assertion there are no authentic documents. Considering the district in which he lived; the little money in circulation there; the public works in which he was employed; the prices he was paid for them, compared with the metropolitan prices of Raphael himself; the solidity, fineness, excellence of the panels, canvases, and colours which he used, it is probable that his circumstances kept pace with his fame, that he was nearer to opulence than want.

"The variety of the powers which may be traced, or are displayed in the works of Correggio, have occasioned as many conjectures concerning his education. Not content with making him learn the rudiments of his art of Bianchi and Munari, they prolong the life of

Janegna, to form his taste and tune his ear; they instruct him in geometry, architecture, sculpture, and at last send him to Rome, to inspect the antique, and the works of Michael Angelo, and Raphael.

"That Correggio modelled himself, and made use of the models of Antonio Begarelli, the best sculptor of Lombardy, is partly certain, partly probable. That study alone, aided by such a genius, will nearly account for all the wonders of fore-shortening, and *chiaroscuro*, which astonish us in the frescoes of his cupolas at Parma.

"In the cupola, the lunette, and the gallery of the church of St. Giovanni, Correggio represented the ascension of Christ, and the coronation of the Virgin, attended by the apostles, evangelists, and doctors of the church. To enlarge the choir, the monks demolished the gallery, and replaced the original fresco by a copy of Caesar Aretusi, from a copy of Annibale Caracci. The principal cup, however, was cut from the wall, and preserved in the library of the duke of Parma; as some angels' heads, likewise saved from destruction in the palace of the Marquise Rondoni, at Rome.

"The octagonal cupola of the cathedral at Parma, in which Correggio represented the assumption of the Virgin, is of all cupolas, painted before or after, the most sublime; though, begrimed with smoke and partly obliterated, it scarcely shews more than the ruins of its former grandeur.

"Of Correggio's best oil-pictures, Italy has been deprived by purchase or by spoil. Dresden possesses the celebrated night or the dawn, the Magdalen reading, and a number more of less excellence, or less authentic character. The two allegorical pictures, called *Ida* and *Danae*, once in the possession of Queen Christina, migrated to France, and the picture of *Io*, were mangled or destroyed by bigotry. A duplicate of the *Io*, and a rape of *Ganymede*, are at Vienna. Milan possesses Christ praying in the garden, and Mercury teaching Cupid to read in the presence of Venus. To the *Spofallizio* of St. Catherine, which France possessed before, the oils of the revolution have added the St. Rome with the Magdalen, the Madonna *la Scudella*, the descent from the cross, and the martyrdom of St. Placido, from Parma.

"Correggio was one of the four great luminaries of the art at its supreme establishment in the sixteenth century. He established harmony on light and shade. The bland aerial light of a globe, imperceptibly gliding through lucid demi-tints into rich reflect-shades, is the element of his style, and usually pervades his works, from the vastness of his cupolas to the smallest of his oil-pictures. This inspires his figures with grace; this their grace is subordinate: the most appropriate, the most elegant attitudes were adopted, rejected, perhaps sacrificed to the most awkward ones, in compliance with this serious principle. The soft transitions

from the convex to the concave line, which connect power with lightness, form the style of his design. He is the master of that fore-shortening, which the Italians distinguish by the name of '*di sotto in su*,' and the father of machinists. Pastose like Giorgione's, and often true like Titian's, his colour has a suavity, and a breadth superior to either."

Mr. Fuseli omits noticing the warmth of Correggio's imagination, which Mr. Pilkington coupled with its acknowledged sublimity, in the cupola of the cathedral at Parma. Ample justice is done to this artist's practice of the 'clear-obscure.'

The life of Giulio Pippi is likewise written again, with many novel touches of characteristic energy. We are told that,

"Whilst a pupil he followed less his master's delicacy than energy of character, and chiefly signalized himself in subjects of war and battles, which he represented with equal spirit and erudition. As a designer, he commands the whole mechanism of the human body, and without fear of error, turns and winds it about to serve his purposes, but sometimes oversteps the modesty of nature. Vasari prefers his drawings to his pictures, as fuller of that original fire which distinguishes his conception, and was apt to evaporate in the longer process of finish: some have with better evidence objected to the character of his physiognomies, as more salacious than enamoured, less simple than vulgar, and often dismal and horrid without being terrible. In colour, whether fresco or oil, his hand was as expeditious, and his touch, especially in the former, as decided as his eye and choice were ungenial; brickly lights, violet demi-tints, black shades, compose in general the raw, opaque tone of his oil-pictures, far different from that characteristic asperity which signalizes the battle of Constantine, and was by N. Poussin admired as the proper tone of the subject. The style of his draperies is classic, but the arrangement of the folds generally arbitrary and mannered; the hair and head-dresses of his women are always fanciful and luxurious, but not always arranged by taste, whilst those of the men frequently border on the grotesque.

"He came to Mantua, and there found antique treasures, of which the statues, busts, basso-reliefs at present in the academy, are but insignificant remains. To the stores of the Gonzaghi he added his own, rich in designs of Raphael, and studies and plans from the antique; for no designer ever possessed such industry with so much fire, so much consideration with such fecundity, or combined with equal rapidity such correctness, and with great reconciliatory knowledge in mythology and history, that popularity and ease in treating it. The increased practice, and the authority derived from the superintendence of the works left unfinished by his master, established his reliance on himself, and the call of the Gonzaghi roused that loftiness of

conception, and gave birth to those magnificent plans from which Mantua and the wonders of the palace del T. as from enchantment rose.

"The palace del T. furnishes specimens in every class of picturesque imagery. Whatever be the dimension, the subject, or the scenery, minute or colossal, simple or complex, terrible or pleasing, we trace a mind bent to surprize or to dazzle by poetic splendor; but sure to strike by the originality of his conception, he often neglects propriety in the conduct of his subjects considered as a series, and in the arrangement or choice of the connecting parts, hurried into extremes by the torrent of a fancy more lyric than epic, he disdains to fill the intermediate chasms, and too often leaves the task of connexion to the spectator.

"The altar-pieces of Giulio are not numerous. He did not live to finish those which he had begun for the cathedral of Mantua."

The following account of this great painter's scholars and assistants, will be found both interesting and useful. We may indeed observe in general, how very superior are the professional knowledge and well-directed enquiries of the present editor, to the borrowed lights and translated criticisms of his predecessor.

"Of Giulio's scholars and assistants, the most celebrated were Francesco Primaticcio, chiefly employed in the stuccoes and ornaments of the Palace del T.; Benedetto Pagni of Pescia, who accompanied Giulio from Rome to Mantua; and Rinaldo Mantovano, the most expert of the three, and in the opinion of Vasari, who laments the shortness of his life, the greatest painter whom Mantua ever produced. The altar-piece of St. Agostino alla Trinita, has a grandeur of style above his age, and hence has, by some, been suspected to be the design of Giulio. To these may be added Fermo Guisoni, who coloured in the cathedral the call of St. Peter and St. Andrew, from the most studied and most beautiful cartoon of the master; and Teodoro Ghigi, or, as he subscribes himself, Teodoro Mantovano, a great designer, and so practised in the style of Giulio, that after his death he was selected by the prince to finish several of his works." Of Raffaello Pippi, the son of Giulio, nothing remains but the tradition that he possessed talents worthy of his father.—He died in 1560, at the age of 30.

Michael Angelo Buonaroti, "the great restorer of epic design," has furnished an opportunity for one of the most luminous substitutions in this

interesting volume. We should ingly insert it at length, but must ourselves with the following mutilicism.

"Sublimity of conception, grand form, and breadth of manner, elements of Michael Angelo's principles he selected or objects of imitation. As painter, as architect, he attempted, any other man succeeded, to significance of plan, and endless subordinate parts, with the unity and breadth. His line is grand. Character and beauty admitted only as far as they could subservient to grandeur. The female, meanness, deformity, him indiscriminately stamped with grandeur. A beggar rose from his patriarch of poverty; the dwarf is impressed with dignity, women are moulds of generation, infants teem with the man; his race of giants. This is the Via, hinted at by Agostino Canova, give the most perfect ease, most perplexing difficulty, the exclusive power of Michael Angelo, the inventor of epic painting, the lime compartments of the Sublime. He has personified motion in the cartoon of Pisa; embossed on the monuments of St. untravelling the features of his prophets and sibyls; and judgment, with every attitude, the human body, traced the most of every passion that sways the heart. Neither as painter or ever submitted to copy in the Julio II. only excepted, and in presented the reigning passion of the man. In painting he copied self with a negative colour, as painter of mankind, rejected all precious ornament. The fabric of scattered into infinity of jarring his predecessors, he concentrated the cupola, and to the complex gave the air of the most edifices. Such, take him all in Michael Angelo, the salt of art, times he, no doubt, had more perhaps periods of dereliction, into manner, or perplexed the of his forms with futile and anatomy: both met with heretics, and it has been his fate to be and still to be censured for their

The life of Titian is retained in

ous and characteristic note. We cannot however avoid objecting, in this place, to the work in general, as well as to the present article, that it wants the relief and imitation of personal and literary anecdotes, interspersed at proper intervals. If be true that there is something congenial between the spirit which guides the pen, and that which tunes the lyre; it is usually so, that the social discourse of their respective professors, unites the history of the fine arts with that of general literature; nor should this connection ever be broken. The merit of Titian led to fortune as well as to fame. He was created Count Palatine by Charles V. and most intimately acquainted with Ariosto, Arden, and the other writers of his age. Some notices of private character and habits might surely have been gleaned from the numerous memoirs of the time. The want of life is in a great measure compensated by such critical remarks as the following.

‘His tone springs out of his subject, grave, solemn, gay, minacious, or soothing. His eye tinged nature with gold, without impairing her freshness. She dictated his every. Landscape, whether it be considered as the transcript of a spot, or the combination of congenial objects, or the scene of a phenomenon, as subject or as back-ground, dates, if not its origin, its real value from him. He is the master of portrait-painting, of resemblance in form, character with dignity, grace with simplicity, and costume with taste.’ It is very rarely, it may be said to be so once in a thousand years, that a Titian takes his appearance in the world of art: his imitators have been many; but they have been so far misled by appearances, as to imagine those effects to have been produced by freedom and rapidity, which in reality resulted from correctness of hand. To guard against this seductive error, we would recommend to the attention of the student, the remark in the original article, that ‘Titian took abundance of pains to bring up his pictures to so high a degree of perfection; and the freedom that appears in the handling was entirely effected by a skilful combination of labour and judgment.’

The life of Paulo is re-written by Mr. Fuseli, with great advantage to the reader, who may find both of critical acumen and consolation. The following character will be found interesting both to the student and the connoisseur.

* No painter ever was hurried along by a

greater torrent of commissions, and no painter ever exerted himself with greater equality of execution. Light grounds and virgin tints have contributed to preserve the freshness of his pictures: the family of Darius presented to Alexander in the Pisani palace at Venice, and the S. Georgio once at Verona, now in the Louvre, have, without the smallest loss of the bloom that tones them, received from time that mellowness only, that sober hue, which time alone can give. More fixed in a system, and consequently nearer the manner than Titian, with less purity and delicacy; greyer, not so warm, so sanguine, or so juicy as Tintoretto, he excels both in fascinating breadth of bland and lucid demitints; and in his convivial scenes, though thronged with pomp, gorgeous attire, and endless ornament, never once forgets that they were admitted to shew and not to eclipse the actors. The actors were not, indeed, those of the historian, no more than the costume that of the times, or the ornaments and architecture those of the country. The ostentation of ornamental painting is not to be arraigned at the tribunal of serious history. The humble guests of Cana, the Publican forsaking his till, Magdalen at the feet of Christ, travestied into Venetian patriarchs, belles or nobles, were only called upon to lend their names, and by their authority to palliate or flatter the reigning taste or vice of a debauched and opulent public.”

The lives of the Caracci are retained, with some retrenchment; but Mr. Fuseli differs both from his predecessors and from the common opinion, in his estimate of their rank in the scale of merit.

‘Annibale Caracci, superior to his cousin and brother in power of execution and academic prowess, was inferior to either in taste, and sensibility, and judgment: of this, the first proof that can be adduced, is his master-work, that on which he rests his fame, the Farnese Gallery; a work whose uniform vigour of execution nothing can equal but its imbecility and incongruity of conception: if impropriety of ornament were to be fixed by definition, the subjects of that gallery might be quoted as the most decisive instances. The artist may admire the splendour, the exuberance, the concentration of powers displayed by Annibale Caracci, but the man of sense must lament their misapplication in the Farnese Gallery.’

Subjoined to Pilkington's article on Rubens, there is an admirable note, which we recommend to the attention of the reader, as a sample of the editor's best powers as a writer.

Among the principal advantages of the present edition, is the compression of so-

condary lives. Pilkington's article on Giuseppe Ribera, called Spaniolet from the country of his nativity, is unnecessarily prolix. Mr. Fuseli has therefore substituted a shorter one of his own, and thus characterised that distinguished vocabulary of horrid images, and Promethean representations.

The studies he had pursued enabled him to go beyond Caravaggio in invention, choice, and design. In emulation of him he painted that grand deposition from the cross at the Certosa, a work, by the verdict of Giordano, alone able to form the greatest painter; the martyrdom of St. Gennaro, in the Royal Chapel, and the St. Jerom of the Trinità, excel his usual style, and possess Titianesque beauties. St. Jerom was one of his darling subjects; he painted, he etched him, in numerous repetitions, in whole lengths and half figures. He delighted in the representation of hermits, anchorets, prophets, apostles, perhaps less to impress the mind with gravity of character, and the venerable looks of age, than to strike the eye with the incidental deformities attendant on decrepitude, and the picturesque display of bone, vein, and tendons, athwart emaciated muscle. As in design he courted excrescence or meagreness, so in the choice of historic subjects he preferred to the terrors of ebullient passions, features of horror, cool assassination, and tortures methodized, the spasms of Ixion, and St. Bartholomew under the butcher's knife.

The following remark, which concludes the note on Poussin, well deserves the attention of the historical painter.

'The excellence of Poussin in landscape is universally acknowledged, and when it is the chief object of his pictures; precludes all censure: but considered as the scene or back-ground of a historic subject, the ease with which he executed, the predilection which he had for it, often made him give it an importance which it ought not to have; it divides our attention, and from an accessory becomes a principal part.'

We have hitherto devoted our attention almost exclusively to Mr. Fuseli's animadversions on historical painters.—While on the subject of landscape, we cannot better exemplify the turn and current of his criticism, than by transcribing a part of his note on Salvator Rosa.

'In landscape he was a genius. His choice is the original scenery of Abruzzo, which he made often, though not always

a vehicle of terror: he delights in ideas of desolation, solitude, and danger, impenetrable forests, rocky or storm-lashed shores; in lonely dells leading to dens and caverns of banditti, alpine ridges, trees blasted by lightning or sapped by time, or stretching their extravagant arms athwart a murky sky, lowering or thundering clouds, and suns shorn of their beams. His figures are wandering shepherds, forlorn travellers, wrecked mariners, banditti lurking for their prey, or dividing their spoils. But this genuine vein of sublimity or terror forsook him in the pursuit of witcheries, apparitions, and spectres; here he is only grotesque or capricious. His celebrated witch of Endor is a hag, and cauldron, skeletons, bats, toads, and herbs, are vainly accumulated to palliate the want of dignity and pathos in Saul, and of sublimity in the apparition.'

This last criticism is in diametrical opposition to Pilkington's character of the same piece.

For lord Orford's anecdotes of Jervas, including his exclamation of 'poor little Tit!' and what Pilkington had suppressed, his comparison of lady Bridgewater's ear with his own, Mr. Fuseli substitutes, with just contempt, the following life, comprised in two sentences. Yet we think that in this, and other instances, lord Orford's pleasant and characteristic anecdotes would occasionally have enlivened and relieved the intense gravity and uniform severe tenor of the professor's investigations.

"This flimsy artist, whom even *Veritas* scarcely deigned to notice, would not be named here, if his pupil Pope had not kept his name aloft by the verses which he addressed to him. He was an Irishman, the disciple of Kneller, and acquired a fortune by marriage."

We cannot help thinking the memory of the late Mr. Mortimer rather unfairly treated. The artist who could paint two such pictures as that of king John delivering Magna Charta to the barons, and that fine one, though not generally enumerated among his larger works, of Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage, could not deserve a negligent memorial of six lines, with such a sweeping censure tacked to it as the following.

"In the prolix account of Mortimer as an artist and a man, inserted in the supplement to the former edition of this work, it is said that 'his knowledge of anatomy was such, that at any time, to

amuse his friends, he would draw with a common pen and ink, and with the most critical exactness, the human skeleton in any attitude; and afterwards, with a different-coloured ink, clothe it with muscles; and that every object in nature impressed itself so strongly on his imagination, that he never used nor had occasion for an archetype, and that he rivalled nature in every department of imitation from his imagination only.

"The same writer further adds, that 'he formed himself on the antique, and that, by a judicious union of its ideal with his observations on living nature, he gave such nobleness, truth, and inexhaustible vivacity to the countenances of his figures, that in all his numerous paintings and drawings there never appeared two that were not different.'

"If this strain of asserting would be scarcely allowable, were it applied to the power of Raphael, or Michael Angelo himself, it must provoke our merriment or indignation, to find it lavished on capacities far inferior to those of Pietro Testa, or Salvatore Rosa. It is difficult to say what he would have excelled in at a more advanced period, who was unrivalled in nothing at the 'meridian of his powers.' The style of Mortimer's design was neither ideal, nor that of genial nature, though he was not deficient in anatomical knowledge, and had studied or at least copied the antique. On his colour no economist of his ever chose to dwell long; and if it be allowed something of a negative character, it is surely as much as it can pretend to. The versatility which he possessed is seldom a companion of genius, nor will it screen him from the imputation of manner. He grouped rather than composed, and from any claim to expression, the heads which he etched on a considerable scale, of some of Shakespeare's most celebrated characters, must exclude him whilst they last. Mortimer was the Hayman 'reformato' of his day."

It must indeed be confessed, that the panegyric above quoted was sufficiently extravagant to provoke hostility; but surely the revenge is carried too far. We scarcely consider eight-and-thirty as the meridian of an artist's practice. From the powers of imagination he had already displayed, there surely was something like a promise, notwithstanding Mr. Fuseli's implied doubt, that he might have attained a still higher degree of excellence in his profession. He was at least inge-

nious; and might, by well-directed application, have been great.

As a contrast to the harshness of the preceding article, we subjoin the following tribute to the merit of that celebrated artist Mr. Wilson, and honest indignation at the posthumous justice to which its acknowledgment has been deferred.

'Wilson is now numbered with the classics of the art, though little more than the fifth part of a century elapsed since death relieved him from the apathy of *cognoscenti*, the envy of rivals, and the neglect of a tasteless public; for Wilson, whose works will soon command prices as great as those of Claude, Poussin, or Elzheimer, resembled the last must in his fate, lived and died nearer to indigence than ease; and as an asylum from the severest wants incident to age and decay of powers, was reduced to solicit the librarian's place in the academy, of which he was one of the brightest ornaments.'

The life given in the supplement to the former work is here curtailed of its absurd parallel, as well as other extraneous, and, in some respects, improper matter.

There are several new articles from the pen of the editor, relating to artists who were either omitted through error in the former edition, or living at the time of its publication. Of these we shall content ourselves with noticing the life of Romney, which is neatly and compendiously written. The following critique on his professional character may be considered as rigorous, but we are inclined to think that, the partialities of friendship and fashion having subsided, competent and unbiassed readers will not condemn it as unjust.

"To Romney as a portrait-painter the public have bore ample testimony; he was made for the times and the times for him. If he had not genius to lead, he had too much originality to follow, and whenever he chose was nearer to the first than to the last of his competitors. Practice had given him rapidity of execution, and nature an eye sufficiently just for form and not ungenial for colour. His women have often *unetéré*, sometimes elegance with an artless bloom and freshness of tint. His men in general have more spirit than dignity, and more of pretence than reality of character. When he attempts to produce effects by opposition of colour without decided masses of light and shade, he is not always happy in the balance, he becomes livid without freshness, and foxy without glow. Those who wish to form an idea of his historic powers may consult the pictures of the storm from the Tempest, the Cassandra

from *Troilus and Cressida*, and the Infant Shakspeare of the Boydell gallery. Romney, as artist and as man, is entitled to commendation and esteem, but his life furnishes a signal proof of the futility of the idea that genius is a passive quality, and may be laid by or taken up as a man pleases."

Among the desiderata of the present edition, we could have wished some additional lustre to have been thrown round the name of Vandyke, from the characteristic pen of Mr. Fuseli.

If C.A. Du Fresnoy was of too little consequence as a French painter to engage our editor's attention, as the author of the well-known Latin poem, *De Arte Graphica*, he might have been honoured with a cursory memorial in addition to the jejune and unsatisfactory account of Pilkington.

Claude Lorrain would have afforded scope for more extended observation, than has been incidentally bestowed on him in the article-Wilson. After all the parallels that can be drawn, we conceive the capital picture of the morning, in which the artist introduces himself drawing an antique temple on the banks of the Tyber, to place Claude Lorrain above all competition as a landscape-painter.

As a great artist of his own school, though not of the best school, we could have wished for a short note on Le Brun, had it been only for the sake of characterizing his Alexander in the tent of Darius.

If there was little to be corrected in the fixed judgment of the public and the connoisseurs, respecting three artists so reputable to our own country, as Thornhill, Hogarth, and sir Joshua Reynolds, the two latter giants in their respective lines, yet the discrimination of the editor, exercised on such subjects, could not but have struck out something additional of value, however well satisfied the reader

may be with Mr. Walpole's character of Hogarth, in his anecdotes of painting, or with the account sir Joshua Reynolds has left us of his own studies and progress. The merit of the latter in history, is rather highly estimated in the article under review; but we should like to have known the editor's opinion, whether the English artist has not triumphantly sustained the force of the Italian poet's description, in his excellent picture of count Ugolino and his children in the dungeon. Neither would a casual notice of sir Joshua Reynolds's discourses have come with a bad grace from one, who has discoursed so ably in his turn.

But what appears most extraordinary is, that in such a work no mention should be made of Mr. Hodges, whose beautiful landscapes must be well remembered by those who were in the habit of attending the Royal Academy when he was an exhibitor. There are two large pictures of his at Hafod, taken in different parts of the newly-discovered islands, when he attended captain Cook in one of his voyages. These alone would be sufficient to fix his reputation as an artist, and give him a distinguished place in a dictionary of painters.

But it is time we should take our leave with observing, that, as a whole, this laborious work will be found highly useful to the student, whether as a book of entertainment or of reference, and at the same time creditable to the acknowledged qualifications of the editor.

Some peculiarities of style and inaccuracies of idiom, which are sufficiently obvious in the preceding extracts, to preclude the necessity of our pointing them out, if they discover the foreign birth and education of the writer, are at the same time, from the rarity of their occurrence, very striking proofs of his literary abilities.

ART. XIV.—*Memoirs of a Picture; containing the Adventures of many conspicuous Characters, &c. &c.; including a genuine biographical Sketch of that celebrated, original, and eccentric Genius, the late Mr. George Morland.* By WILLIAM COLLINS. 12mo. 3 vols.

ONE scarcely knows which most to admire, the confidence, or the ingenuity of this imposition on the public: the second of these three volumes is exclusively occupied by memoirs of that extraordinary character, and admirable artist, Morland; the first and third volumes are unconnected—totally and completely unconnected

with it. No matter: they must either swim or sink together; and the memoirs of Morland are now doomed to buoy up these dead weights which are hooked to them. Mr. Collins was the friend of Morland, and demands attention to the narrative of his life, on the score of twenty years' intimacy with him, his family, and

connections. If this is the way he treats his friends, we should be curious to know what punishment he has in store for his enemies.

From the memoirs of Morland, which derive an exclusive interest from the subject of them, we learn that this ill-fated genius was born June 26, 1763 : his father was an artist of considerable talent, and moreover a *picture-dealer*. Mr. Collins says that he was respected by all who knew him for his liberality and gentlemanly address : yet within half a dozen pages we are told, that several instances are upon record (one amongst the legal records of a trial at Westminster-hall) of his having sold as originals, copies painted by his son, after pictures of Ruysdale, Hobbima, and others. This must have been a very respectable gentleman, no doubt ! Almost in his infancy, George Morland displayed a talent for drawing, which presaged future excellence : these auspicious indications did not escape the penetrating judgment of his father ; who placed before him chalks, water-colours, pencils, &c. leaving him, for several months, to sketch whatever objects came across his fancy. He was afterwards employed to copy from a set of prints, engraved for Gay's *Fables*. His improvement was so rapid, that in a very short time he copied plaister casts, and the finest models, with an astonishing accuracy. He was admitted, at a very early age, as a student in Somerset-house ; and after having spent some years at the Academy, his father procured him select productions of the Dutch and Flemish schools, as well as the best drawings of the celebrated masters of Italy. His biographer says, that " although it is well known to many artists and judges of pictures, still living, that George Morland could draw, *when sober*, the human, or any other figure with the utmost accuracy, yet he neglected the Roman school, to which he was indebted for his knowledge. The colouring of Hobbima, the spirit and freedom of Ruysdale, and the neatness of pencil peculiar to Potter, Cuyp, Carl du Jardin, and Adrian Vandevelde, seem at times to have engrossed his attention ; and they certainly were, as he always declared them to be, his favourites."

The remark too often forces itself on our observation, that the greatest geniuses are slaves to the most ignoble vices : is it that the mind flags, after vigorous and exhausting flights, and in reposing, falls an easy victim to the seductions of pleasure ? Morland had the deadly misfortune in

very early life to become acquainted with some loose and vulgar students at the Academy much older than himself : the contamination was fatal—the spot with which he was first tainted spread over him like a leprosy ; these fellow-students, in their way to and from the Academy, enticed him to frequent a gin-shop near Exeter Change, and he became a sot ! The inebriety of Burns was encouraged by the conviviality of his disposition ; it was indulged in the unguarded hours of hilarity and mirth. Morland required the solitary stimulus of ardent spirits ; they were the oblivious antidote which he ministered to a mind diseased : he brooded over the misfortunes which he had brought upon himself in lonely wretchedness, and applied, with a shattered frame and palsied hand, the treacherous remedy which had already brought him to despair ; which had destroyed the vigour of his constitution, and deadened the fire of his genius. In early life, his excesses at the dram-shop led to others which his companions encouraged and partook of : the consequence was, that he had recourse to his pencil for the supply of his extravagances. The success exceeded his expectations, and he was led to the delineation of such subjects as best promoted the pecuniary views of his companions.

" The mode of carrying on this sort of contraband trade was something curious ; namely, the subject, size, and price of the picture or drawing being previously agreed upon between the young artist and his employer, the latter of whom was always perfectly aware of the *fairness* of the contract ; nothing farther remained, but to get the article safely out of the father's house, without his suspecting any thing of the business. This seeming difficulty, however, was surmounted in the following manner. One of the largest drawers of a very complete colour-box, bought for him by his father, served at once for a depository for his pictures in their progress towards finishing, and a safe conveyance, when done, to the customer. So that whenever he heard his father's foot, nobody else being suffered to enter the painting-room, he would dexterously slip the smuggled picture or drawing into this drawer and lock it. But when it was ready for delivery, which was commonly at night, or very early in the morning, the party, who had always notice given him, came walking by the door ; and either by a cough, or some other signal, the window of the painting-room was opened, and the useful drawer was let down by whipcord, in which, with the face upwards, the picture was sure to be found. The two sides and ends of the drawer having a small bolt

in each, making four parts, a piece of whip-cord was put through, which was tied in the middle, so that it hung like a scale, from the centre of which, a piece of lay-cord let it safely down."

Morland was apprenticed to his father, and left his paternal roof at about the age of twenty: he then resided at the house of Mr. William Ward, a capital mezzotinto engraver, where he produced the first pair of pictures which brought his name and merit fairly before the public: these pictures were the *Idle and Industrious Mechanics*, painted for Mr. Smith, of Oxford-street, who engraved and published them, with profit to himself and honour to the artist whom he had employed. Morland fell in love with Ward's sister, and Ward with Morland's sister: the two couples were married within about a month of each other.

Morland rose rapidly into repute, but the rapidity of his pencil could not keep pace with his extravagance: his income was at this time (1787) above a thousand a year; but he had emerged from his obscurity into a large and expensive house, where he entertained parties at his table, very few of whom, in the hour of distress, remembered his hospitality. Mr. Collins, the author of this memoir, appears to have been a very honourable exception, and often warned his friend against the ruin into which his imprudences were harrying him. Morland, however, could never bear a lecture of this sort, and to avoid it, has frequently burst from his home, hired a horse, and returned so completely intoxicated as to have been unfit for any professional exertion on the morrow. So high was his repute at this time, that he had no difficulty in procuring credit upon his note of hand, or a bill drawn at a negotiable date. When these bills became due, however, it often happened that he was unprovided with the means of answering them: the ruinous expedient he adopted on these occasions was—to paint a picture for extension of the date!

It is a singular circumstance, and not unworthy of notice, that many of Morland's companion-pictures, and some of the best of them, have for their subjects the opposite consequences of extravagance and industry: amidst all his thoughtlessness and dissipation, it seems as if grave and serious reflections on the course of life he was leading perpetually forced themselves upon his mind; and, as his canvass was the passive, unrepining friend

to which he communicated all his thoughts and feelings, here it was that he embodied the frightful spectres which haunted his imagination, hoping, perhaps, by making himself familiar with their appearance, that he might half disarm them of their terrors.

Confinement to his easel ill suited the restless spirit of Morland: he had thrown himself into low society, and acquired vulgar habits. He was never happier than on a Hampstead or Highgate stage-coach-box.

"Another singular whim took possession of him at this critical juncture, namely, to be made a constable or headborough; and because he was not regularly chosen to fill so very important an office, actually gave one of his neighbours, who was duly appointed, five guineas, and a supper for four or five friends, for being permitted the honour of serving the office as his substitute. But the reason he assigned for this strange proceeding, to his friends, was the gratification it would afford him, by having it in his power, by virtue of the said office, to plague all the neighbouring publicans who had occasionally affronted him: and this whimsical revenge he certainly indulged to the utmost extent of his power, by billeting as many soldiers as he possibly could upon those who had provoked him. But the number of petty scrapes, and frequent litigation, in which this abuse of power frequently involved him, induced him, though reluctantly, to resign the staff of civic annoyance into the hands of his principal, who received another treat for taking it back again."

In order to extricate this wayward child of genius from his embarrassments, various expedients were devised, but most of them were frustrated by the wild spirit of Morland, which could brook no guidance or restriction. Reluctantly did he at length affix a higher price to his pictures, and seemed astonished to find that the avidity of the public to possess them proportionally increased. But all would not do: his creditors were assembled by a friend and professional gentleman, Mr. Wedd, who made the best terms he could, and procured for Morland the benefit of the rules of the board of green cloth. During his abode here he was unusually industrious; but on his liberation, the hopes which his friends were beginning to indulge, that temporary confinement had effected an amendment in his habits, were most bitterly disappointed; for his profusion and debaucheries now became more and more fixed and intense. He associated with boxers, bought horses and

dogs, and was hunted by bailiffs from house to house, from hole to hole, and obliged to paint in his own hay-loft. He had the utmost horror of a jail: every unexpected footstep or strange voice threw him into agonies; and his friends actually feared that he would lose his senses, or put an end to his existence, before he should have been four-and-twenty hours in a prison.

A memorable circumstance occurred to him during his retreat to Hackney, and altogether an unfortunate one; for, in his retirement here, he applied closely to his profession, remained singularly sober, and seemed about to recover that composure and serenity of mind to which he had long been a stranger. All the pictures sent from his easel whilst at Hackney are very carefully finished; his drawings also evinced a minuteness of attention which was wanting in many others produced under the pressure of immediate necessities. His works, in consequence of this great and obvious improvement, now rose very highly in value; and although, through the craft of picture-dealers, the artist himself derived from his paintings a small part only of the price which they produced, still Morland received such sums of money in his extreme privacy, as excited suspicion that he was connected with a gang of coiners or forgers! Information was accordingly communicated to the bank of England, and a party of Bow-street officers was dispatched to the harmless dwelling of poor Morland, in order to secure the suspected criminal. He had notice of their approach, and having no doubt that they were coming to arrest him for debt, made his escape over the garden-wall, and effected his retreat undiscovered into London. The officers, after rummaging all his boxes, drawers, &c. discovered their error, and the directors, when the affair was represented to them, sent the terrified artist, as an indemnification for the inconvenience he had suffered, a paltry present of twenty guineas. The mischief to Morland, however, was irreparable: the spot which had afforded him an asylum was no longer secure, and the tranquillity he had begun to enjoy was destroyed. He took shelter at a carver and gilder's in Leadenhall-street; thence he wandered from place to place in dreadful apprehension of discovery, till he received an invitation from Mr. Lynn to pass a few weeks with him at his house at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight. His retreat was discovered within three days,

and he fled to Yarmouth, accompanied by a faithful friend, his servant George Sympson.

"They had not remained many days at the latter place, where they were enjoying themselves, and laughing at the disappointment and expences their enemies would have to comfort themselves under, all the way back to town; when one morning at breakfast, as Klob was pouring out the tea, a lieutenant of the Dorset militia, and six soldiers, with bayonets fixed, all of whom, in a very expert military style, grounded their arms at the officer's command, in the room where the travellers were at breakfast. The lieutenant told them he came by orders from general Don, commander of the district, to arrest them all three as spies; the painter, who was ever, upon any sudden attack where his personal liberty appeared in danger, extremely timid and confused, upon this occasion betrayed so much agitation, as convinced the officer he must at all events be guilty. As to Klob, he was too keen and penetrating to be alarmed at the harmless suspicions of general Don, or the consequences that could arise from them; and as for honest George Sympson, the painter's man, he scratched his head, and hoped as how they'd let a fellow eat his breakfast before they sent him to quod.

"The lieutenant civilly enough reminded them of the necessity he was under of putting his orders into immediate execution: this induced Klob to enter into a serious remonstrance with him; and, in order to convince him of the absurdity of such groundless suspicions, produced several drawings, which were done by his brother at Cowes. This proceeding, however, only served to confirm the lieutenant in the sagacity of his general's opinion, that they were, in fact, nothing but spies. So that one fine drawing in particular, although it was only of a spaniel-dog in a landscape, was construed by the honest lieutenant into a plan of the island, and the dog he was confident represented the very part of it upon which the enemy were to land. But the mystery of an oil-painting nearly finished, which they shewed him, was still more ingeniously decyphered. This picture, which has since been engraved, is the celebrated one of the farmer holding his purse, as if considering what he should give the hostler, who stands with his hat in one hand, and the bridle of a white horse over his arm. We believe it is now in the possession of E. Harrison, esq. of Widemore, near Bromley, in Kent. The white horse, ready bridled and saddled in the stable, he said represented the plan of all the coast of England, which latter place clearly was the stable; the hostler meant the spy or draft-man, who would not give up his work till the enemy paid him. The farmer could be no other but the French agent, who was now in the Channel, reflecting upon the risk he runs of es-

posed to have been written when he was eighteen: but after he was appointed preceptor to the children of Lorenzo de Medici, he seems to have considered vernacular poetry as an unworthy pursuit, and to have devoted himself to classical literature. He was made professor of the two classical languages in the academy of Florence, being the first among the moderns, not of Grecian extraction, who professed the Greek tongue. His name was now known wherever the dawn of literature had reached, and scholars even from Bristol and Dover repaired to Florence to profit by his lessons. Wealth too, as well as reputation, was in those days the reward of learning. Politian held a secular priory; and, taking orders for the sake of the good things of the church, was appointed canon in the cathedral of Florence.

Authors are not less vain now than they were in old times; but they affect a virtue though they have it not. Politian and his contemporaries were more honest. When he published his *Miscellanea*, he asserted that a thorough and intimate knowledge of the philosophers, civilians, naturalists, dialecticians, critics of antiquity, and, in short, with the whole circle of sciences, was requisite for his arduous undertaking. He tells us, that having taken shelter in a shop at Verona from a shower of rain, he explained, in a single lecture, the whole of Catullus, to a learned audience casually collected, so admirably, that they repeatedly exclaimed, '*Demissum caluit Angelum sibi, qui poetam conterraneum interpretaretur.*' About his Greek epigrams, he says, many flattered him it would conduce to the glory not only of his country, but of the age itself, if a native of Italy should be the occasion of interrupting the long slumbers of the Grecian muse. His letter to king Matthias of Hungary is a curious specimen of this confidence.

"Who am I, or what degree of eminence I possess among the learned, modesty induces me to wish your majesty should learn from the information of others, rather than from myself. Suffice it to say, that by the kindness and liberality of Lorenzo de Medici, a person distinguished for his superlative talents, and among the warmest admirers of your virtues, I have been raised from an obscure birth, and humble fortune, to the degree of rank and distinction I now enjoy; without any other recommendation than my literary qualifications: I have for a series of years, publicly taught at Florence, not only the Latin language with universal applause, but likewise the Greek, with a reputation equal

to that of the natives of Greece; which I may venture to affirm has been the case with no other of the Italians, for a thousand years past. My pen has been employed on a variety of subjects; and, if I may be permitted the mention of a fact generally known, has procured me the commendations of almost all the learned of the age. Thus, presuming on your royal indulgence, I venture to state my pretensions with a frankness that is unusual, and may possibly subject me to censure; but nevertheless with that truth which alone can apologize for my freedom. If this tender of my services meet with acceptance, I shall be proud to exert what abilities I possess, in any way your wisdom may condescend to prescribe; and with a zeal which I flatter myself may entitle me to your royal favour. Deign then to put my obedience to the test, by honouring me with your commands; or at least condescend to admit of my voluntary exertions, on such topics as my own fancy may deem most agreeable to you. Your majesty is at present engaged in founding a library, at once magnificent, and richly furnished with books: I can, as occasion may require, employ my pen in translations from the Greek language into the Latin: or in original compositions, which may not prove unworthy the attention of men of letters. You are erecting a palace of unequalled grandeur; and adorning your capital with statues of brass and marble. The most eminent artists are continually engaged in supplying you with exquisite paintings, and other works of art. These, the muse of Politian can celebrate, if it be your royal pleasure, in numbers not unworthy of such subjects. He flatters himself he is not unskilled in the art of transmitting to future ages, the events of your majesty's reign, in war or peace, by the well-connected page of history; and in the language of Greece or Rome; in the flowing periods of prose; or the sublime diction of immortal song; or recording your praise to the latest posterity."

One other extract we shall make from this portion of the volume. It is an account of an extraordinary boy whom Billel has not enumerated among his celebrated children, though he well deserves a place among them.

"*Angelus Politianus to Picus de Mirandola.*"

"I sincerely wish you had been of our party to-day, at the table of Paulus Urinus; who is a gentleman not only of distinguished military celebrity, but partial to letters and literary society. He has a child of the name of Fabius, a youth of eleven years of age, of singular beauty and endowments. His fine auburn hair falls gracefully on his shoulders. He has an eye sparkling with intelligence, an open countenance, a person elegantly formed, and a most graceful carriage, which inclines a little to the military. When the party had taken their seats, this child was desired to ac-

company some persons of skill, in singing several airs set to music; which he did with so melodious a voice, that for my own part I listened with extasy. He afterwards recited an heroic poem in praise of my pupil Pietro de' Medici, of his own composing; for that it really was so, and not the work of another (as I at first suspected), I had afterwards an opportunity of ascertaining by indubitable evidence. And what kind of a composition do you think it was? Really such an one as I myself should not need to be ashamed of. His tones were not merely those proper to reading, nor altogether modulated as in singing; but formed by a pleasing inflection of voice between both. As the subject required, they were uniform or varied, with exact regard to connection and pause; acute or grave; easy or emphatical; quick or slow; yet always correct, always distinct, always agreeable. His action was neither indolent and unanimated, nor yet bold and forward. You would have vowed another little Roscius stood before you. He was suddenly requested to turn the verse into prose, and repeat the same thoughts unconfined by measure. Accordingly; after a short interval of consideration, he began again in a manner perfectly unassuming; and I was astonished to hear from his youthful lips, a flow of expression so select and appropriate, as the pen seldom supplies. Are you already surprized? You will be still more so with what followed. The boy had completed his task, and was ordered to take his hood, standing; for such is his constant custom. After the first remove, I was requested to propose subjects to him for epistolary composition; as many as I pleased: on which he was to dictate, extempore, to several amanuenses at once. I mentioned only five, not willing to bear too hard upon the child, though he engagingly insisted on more. But the subjects which I selected on his occasion were of a nature so various and novel, and some of them so ludicrous, that I am convinced he could not have been previously prepared for them. Immediately five persons, with pens, ink, and paper, placed themselves in order to write as he should dictate. The boy, standing in a conspicuous situation, fixes his eyes modestly upon the pound, and pauses a moment; then raising his head, dictates a few words to the person who sit highest; makes a sign to the second, and gives him instructions on a different subject; and proceeds in like manner with the rest, down to the lowest: then returning to be first, so fills up every chasm; and connects the suspended thread of his argument, that nothing appears discordant or disjointed; and in the same instant, who would have thought it, he finishes the five letters."

These memoirs terminate abruptly, leaving the reader for other particulars to Mr. Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo. It is merely stated, that Politian died in his fifty-first year, and that there is no good

authority for crediting the unsatisfactory and ridiculous causes which have been assigned for his death.

Memoirs of Joannes Picus of Mirandula. These memoirs, published for the first time in this edition of Mr. Greswell's work, form the most interesting and most valuable part of the volume.

Of this very extraordinary man there is no account extant so full, so impartial, and so discriminating, as the present. Giovanni, son of Giovan Francesco Pico, prince of Mirandula and Concordia, was born at Mirandula, February 24, 1463: his father died when he was yet very young, and the care of his education devolved upon his mother. Able masters were set over him, and his progress was what might be expected from great application, joined with the utmost quickness of apprehension, and the most astonishing memory. He could repeat a poem, if he heard it once recited, with perfect accuracy, and even recite the words in retrograde order; but what is most remarkable is, that the other faculties of his mind appear to have been equally powerful. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Bologna to study the canon-law; in the course of two years he composed a digest of the decretals which would have done honour to the most learned professor. Having mastered this, he left Bologna, and visited all the most celebrated schools and colleges of France and Italy, sought out every individual scholar of distinction, and strengthened or sharpened his intellect by discussions with them; so that, before he had attained the age of manhood, he was every where known for his admirable knowledge in scholastic theology and philosophy. Meantime he distinguished himself by Latin and Italian verses, all of which at a later period he destroyed; they were sacrificed to ripper judgment, pure morals, and a justly-scrupulous religion. "These productions of his juvenile pen," says Mr. Greswell, "had they experienced the fortune to survive to the present times, would perhaps have been perused with greater interest, than those profound and abstruse speculations of his maturer years, which still remain; and his classical and academical effusions would have invited the curiosity which his scholastic and cabalistic writings serve only to intimidate and deter." This is true: it is also true, that whatever might have been the literary merit of these productions, they would have done him infinitely less honour than

the sense of duty towards God and man which induced him to destroy them.

Picus was now connected with the most eminent literary men of his country; with Politian and Lorenzo de' Medici he became particularly intimate, and wrote a criticism upon the poems of the latter, which discovers more zeal for his friend than judgment. He compares him with Petrarca and with Dante, and gives him the preference; with Petrarca he may perhaps be compared; but to bring Dante into the comparison, was comparing a flower-garden to a forest, a spouting fountain to the mountain cataract.

He commenced the study of the oriental languages during a temporary retirement to escape the plague. In one of his letters it appears that, after a month of nightly as well as daily application to the Hebrew, he could dictate a letter in it, though not with elegance, yet without grammatical inaccuracies. A letter written at this time to one of his friends, explains his truly wise and honourable state of mind.

"You exhort me to an active and public life; observing that so long a course of philosophical studies will be far from reflecting either glory or credit on your friend, if he does not at length consent to quit his seclusion, and act a conspicuous part on the busy theatre of the world. But in reality, my Andreas, I should then consider my vigils and labours thrown away, when disposed to agree in opinion with you on this point. I grant, a notion generally prevails, but it is an unnatural and fatal one, that persons of rank ought either entirely to neglect philosophical speculations, or at most content themselves with such a superficial tincture as demands little effort, and serving only to heighten the false glitter of wit, confers no solid improvement on the mind. With them, the maxim of Neoptolemus has the force of a law, '*aut nil philosophandum aut paucis*.' They regard as false and futile, the apothegms of the wise, which teach that solid and genuine felicity consists in the possessions of the mind; and that things extraneous and fortuitous, and which respect the body merely, are those with which we have, in reality, little or no concern. You will say, I wish you so to embrace the province of Martha, as in the mean time not to relinquish Mary's part. Thus far I partly admit the fairness of your reasoning, and will not take upon me to criminate those who act accordingly. But although there may be no impropriety in passing from a contemplative to an active life, yet is it neither criminal nor blamable in any degree, to adhere to a life of contemplation. What! shall he be charged with misconduct, who,

seeking virtue for her own sake, and seeking nothing extraneous to her, makes her the perpetual object of his desires and pursuits? who, joying in an abstraction from the world, which enables him to penetrate more deeply into the mysteries of God and of nature, can both neglect and condemn those goods which are deemed capable of filling the largest wishes of their votaries? Shall it be pronounced illiberal, and unbecoming a person of quality, to affect the study of wisdom unconnected with mercenary considerations? Who can patiently endure or listen to such assertions? How false is his philosophy, who has therefore philosophized, that he may or may not philosophize, at pleasure! He are the maxims of a tradesman, not of a philosopher.

"You observe that it is high time I should pay my devoirs to one or other of the most powerful Italian princes. You are not yet, it seems, aware how proudly philosophers reason. Esteeming themselves, according to the Horatian phrase, 'kings of kings,' they cannot form their manners to cringing servility. Familiarized with solitude and self-converse, and satisfied with the tranquillity of their own minds, they find therein a present and never-failing resource, and therefore seek nothing extrinsic. What the vulgar deem honourable, they consider as disgraceful; and the things which human cupidity thinks after, or to which ambition aspires, they neglect and despise. If these sentiments become every philosopher, they ought more especially to influence those who, favoured with the extraordinary gifts of fortune, possess the means of living not merely in ease and affluence, but in splendour. Honours and fortune doubtless raise their possessions to a height of conspicuous ostentation; but too often, like a mettlesome and restive charger, either shake the rider from his seat, or fret and gall, instead of carrying him at his ease. Grant me that happy mediocrity, which, like a docile steed, bears a man more equably; and obedient to the rein, is governed rather than governs. True then to these sentiments, I prefer my solitude, my studies, the delights of reading, the peace of my own mind, to the palaces of princes, the bustle of politics, and all the wiles and favours of a court. Nor do I desire, as the fruit of my literary leisure, to be whelmed and tated in the tide and tumult of public scene, but to bring at length to the birth the offspring which I have conceived, and to give in a propitious hour to public view, so works as, however devoid of genius or learning, may attest at least the industry of the author. To convince you that the latter admits of no remission, I have by assiduous and intense application attained to the knowledge of the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages; and am at present struggling with the difficulties of the Arabic."

Picus, however, had not yet well re-

lated his ambition for literary distinction. In 1486 he went to Rome, and there

"published his 'Conclusiones,' consisting of nine hundred propositions, or subjects of discussion, in almost every science that could exercise the speculation or ingenuity of man; and which, extraordinary and superfluous as many of them appear to a reader of the present times, certainly furnish a more adequate idea of the boundless extent of his erudition and research than any words can describe. These he promised publicly to maintain against all opponents whatsoever; and that time might be allowed for the circulation of his 'Conclusiones,' through the various universities of Italy, in all of which he caused them to be published, notice was given that the public discussion of them was not intended to take place till after the feast of the Epiphany next ensuing. A further object of this delay was to afford to all scholars, even from the remotest of these seats of learning, who were desirous to be present, and to assist at his disputations, an opportunity of repairing to Rome for such a purpose. So desirous was Picus of attracting thither, on this occasion, all the united wit, ingenuity, and erudition, that Italy could boast; that he engaged to defray, out of his own purse, the charges of all scholars from whatever part, who should undertake the journey to Rome for the purpose of disputing publicly with him on the subjects proposed."

There had been many previous disputants *de omni scibile*, and many since; but none ever excited such hostility as Picus. The theses which he proposed evinced so wide a circle of knowledge, and many of them displayed such singular habits of thought, that envy instead of competition was provoked. It was in vain to hope to contend with such erudition and such powers of intellect; and the Roman scholars and divines, whose reputation was now immediately at stake, having tried the effect of lampoons and pasquinades in vain, charged him with heresy. Some accused him of vanity, not without reason; others of presumption in undertaking what was beyond his powers; but they undervalued this wonderful young man. The bigots observed, that as Adam was thrust out of Paradise for affecting, by the knowledge of good and evil, to like himself like God, so those equally served to be exterminated from the church of Christ who seek to know more than they ought; and the professors of theology exclaimed against him as an impious wretch, a new heresiarch, and a magician! Innocent VIII., though little disposed to such measures, was constrained to yield to this clamour; and to issue an

apostolic brief, appointing a commission to enquire into the obnoxious propositions, and make a report concerning them. Picus meanwhile found it prudent to retire, and withdrew to Florence under the protection of his friend Lorenzo, where he composed an apology for his undertaking, defending those theses which were accused, and explaining them, but in all things submitting himself to the authority of the holy see. This apology also was prohibited, though Innocent fully acquitted Picus of all pravity of intention. The subjects were too dangerous to be discussed. He himself soon coincided in opinion with the pope, and acknowledged afterwards that the malevolence of his enemies, under the direction of Providence, had been the means of curing him of vain-glory.

Those enemies were not yet satisfied: they made the pope summon him to answer for his apology, affirming that by the very act of discussing therein the obnoxious questions, he had contravened his solemn engagement not to anticipate the decisions of the holy see. Lorenzo parried this blow, and when Picus was on his way to Rome, obtained for him an express indulgence, which permitted him to reside at Florence. But the affair was not finally concluded till the next pontificate, when Alexander VI. by a bull released him from this complicated charge of heresy and perjury, and from all the inquisitorial prosecutions, pains, and penalties, annexed to these crimes.

Meantime Lorenzo assigned him a retreat at Fiesole, where his company and that of Politian and Ficinus, and the magnificent library of the abbey, left Picus little to wish for. In 1499 he published his *Heptaplus*, the same year in which the *Miscellanea* of Politian appeared. It can scarcely be productive, says Mr. Greswell, of any valuable purpose, very minutely to enquire into the merit of a work which the tacit consent of posterity has consigned to almost total oblivion: the very slight notice which is taken seems rather to be formed from the opinions of others, than from the work itself. We regret this; Picus is accused of intermixing too much Platonism, and too many cabalistic reveries with his theology; if modern Platonism be ever intelligible, it is to be supposed that he would make it so; but we know from the oration with which he designed to open his public disputation, and which was published after his death, that it was one of his favourite

opinions how the same great truths were taught in all mythologies, however involved in fable; and a succinct and perspicuous account of his philosophy, as far as it could be collected from this his greatest work, would form a fit, we may say, should have formed an indispensable part of these memoirs.

He next employed himself upon a commentary on the Psalms (whether it were ever completed is uncertain), and upon his favourite scheme of reconciling Plato and Aristotle. To this work, says he, I daily devote the whole of my morning hours; the afternoon I give to the society of friends, those relaxations which are requisite for the preservation of health, and occasionally to the poets and orators, and similar studies of a lighter kind; my nights are divided betwixt sleep, and the perusal of the holy scriptures. And he declares that he considered his time and his studies as happily employed, only in proportion as they were rendered conducive to his own moral improvement.

About the year 1491 he completed his treatise *De Ente & Uno*, a work which Mr. Greswell praises instead of analyzing. In the ensuing year Lorenzo died. Picus upon this grievous loss, for a while left Florence for Ferrara.

"A short time previously to this period, Picus willing to exonerate himself from the weight of secular dignities and cares, had for a very inadequate consideration, transferred to his nephew, Giovan-Francesco, all his territories and other rights and possessions in Mirandula and Concordia, comprehending one-third part of the patrimonial inheritance; and the emperor Maximilian himself, whom these cities recognised as their superior sovereign, had been induced to confirm the grant. The sums arising from this transfer, Picus employed partly in the purchase of lands, to secure an annual revenue for the due support of his household, and partly in charitable donations. To the latter purpose the produce of a great part of his rich furniture and plate was appropriated: although while all undue luxuries were banished from his table, a reasonable portion of the silver utensils and other valuable moveables was preserved, to keep up some appearance of his former rank and splendour."

Many men with far inferior gifts have rendered greater services to mankind than Picus of Mirandula, and built up for themselves statelier monuments; but I know not whether a character so interesting, so truly excellent, and so worthy of the love and admiration of good men, is to be found in the whole history of litera-

ture. Two sovereigns urged him to enter into holy orders, promising high ecclesiastical dignities and emoluments; a third tempted him to his court by the offer of the most honourable and lucrative state-employments. He replied that wealth and honours were not the objects of his desire: he had willingly sacrificed them to religious considerations, and the uninterrupted liberty of prosecuting his studies. His friends held out to him the certainty of obtaining a cardinal's hat:—Picus answered, *non sunt cogitationes mee cogitationes vestrae*. His attention was now entirely devoted to theological studies. No man could be more pure from all common vices and all common weaknesses; were it not for one single exception he might be called truly wise: but it is said he was in the habit of inflicting upon himself those painful penances which seem, with other corruptions, to have infected the catholic church from the east. Philosophists will deride, and philosophers pity the weakness, but far better is it to throw off the vices of our age and retain the superstition, than to reject the superstition and retain the vices.

One extract more we must make from these very interesting memoirs, for its substance cannot be abbreviated, and it were idle to affect to give it in our own words rather than in the author's.

"His most elaborate undertaking was a work '*Adversus Hostes Ecclesiae*,' in which he proposed to refute, I. 'The avowed and open enemies of christianity: II. Atheists and those who reject every religious system, upon their own mode of reasoning: III. The Jews, from the books of the Old Testament and their own writers: IV. The followers of Mahomet from the Koran: V. Idolators and such as are addicted to any superstitious science, amongst whom, he particularly directed the artillery of his arguments against the partizans of judicial astrology: VI. Those who, perverting the doctrines of christianity, or denying due obedience to the church, are comprehended under the general name of heretics, whom he distinguished into no fewer than two hundred species, intending to make them so many distinct subjects of his animadversion: VII. Those christians who 'hold the truth in unrighteousness, and discredit, and contradict their profession by their practice.' Of all these and other undertakings of his, so vast in project, scarce any now remain except his work '*Contra Astrologiam Divinatricem*,' and a few '*Opuscula*.' Picus, it appears, by the constant practice of hastily committing to paper the thoughts which occurred in rapid succession in a mind fruitful and teeming like his, and by the use of ar-

fictitious characters invented for the purpose of brevity, as well as by frequent blots and interlineations, had so deformed and obscured his writing, which in his youth had been remarkably fair and beautiful, that of the immense mass of manuscripts and confused papers found after his decease few could be deciphered or methodized. By great pains and labour his nephew, however, was enabled to transcribe that portion of his voluminous work which was levelled against judicial astrology, and which proved to be in a more finished state than the rest. It was afterwards published in various collections of his works under the title of '*De Astrologiâ Disputationum Libri XII.*' and has entitled Picus to the praise of having been the first who boldly and successfully exposed the fallacy of this species of superstition."

The style of Picus, intimately conversant as he was with scholastic language, is as copious, classical, and correct, as that of almost any writer of his age. On the other hand, he set a due value upon the schoolmen, the old birds of wisdom whom the tom-tits of the day were chattering at; men who if they have been unduly extolled in one age, have been more unduly depreciated in another, the majority of writers ridiculing them without reading them, and the few who have read joining in the ridicule because they have pilfered from them what little of truth or value there is in their own works. Aquinas was the one whom he most valued, and whom he was accustomed to call *Splendor Theologiæ*. He himself is described as having combined in his own method of disputation all those qualifications by which the schoolmen were individually distinguished. But for disputation he had formed, long before his death, a settled distaste, aware that it administered provocatives to vanity which needs none, and that there are few who will not in such discussions rather win the victory by the help of falsehood, than submit to truth. This most extraordinary man was deeply skilled in the theory and practice of music; he had studied such of the ancient works upon the subject as were extant, and his own compositions were held by competent judges in the highest estimation for their excellence and harmony.

Picus died the 17th of November 1494, two months after Politian, the last of his most illustrious friends. He displayed in his illness true christian courage, philoso-

phy, and faith. His body was invested with the Dominican habit by Savonarola; this, if it were by his own injunctions, is his greatest proof of weakness, but it may be that he was desirous by every external mark of religion to remove all imputation of impiety from his memory. Savonarola, who was his confessor, possessed more influence over him than might have been expected from his own powers of mind, and the characters of his most intimate associates. It is said that at one time he had resolved to sell all that he had, and give unto the poor, and go barefooted from city to city preaching the gospel; and that he laid aside this design at his confessor's instance, for that of professing among the Dominicans.

Memoirs of Sannazarius. These memoirs have one great deficiency; they contain no account of the *Arcadia*, the most famous of all this author's works. More also should have been said of his poem *De Partu Virginis*. The remaining memoirs of cardinal Bembo, Fracastorius, Marcus Antonius Flaminus, and the *Amalthei*, are all better fitted by their brevity for a biographical dictionary than for the present work, in which indeed some longer sketches than this last appear in the notes. There is a life of St. Domingo written by some Antonius Flaminus; is this the poet?

A good epigram has been written upon the modern Latin poets of Italy, which will do for the modern Latin poets of any other country.

"Vatibus hic mos est Italis, ut mille smaragdus,

Ut mille intexant versibus astra suis;
Nil præter flores, aurum, marmarique loquuntur,

Nil radios præter lunæ solve tuos.
Denique versiculis in Tuscis omnia bella
Excipias ipsos si modo versiculos."

The satire is good but too indiscriminate. There are no sweeter poems in the Latin language than those of Flaminus. Mr. Greswell has not selected the best specimens from this delightful writer, nor is he happy in translation. In a subsequent edition of his work we should wish that the smaller articles should either be extended or thrown into the notes; but more particularly that the life of Picus should be enlarged by a careful analysis of his greater works.

ART. XIII.—*The Life of Professor Gellert: with a Course of Moral Lessons, delivered by him in the University at Leipsick; taken from a French Translation of the original German.* By MRS. DOUGLAS. 3 vols. 8vo.

THE works of Gellert, collected in five octavo volumes, and edited by himself, were printed in 1769, for Weidmann of Leipzig. Soon after the appearance of that edition the author died. His heirs afterwards published from among his papers two volumes more, which contain an edifying journal of his conscientious occupations, a selection from his correspondence, and a series of exhortations to piety, differing from sermons only in not being provided with texts. Several of these posthumous works are here translated apart, through the medium of a French version, and preceded by a diffuse biography.

Christian Furchtegott Gellert was born July 4, 1715, at Haynichen, where his father was clergyman. He was educated in the free-school at Meissen; there he formed a friendship with Rabener, which continued during their lives. In 1734, he entered on his theological studies at the university of Leipzig, and was ordained at the end of the usual three years. In 1739 he became tutor to a young man of Dresden, whom he accompanied to Leipzig; and finding the academic life more consonant with his inclinations than the pulpit, he by degrees left off preaching, took, in 1744, a master of arts degree, and accepted a professorship. His health, which had always been infirm, declined so sensibly about the year 1751, that an extraordinary professorship was created for Gellert, in order to relieve him from the duties of office without injury to his circumstances or disparagement to his rank. One symptom of his disorder was a deep depression of mind, and an anxious alarm for the future state of his soul; although he excelled in meekness, continence, forgivingness, piety, resignation, secret almsgiving, and all those qualities which may emphatically be denominated the christian virtues. Constipations and painful obstructions put an end to his existence on the 13th December, 1769. His pupils erected a monument to his memory inscribed with these words: "He taught religion and virtue by his lessons and by his example."

All the works of Gellert are of secondary, or rather of tertiary value. The first volume consists of fables versified in the most ordinary, flat, and uninteresting

manner. The second volume contains moral and religious poems, which, on account of the self-denial of the task, it ought to pass for a spiritual merit to have read. The third volume contains seven plays: 1. The Affectionate Sisters, a sentimental comedy, which neither draws laughter nor tears: 2. The Oracle, a rhymed translation from the French: 3. Widow Prayerbook, (and not, as rendered in the General Biography, *the Mendicant Nun*), a satire on the grimace of religiosity, which is the best of Gellert's comedies, but which he felt remorse for having written: 4. The Prize, a long, dull, orderly play of the comic class: 5. *Sylvia*, a rhymed pastoral drama: 6. *The Sick Wife*, an afterpiece: and, 7. *The Ribband*, another pastoral drama also in rhyme. All these plays do honour to the purity and morality of Gellert's intentions; he wished the stage to corroborate the influence of the pulpit; but they are not lively. In the fourth volume are contained models for vulgar letter-writing, analogous to some specimens provided for this country by Richardson, and a tedious novel, also in his manner, entitled the Swedish Countess. The fifth volume comprehends Thoughts on Religion, and some other of the exhortatory discourses included in this collection.

It was wise to select for translation the devotional writings of Gellert: his other works would not be heeded in England. The religious public are not very nice. Provided their books abound with pious aspirations and conscientious apprehensions, they care little how trivial the truisms, how feeble the eloquence, how mystical and unintelligible the sweeps of pretended argumentation with which the pages are covered. They impose the reading of sermons as a moral discipline, and would think it of the nature of sin to take delight in them as compositions. Accustomed to strike at the meanest capacities, their teachers naturally adopt a form of address, which culture may tolerate from deference for its utility, but to which it can rarely listen without a consciousness of humiliation. Their favourites, being appreciated by the quantity not the quality of their proselytes, must of course adapt their exertions to the rude education of the numerous classes, and to

the ignorant emptiness of vulgar minds. Hence, in an age of intellect, it commonly happens that popular religious instruction is in a great degree abandoned by the male writers, as below their dignity; and passes into the hands of a sex, whose partial information and timid feelings fit them for the appropriate duties. To this class of writers this country has of late been amply indebted for a supply of plebeian theology. Mrs. Douglas deserves a high rank in the list, both for the extent and the relative elegance of her evangelical exertions.

It will be more equitable to the reputation of Gellert to make a selection from one of those pious diatribes which he himself edited, than from any of those posthumous papers which may be supposed yet to have awaited the finishing embellishments.

"In vain I endeavour to conceive an universe without a first cause; I revolt from the idea, and my heart opposes it with invincible resistance. But if thou art the author of the human race, and of all that exists, if I am thy creature, and if I derive from thee every advantage I possess, canst thou have abandoned me to myself? Hast thou left me to be my own master; can I be at liberty to make what I please of the faculties of my body and mind? I can direct them in divers manners: can the use I make of them be indifferent, whether it tends to the happiness or misery of my brethren, to make me happy or miserable? When I impose silence on my passions, I hear a voice which cries out to me; this is just, this is unjust. Whence comes this voice? No matter, I will follow its doctrines; if I err, it will be on the authority of reason. But no; this language is too divine to be that of error: it tells me that the Almighty, to whom I owe my existence, should be feared and venerated above all beings; and that it is in doing this that consists all my duty and my happiness. I consult revelation; it confirms this oracle, and changes the too feeble glimmering of reason into a bright and luminous day-light, and allows me to perceive as many rays of the Supreme Majesty, as my timid sight can permit me to endure. Therein I discover what God is, and I learn what I am. Love, mercy, power, justice, holiness, and wisdom, constitute his essence. And what are men? One of the works of his hands, created to imitate his perfects as far as their nature will

allow, and to enjoy the happiness of God himself. O mortal! consult revelation; contemplate the Divinity in this faithful mirror, and thou wilt find whatever is necessary to thy happiness, if thou considerest it with an attentive eye. Thou wert created for eternity; this life is a preparation for it. The world thou inhabitest is a state of trial. The years of thy pilgrimage, are years of that obedience which thou art called upon to pay to thy Creator, in order to become worthy of the glory he has designed for thee, and has acquired for thee at the price of the merits, righteousness, and blood of thy divine Saviour, his only Son. Clouds still hang over the divine mysteries of this revelation; but let not this alarm thee, and do not form the rash wish of dispelling them: How, indeed, couldst thou do it? By the help of reason? Go, and renounce the idea of fathoming the impenetrable, and eternal decrees of Divine Wisdom. Who art thou, who dare to undertake it? Think on thy insignificance, and adore the plans of mercy. The mysteries of faith are above thy reason to comprehend; thou art not obliged to comprehend, in order to believe them; it is enough if thou understandest the proofs on which they are founded, and that they teach thee that these are of divine origin."

We can foresee but one probable inconvenience from the circulation of this respectable book. It is the production of a man notoriously low-spirited, and it abounds with the hypochondriac wailings of religious solicitude. Now it is an observable fact, that in like manner as reading about bodily aches, and topical symptoms of disease, points the attention to those unsound parts, increases their perceptivity, and thus produces the very pains described, by inflaming and magnifying the faintest analogous feelings; so, by reading about spiritual anxieties, and compunctious visitings of conscience, the moral scrupulosity becomes irritated into morbid punctiliousness, the most venial peccadilloes dilate into enormity, our ideas soon learn to copy the march of those with which we become familiarized, and misery of mind is diffused with contagious fatality. Worms that never die, coil, like the snakes of Laocoon, about the patient devotee, break the limbs of his energy, and triumph in the writhings of his woe.

ART. XIV.—*Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford, (afterwards Duchess of Somerset), and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the Years 1738 and 1741.* 3 vols. 12mo.

IF the fashion of publishing, "correspondences" continues much longer in vogue, it may be anticipated to produce

an unfavourable influence on epistolary style: to say nothing about the very questionable delicacy and propriety of ransack-

ing the *escritoires* of deceased persons, with a view to bring before the public eye the private letters which they may have written or received; we cannot but augur that the ease, almost to carelessness, which gives such grace to familiar and confidential correspondence, will soon be exchanged for a stiffness and formality, heartless, uninteresting, and repulsive. Letters, instead of being, as they were formerly, channels of "the soft intercourse from soul to soul," will be rival specimens of composition; every antithesis will be pointed with accuracy, every sentence rounded off and polished with care, in order that at some future period, if unfolded to the world, they may be prepared against the severity of verbal criticism.

In stating this, as not one of the least among many objections which may be urged against violating the confidence which is implied in the interchange of private letters between distant friends, we are nevertheless extremely ready to acknowledge the gratification, and even the instruction, to be derived from reading the letters of some illustrious persons, which have recently been laid before the public. The mask which it may be prudent to assume before the world, is in the hour of retirement thrown aside: in unbosoming to a friend, the great man is careless to conceal his weaknesses, and often in domestic scenes appears that tenderness or heroism in conduct, for which the world, perhaps, would have been ill-disposed to give the individual credit.

The letters which we have just been reading, are written by two ladies of distinguished rank in the court of George the Second: and, strange as it may seem, the warm and virtuous friendship which they long cultivated with each other was conceived within the walls of St. James's. From the brief biographical memoirs which Mr. Bingley (the editor) has prefixed to these volumes, we learn that Frances, countess of Hartford, and afterwards duchess of Somerset, was the eldest of the two daughters and co-heirs of the hon. Henry Thynne. She was married about the year 1713 to Algernon lord Hartford, eldest son of Charles, then duke of Somerset: not long after this period she became one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to Caroline, queen of George the Second, then princess of Wales. She continued in this office till the death of the queen, in 1737; when both she and the countess of Pomfret, also of the bed-chamber, retired from the bustle and jea-

lousies of the court to enjoy the more tranquil pleasures of domestic life. Lady Hartford was personally acquainted with some of the first literary characters of her age, and is well known for her successful interference in favour of the unfortunate Savage against the diabolical machinations of that monster of a mother, the countess of Macclesfield; of that wretch, to use the words of Dr. Johnson, who had without scruple proclaimed herself an adulteress, and who had first endeavoured to starve her son, then to transport him, and afterwards to hang him. Savage had perished on the scaffold by the evidence of a bawd, a strumpet, and his MOTHER, had it not been for the compassionate interposition of the countess of Hartford.

In the death of her son, George Seymour, viscount Beauchamp, who was taken off by the small-pox at Bologne, on the evening of his twentieth birth-day, Lady Hartford suffered very severely, and still more so when she lost her husband in 1750. From this period she lived almost wholly secluded from the fashionable world at her seat of Percy Lodge, near Colnbrooke. Here this amiable and accomplished lady closed her life, July 1754. Henrietta Louisa, countess of Pomfret, was the only surviving child of John lord Jefferys, of Wem, and lady Charlotte Herbert, daughter of Philip, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. Her grandfather was that Jeffreys of inhuman notoriety, who lived to disgrace two reigns. She married, in 1730, Thomas Fermor, lord Lempster, who in the subsequent year was created earl of Pomfret. Soon after the death of the queen, lord Pomfret and his family left England to reside on the continent: the letters which are now before us passed between these illustrious ladies during the interval of lady Pomfret's absence from her country and connections. The first of the collection is dated Monts, near Paris, in the beginning of September 1738, where the family continued some months, whence they proceeded to Sienna in Italy. Here they remained about half a year, and then went to Florence, where they inhabited, during a twelvemonth, the Palazzo Ridolfi, once the residence of Bianca Capello. They afterwards proceeded to Rome, where they continued a few months, and returned to England in October 1741. Lord Pomfret died in 1753. A part of the Arundelian marbles having been purchased by his lordship's father, sir William Fermor, it was given by lady Pomfret, in the year 1758, to the

university of Oxford. Her ladyship died in 1761, leaving four sons and six daughters.

From specimens of the correspondence between these distinguished personages which we shall lay before our readers, we are disposed to believe they will join us in opinion, that rank was not the only circumstance which separated them from the mass of society; that they were scarcely more elevated by situation than by accomplishment. In the admirable letters of lady Mary Wortley Montague there is, perhaps, less *prattle* than in any other collection which it has been our fortune to peruse: she clearly wrote with a view to distant publication; if she had felt the propensity, therefore, to have indulged it would have been unpardonable. But thrown as she was among a people with whose manners and customs we were at that time but very little acquainted, she had too rapid a succession of novel and striking circumstances continually rising up before her, and attracting her attention, not to have rendered in her own eyes the detail of common chit-chat insufferably rapid. Lady Hartford and lady Pomfret, in all human probability, little thought that the unlaboured letters which they wrote to each other in their hours of leisure and retirement, would ever have been submitted to the profane eyes of a reviewer: there is a good deal of prattle in them, but it is the agreeable prattle of women of fashion and sense. Retired from the intrigues and jealousies of a court, these ladies had learned to despise them: tales of scandal were no music for their ear, and they took more pleasure in the discovery of a virtue than in the detection of a weakness.

The topics touched upon in these letters are various: the countess of Hartford describes the route and the objects which engage her attention; anecdotes are occasionally related on both sides; pieces of poetry are interspersed, and criticisms on works of art and imagination. These ladies were in the habit of sending to each other their remarks on books which they had respectively read: they oftentimes evince an acuteness of discrimination and correctness of taste. The countess of Hartford's well-merited eulogy on Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa*, calls forth a censure from the correspondent on dramatists of that day, which those of our time may profit by:

"I am very sorry that so rare a thing as a good play in these days should meet with

any discouragement, or indeed depend on such a creature's will as Mr. Fleetwood. This is certainly the most perfect kind of entertainment, when well performed, that ever was contrived: the fancy is amused, the manners are informed, and the mind is instructed, at the same time; and, by an agreeable conceit, we are brought into the company of those persons, the reading of whose lives and actions had before excited our admiration or disdain, our love or anger, and most commonly our curiosity to know more of them than the book could tell us. Brooke's choosing his hero out of modern history, is, in my mind, no small recommendation of his performance; since besides that the ancients afford no story that is not, by often telling, grown tiresome, the world has been so changed by the extirpation of the pagan theology, and the introduction of the Gothic government (from which all the modern nations derive theirs), that we are rendered almost another species; and doubtless the customs, actions, and fortunes, that most resemble our own, must be the most interesting to us. On this account it is that I have often wondered why so many of our English heroes should be forgotten, when we have had such a number of English poets capable of doing justice to their memories; for, except Shakespear, I know of none that deserve that title who have attempted any part of our history, subsequent to the Conquest, which he left untouched; and surely there is ample field in the period before his plays commence. What instance of conjugal love can exceed that of Edward the First and his queen? What bravery, that of *Cœur de Lion*? What policy and wisdom, that of John of Gaunt in Spain? And what politeness, love, courage, honour, and filial affection, that of the Black Prince? besides innumerable other subjects full of entertaining incidents, and various turns of fate. And I cannot help being out of patience with Mr. Dryden, who, next to Shakespear, pleases me best, to see him hunt the extremest corners of the earth for his heroes; and though neither the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, Europe, nor America are excluded his notice, yet he has not bestowed one scene on England, except his opera of King Arthur, whose story is almost as fabulous as the spirits he has raised to adorn it. Mr. Rowe is indeed an exception to what I at first said, well meriting the name of both a poet and an Englishman."

"*A-propos* of *Gustavus*," says lady Hartford in reply to this letter: "I must tell you a particular of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, which I had from sir William Wyndham, and which I think is not mentioned in any of the accounts of his life. He dreamed one night that he was upon a large plain, about the middle of which there was an extremely high hill, of a round form—its ascent prodigiously difficult; being almost perpendicular; and at the top of it was a rock *escarpée* of great

height. Whilst he was looking upon this, he saw a man climbing up it, whom he knew to be Gustavus Vasa: this person got to the top of the hill, but then disappeared, without getting upon the rock. He then saw a second man, who not only climbed up the hill, but got a little way upon the rock; when his foot slipped and he fell to the bottom: the king went nearer, and found him to be Charles Vasa; a third person came, and got up the hill, and very near to the top of the rock; but he likewise, missing his foot, fell down: the king knew this to be Gustavus Adolphus. Surprised at the ill success of these three heroes, he resolved to try whether he could not himself have better fortune. He accordingly attempted it, and not only climbed up the hill, but to the very summit of the rock, where he planted the standard of Sweden.

"I own that this sounds very like a vision invented *à plaisir*; but sir William Wyndham assures me that he was told it by a person whom he knew very well, and who was a very unlikely man to contrive such a fiction: this person says that Charles constantly affirmed it."

Running through these volumes with a rapidity which is natural where a lively interest is excited, we had noted down with our pencil a list of the passages to have extracted for the amusement of our readers: on referring to them we find a difficulty in making the selection. The merit lies occasionally in the sentiment, occasionally in the language: oftentimes in the indication of those amiable affections and domestic virtues which each of those ladies cultivated with peculiar care. As compositions these letters may not bear a comparison with those of lady Mary Wortley Montague: we admire the vivacity and wit of that lady, whilst succeeding travellers have borne testimony of the fidelity of the narration, and the accuracy of her descriptions. But she does not attach us to her by the fine feelings of the heart: she is cold, contemptuous, and sarcastic: here the affections are engaged, and we love the individual when we read the effusions of warm personal friendship and general benevolence. Such passages as the following, if we mistake not, evince good feeling as well as good sense: after describing some alterations about his grounds, which lord Hartford had been making, lady Hartford says:

"Now, if you laugh at me for endeavouring to entertain you with the trifling beauties that please me, whilst you are surrounded with all the magnificence of Italy, I shall not feel myself inclined to be at all affronted, whilst I am convinced that you would have

a sincere concern for any misfortune that might befall me, and be grieved if you thought me capable of a guilty action. This is a style of thinking that the great ladies with whom you and I have been acquainted, do not always enter into; but no matter:—as you very justly observe, their good-natured representations cannot alter the real state of things; and there is an intrinsic value in home-felt peace, from a sense of having acted rightly, that all the grandeur and pomp upon earth cannot boast."

Lady Hartford, in one of her letters dated in the autumn, says:

"The weather has confined me a good deal to my bow-window, since I came hither: but our environs have not yet lost their beauty; and though they have laid aside the gay colours which adorned them in the spring, they retain great charms for me in the sober array of the present season; which perhaps is agreeable, from its being more nearly allied to my own time of life: and which seems, in all the progress of its decline, to represent what I feel within myself."

In reply to this letter, lady Pomfret says:

"How charming is kindness from those we love—and love for such qualities as lady Hartford possesses! You have not only the goodness to think of me at this terrible distance (for I confess I feel it so every day more and more), but you have the charity too, to let me know, how happy my idea is, in attending you in your state at Marlborough, your retreat at Windsor, and your masquerade in London; for there (at least, at one place there) some sort of mask is absolutely necessary for every one. Those who, like you, have no faults to hide, must hide their virtues; that they may pursue their own way in peace, and, after a gay spring, enjoy the serenity of that autumn which you say best pleases you. Indeed it is the time of fruits and harvest: May delights the eye, but August brings us nourishment; youth pursues happiness, but it is our riper age that enjoys it. When truth, by experience, has unveiled the mysteries that ignorance and passion made, then all our little piques and emulations are no more: we see virtue, and we love it; we are enabled by observation to make reflexions, and from reflexion know the value of a faithful friend. Such are you, and such I hope always to appear to you."

The first series of letters from lady Pomfret is dated Monts: in her way to Sienna she passed a fortnight at Genoa: the following story is related, which will have interest to many of our readers.

"Amongst the maids of honour attending

the electress, sister to the last grand-duke of the house of Medici, there was one named Teresa Giacomini. This lady, though not handsome, engaged the affections of a youth whose merit and quality were not equalled by his fortune; being a younger brother and page of honour in the same court. As the maids of honour abroad are on a different footing from ours in England; and are rather a mixture of lady of the bedchamber and bedchamber-woman together, the princesses they serve live in a sort of familiarity with them. This gave the electress an opportunity of observing the inclinations of the two young persons; and, not approving of them, she sent the young man from court. After he was gone, though many considerable offers were made to her, the lady would never hear of matrimony; but, in opposition to all the entreaties and tears of her relations, who doted on her, she resolved to retire into a convent. Three years passed in this contest; and the electress, with whom she was a favourite, began to imagine that her wish to take the veil would wear out: this piqued her to such a degree, that, having at last obtained, or rather extorted, her mother's consent, she would not wait for a vacancy in the convents of Florence, but went to Genoa, to be professed there, and she arrived some few days before me. As she was recommended to a particular friend of la signora Brignola, my protectress, we always met at the same *conversations*; where she played at cards, and seemed as well diverted as any person present. After a week of these amusements, which is the custom before a nun takes the habit, the day for her receiving it was fixed. All the company she had been amongst went to see the ceremony, except my friend Duzzi; who told me, that if she was not very much mistaken in me, I had better not make me in the party: my daughters, however, wished to be present, and I attended them. She was richly dressed; much in the manner that we dress at the royal weddings, but with gold and colours: and entered the church with a cheerful and assured look, though so disordered within, as to tremble from head to foot. This she strove to hide, asking leave of every one with as much resolution and grace, as if she thought the electress was looking on; and surely she hoped it would be reported to her. When the mass was over, we all conducted her to the door of the cloister: where, turning round, she returned us thanks, and added, *Adio, a rivederle in Paradiso*;" then, entering the door, was encompassed by creatures all covered with black veils, each holding a lighted taper: the door then shut her in for ever. I own to you that my resolution was much weaker than hers; and, though he was an entire stranger to me, I could not bear shedding some tears at her unhappy, remediable mistake—that retirement and thought would banish from her heart a passion that is often produced, and always fed,

by them: indeed all the disorders of the mind are more effectually dispersed, or laid asleep, by motion and variety, than by solitude and meditation; for whenever pleasing thoughts are wanting, unpleasing ones will always introduce themselves. But to finish my story:—the order to which she belongs is so strict, that henceforth she can be seen by nobody, except three times a year: she is not permitted to eat meat, nor to wear either linen or shoes. Her new dress, meeting with a body of strength unequal to her mind, drew some involuntary tears, when she felt the pain of the hair-cloth; yet, far from being intimidated, she immediately turned to the company, and said that she did not doubt that in a day or two she should be sufficiently used to it, no longer to feel the pain: and that she already found herself perfectly happy in such good company; although she did not know one of them, even by name, before she came to Genoa, nor had she so much as seen the convent before she was received into it. I cannot conclude this history, long as it is, without informing you, that the absent cause of this sacrifice was thrown into the utmost despair at hearing of it; and he immediately resolved to follow the example, and become himself a friar."

At Sienna the accommodations were not so good or so agreeable as was expected, and lady Hartford proceeded to Florence, where materials rich and abundant presented themselves for a series of interesting letters: we are better acquainted with the treasures of the Florentine gallery now than at the time these letters were written: nor shall we transcribe the description of palaces, cathedrals, convents, or other public buildings. A few sketches of manners and amusements may have more novelty in them. What would the gentlemen of Newmarket say to a Florentine horse-race?

"This amusement is performed in a very different manner here from what it is in England. Our English races are in the country; those of Florence, in the city. Our horses are ridden by men practised to the exercise; whilst, on the contrary, the Florentine horses have no riders at all. They are let loose all at once, from a certain stand, with little tin bells hanging at their sides (by strings thrown across their backs) to prick them, and make a noise. They run in affright through a great part of the town; which is on that occasion so full of people, that it is impossible for the poor beasts to run out of their course, even if they wished it. The prize is, a great quantity of gold brocade and velvet, given by the great-duke. And these *pallios*, as they are called, were instituted for an annual amusement, in memory of some great victory or civil success of the state. The present prince always takes

care to win his own prizes; so that *the sight* is all the benefit his people reap from what (in form only) he maintains of the magnificence of his predecessors. This year he has taken away even that, in regard to one instituted in remembrance of the Florentines' conquest of Sienna. Before the race begins, all the company drive in full dress, in their carriages, up and down the streets destined for it. This part of the city is called the Corso."

From Rome we have a variety of lively descriptions: from her high rank, lady Pomfret had the opportunity of seeing every thing in the most favourable manner; her curiosity was always on the alert, and she describes what she saw whilst the impression on her mind was warm and vivid.

"After I had sealed my letter to your ladyship, I was conducted by the signora Cenci through the streets for near three miles. All the way we went, wherever there happened to be *pizzicaroli* shops (that is, where hams, tongues, and other salted meats, are sold) they were set out with greens, flowers, and paintings of landscapes in perspective, one room behind another, and little glass lamps burning in every part. They made the prettiest scene imaginable, and recalled Vauxhall to my memory; which seemed to have been cut in pieces and sent here. This ceremony is to welcome in Easter, when the trade begins to be again flourishing. I was told that the confectioners do the same by their shops at Christmas. The place we went to see was la Trinita del Pelegrini—a community first settled in the time of pope Julius the Third. They have a cardinal protector, a prelate, a guardian, and a numerous brotherhood of all degrees, out of whom are deputed the upper officers. These are most of them noble, and, as well as the other, wear a red glazed linen frock over their clothes, and a white short apron tied about their waists, when they are performing any part of their duty in the house, or when they attend processions. For the latter, every one receives a sixpence, and a wax-torch of four pounds weight. All this goes to their public expence; but they have, besides, great fixed revenues, and almost daily donations that are left or given to them. Here are received, the whole year round, all pilgrims who can bring a patent from the bishop of their diocese, or the pope's nuncio, to certify that devotion is the occasion of their journey, and that forty miles is the shortest distance they have come. When we arrived, a person in the dress I before described, attended by two others that held torches, gave me his hand to get out of the coach; and I, not then knowing that the nobility for mortification occasionally exercised these employments in person, was surprised to find it the husband of the lady who brought me. She overlooked, for that even-

ing, the apartment of the women, where we were first conducted. We entered a very large room, with long tables on each side, which this night was to entertain two hundred and sixty; for always in Passion-week the number is greatest. The manner in which they are served is this:—a sallad is placed in the middle, round which are five other dishes well filled, and prettily garnished; and next to these, four white jugs, with as many white bowls to drink out of, that cover them; then the sallad and five dishes again, and then other white jugs; and so alternately, from one end of the table to the other. Benches are placed on each side: and there are four people to each mess; each having, also, a plate of soup and a wooden spoon. All they leave is their own; and they are entertained three nights (but no more) with supper and lodging. When we entered, the room was full of people well dressed, that, by way of penance, came to wait on these poor beggars, who all attended in an adjoining room till their meal was in order. I looked in; but cannot describe the dirt, the noise, and oddness of the crew, that had arrived from all parts of the known world. When they were placed, the prelate (in the same red frock) gave the benediction, and they began to eat heartily. As I went down the room, one of their attendants, who waited with great diligence (as they all did), stole so much time from her office as to turn about and tell me that she intended, as soon as this week of devotion was over, to make me a visit. I was so much amazed, that I did not know what to answer, when the signora Cenci whispered me, that it was the duchess St. Martino, and added (smiling), "This is nothing: we all come by turns: and wash their feet on other nights; but, as they have made a procession to-day to St. Peter's, there is not time." I said, "I hoped their feet were washed by themselves first?" "No, indeed," (said she): "last night I am sure they were not, for I performed that office myself." The place where they sleep is a long room, and wide enough to admit of two beds on each side, one at the foot of the other; through all these I walked, to the bottom, where is an altar, and upon it a crucifix, for their devotions. Two people lie in each bed, and they have clean sheets twice a-week. Having seen this, we went next to the men's apartment (but I must not forget to tell you, that men are only permitted to see the men, and women, the women; unless by a particular order), which is much larger and more handsome; they have two rooms to eat in, and two to sleep in. The crowd of pilgrims and others that came to see them was so offensive to my nose, that I could with great difficulty support the walking through them, to see the place where they wash their feet. It is a square room, with raised benches on all sides, and lower benches under for their feet to rest on; with little tubs, and two cocks of water, one hot and the other cold, to each

person. To my great comfort, there was a door to get to our coaches without returning again, to the seven hundred and sixty pilgrims; for that number was feasted to-night, besides the ladies I saw above. The order, the plenty, the cleanness, and I may say elegance, in which they are served, is prodigious."

This delicate ceremony of washing the feet, it is unnecessary to say, is a hypocritical and offensive affectation of the real humility of our Saviour when he washed the feet of his apostles. Lady Pomfret describes the ceremony of the pope's washing the feet of thirteen pilgrims at the church of St. Peter's: at the upper end of the room was a throne erected for his holiness, who was brought there in an open chair in all his robes. 'Of these he divests himself in the sight of the people; and having taken off his triple crown, descends in a white linen vestment, attended by the prelates, who carry what is necessary for the office he is about to perform. On one side are seated the thirteen pilgrims, dressed in close woollen habits, with square

caps of the same: their feet rest on another raised bench, between which and the rail, covered with scarlet cloth, there is room for the pope and his attendants to pass. One of the latter carries a silver gilt vessel of water, in which the pope puts the pilgrim's feet, one by one: then takes a towel from another of his prelates, wipes them, kisses them, and having received a palm from a third, gives it into the hand of the poor priest, in sign of peace, and passes on to the next.

Since these letters were written, the public has had too many tours on the continent, and too many descriptions of the various works of art, ancient and modern, which Italy once contained, to make it allowable for us still farther to extend this article by extracts. Lady Pomfret's descriptions have all the appearance of accuracy: her remarks are sagacious and acute when men, manners, and superstitions, are the subject of them, and denote a cultivated taste when applied to works of genius and art.

ART. XV.—*Letters between the Rev. James Granger, M. A. Rector of Shiplake, and "many of the most eminent literary Men of his Time: composing a copious History and Illustration of the Biographical History of England, with Miscellanies and Notes of Tours in France, Holland, and Spain."* By the same Gentleman. Edited by J. P. MALCOLM. 8vo. pp. 534.

WHEN men who have filled the more important stations of life leave a character behind them either for abilities or eminence, the posthumous publication of their letters may be useful. Under other circumstances the utility of such a publication may be fairly questioned.

Mr. Granger wrote a 'Biographical History of England:' and his friends, and such among the literati of his day as were inclined to encourage him in the prosecution of it, transmitted scraps of intelligence. Some answered frivolous inquiries, and others were so kind as to correct mistakes for him when the work appeared. Of such materials the volume now before us is composed. A large portion of it is occupied by the letters of Mr. Thomas Davies, his bookseller, of which, scarce any one appears to have been worthy preservation. The subjects of them are of a nature both private and uninteresting. One blames him for not correcting sheets on a Sunday; two or three more invite him to dinner; another raises the purchase-money of the work; and a sixth gives bishop Warburton's opinion of it. Others are about its sale, the chance of a second edition, or the

support or discouragement the work had met with. Surely these are not ingredients for literary history. But there is one sentence which may perhaps be worth recording. Mr. Granger, it seems, in 1776 had published a single sermon, on which occasion his bookseller writes thus to him: 'If you think proper, we can cancel the title-pages of the third edition, and print new ones, and call it the fourth: and so add your advertisement, of which I greatly approve.'

At p. 78 we have the following anecdote of Mr. Granger:

"It appears from many circumstances, that Mr. Granger was very anxious to obtain a living within a tenable distance of Shiplake, and not under the annual value of 200*l*. One of his friends, in 1775, sent him a list of 64 of the bishop of Winchester's preferments, with their value in the king's books, and the names of the then incumbents; and hopes that some or other of them may come into his possession, through the influence of his noble patron with the bishop; though he expresses a doubt of his success if he retained Shiplake. Long lists of the chancellor's gifts, and memoranda, to enquire the names and ages of the incumbents, and a 'querre if any living (not less than 200*l*. a year) within—

miles of Reading or Henley, and in the gift of the crown, be like to be vacant soon, by the removal or age of the incumbent; are proofs of a strong desire to succeed in this pursuit."

In a subsequent page is one of Dr. Johnson's letters. There are others from Messrs. Thomas Warton, Mason, and Pennant, of as little consequence: and thirty-one pages in another part of the work are occupied by a number of bishop Burnet's letters, because bishop Burnet was connected with the family of one of Mr. Granger's correspondents.

The two most curious letters in the collection, we believe, are Mr. Penn's (p. 116) about protector Somerset, and the short one of Horace Walpole on Mr. Granger's death. A part of the former we transcribe.

"I have been lately looking into all such of our histories of England, and lives of great men, as I could procure, to see what character, upon the whole view of them, might fairly be affixed to protector Somerset. The result is, I do not think they have done him justice; most indeed allow him many good qualities, but there comes a counterbalance of various charges of extravagance and mal-administration, warranted indeed by the accusations of his enemies, but I believe little deserved by the duke.

"Thereason I undertook the search was this: looking over some old and thrown-aside writings, I found a roll, which upon examination proved to be the duke of Somerset's cofferer's account of all moneys by him received and disbursed to the said duke's use, from April 1, 1548, 2 Ed. VI. to Oct. 7, 1551, 5 Ed. VI. The length of that part of the roll which relates to the receipts is about eight feet and a half; of that which contains the disbursements 32 feet; the whole length 31 feet and a half; breadth one foot four inches.

"I am thus particular, to shew you how much it contains; it is written in a fair law-hand, and was drawn up by an order, dated Au. 5, 1552, 'from Richard Sackville, knight, chancellor of the court of the augmentations and revenues of his highnes Crowne, and sir Walter Mildmaye, kn. one of the general surveyors of the said court.' It is examined and signed by both of them.

"It contains numberless curious particulars, from which many striking traits of his grace's character might, by an ingenious pen, be in some measure truly delineated; to give you an abstract of it, is impossible: I will give you the sums total, and would if I could do more, as I know you are fond of such private histories.

Within the time of the account (three years and a half) were received - - -	£. s. d. 50,728 9 7½
Within the same time were dis- bursed - - -	50,911 13 3½
Due to the said cofferer	189 10 7½
With many other articles which cost - - -	734 17 0½
	£ 924 7 8

"This sum at the date of the account, May 18, 1553, 7 Ed. VI. was due to the said cofferer, for which he, and afterwards his widow, petitioned queen Mary for the payment, but I believe without success.

"The heads of the disbursements are these which follow:

" Household charges of all kinds - - -	£. s. d. 18,611 6 4
" Apparel, liveries, wages, fees, annuities, alms, rewards, &c. - - -	10,063 0 0½
" Works, buildings, and repa- rations - - -	17,179 2 1
" Moneys delivered to divers persons, &c. - - -	5,058 4 10½
	£ 50,911 13 3½

"Amongst the accounts of buildings, Somerset-house is very particularly mentioned; there is the expence of every article; the whole cost 10,091l. 9s. 2d. but was not completed at the duke's death; had it been so, more artists' names might probably have been added to Mr. Walpole's catalogue.

"Thomas Magnus, prebendary (afterwards I suppose the great doctor), was retained by the duke in 1548, at an annuity of 15l. 11s. 2d. as his chaplain. I believe two other clerks are mentioned the next year at larger salaries.

"There was expended on Syon-house, within the time of the above account, 5,516l. 18s. 10d.

"I beg you would never delay a letter for want of a frank; the oftener I have postage to pay, the greater the pleasure to you very obliged, &c.

"JOHN PENN."

Mr. Walpole's was the following.

"Arlington-street, April 16, 1776.

"You will be concerned, my good sir, for what I have this minute heard from his nephew, that poor Mr. Granger was seized at the communion-table on Sunday with an apoplexy, and died yesterday morning at five.

"I have answered the letter, with a word of advice about his MSS. that they may not fall into the hands of booksellers. He had

been told by idle people so many *gossiping stories*, that it would hurt him and living persons, if *all* his collections were to be printed; for, as he was incapable of telling an untruth himself, he suspected nobody else; too great goodness in a biographer!

"Yours, &c.

"HORACE WALPOLE."

The correspondence relating to the "history," ends with p. 420. It is followed by some letters upon other subjects, and afterwards by miscellanies, some of which are believed not to have been the produce of Mr. Granger's pen.

The notes of tours are meagre. The best are perhaps those which relate to the journey from Bayonne toward Madrid.

"July the 9th, we left Bayonne, and entered upon our journey towards Madrid; having sent two of our men before with the chaise towards Pampluna. Two or three leagues from Bayonne, we began to mount the Pyrenees; we travelled about ten or twelve leagues the first day, and came to a very good French inn at night, where we found our men which we had sent before. We had a French woman in company with us, who was eternally gay, and seemed to outdo the gaiety even of the French themselves. She was the same after the most fatiguing day's journey, and even without resting at night. Though she rose by three, four, and five in the morning, or without having rested the whole night, she had the same spirits remaining. She was an instance of the freedom of the French women's behaviour, which had no reserve, no restraint from modesty; but she seemed to make it a maxim to say whatever she thought, and do whatever her inclination prompted her to.

"On our second day's journey, Mr. Boyle and I mounted the chaise, which had two more wheels put on at a distance from those behind, to break the jolts, and keep it from overturning. It was drawn by six oxen, which go slow and sure over those steep mountains, and had three men to drive it; and those dreadful ways require both skill and care in the drivers. We took some bread and wine, by way of breakfast, at a little house in the Pyrenees, where the queen of Spain lodged in the year 39, as we were informed by an inscription over the door. The inn we came to this night was altogether in the Spanish way; we entered into our chamber through the Spanish, which leads likewise to the kitchen, &c. It was so cold here (as it is almost all the year in the Pyrenees) that we were forced to have a fire made, though in the month of June.

"I should have remarked before, that we entered on the Spanish territories this day, which have nothing remarkable by way of boundary but a small fountain. Just by they shewed us a little rising ground, where the

dauphin of France was married to the Infanta in a tent erected for that purpose. The Pyrenees, with all their frightful precipices, have greater beauties in them than I saw besides in France and Madrid. They are covered with a fine verdure, are full of trees, have several corn-fields on the sides of them; and the valleys are interspersed with pretty villages, which, together with the distant prospect of the mountains appearing one above another, made a charming romantic scene.

"I happened once to fall asleep in the chaise in passing over the mountains; and waking all on a sudden where the road was very narrow, on the brink of the highest precipice I saw on those mountains, I looked down on the valley beneath, which seemed at least half a mile distant from the top, and immediately conceived such a horror as I never knew before; for, being so near the edge of a precipice, though in no danger of falling, it immediately raises the idea of it.

"The third day at night we came to Pampluna, which is the first town in the Spanish dominions, and the only one worth remarking which we met with on our journey to Madrid: It is pretty well fortified, and looks pretty enough at a distance, but has but little elegance in its streets or houses when you come to examine them. Upon our coming hither, we seemed to be in a new world; the habits, the aspect, the language of the people, being all new to us; and when we came to our inn, the furniture, &c. seemed to be in the fashion of the last century.

"The day we came hither was but two days after a bull-feast; and was on one of the days of the fair, which is kept here for several days after the feast. Here we bought us a case, with a knife, fork, and spoon, which we were informed we should have occasion for on the road; there being no such things to be found in the Spanish inns: and, indeed, if it had not been for the precaution of our muleteer, who took care, where any thing was to be got, to carry a little flesh or fowl with him, we should have wanted even necessary provisions; as we were in several of those houses where they had only a little bread and nasty wine.

"It was odd enough, when we came late into some of our inns, to see the muleteers all lying along asleep, upon the cloths belonging to their mules (as these people never lie in a bed), and the people of the inn running about almost naked to put things in order for us, and perhaps half a dozen people dispatched to several parts of the place, some for provision, others for beds, which in the Spanish inns are mattresses laid upon a bag of straw; though sometimes I have been forced to take up with a blanket thrown over the latter for a bed.

"We met with few things worthy of observation, and as few beauties either natural or artificial as it is possible, I believe, any where again in the whole world to meet with

in going over a tract of land of betwixt two and three hundred miles. A botanist might perhaps have met with amusement, as there are a great many aromatic plants, which grow upon this otherwise barren country, and some olive trees, which at a distance have exactly the appearance of the willow.

"About the middle of our journey we crossed the river Elre, which runs about six

hundred miles in length; and about two after that the Bueros, which runs quite to Portugal."

Upon the whole we agree with Mr. Malcolm, (200) that 'this work is confessedly a thing of shreds and patches, and beyond the art of man to methodize.'

ART. XVI.—*Memoirs of the Life and Achievements of the Right Hon. Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson. By a Captain of the British Navy.* 8vo. pp. 116.

THIS biography was so generally read at the close of the last year, while the death of the individual whom it commemorates, balanced in the public mind the joy diffused by the victory off Trafalgar, that any detailed account is superfluous.

Lord Nelson was born 29th September 1758, at Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk; was sent first to the free school at Norwich, and next to Northwalsham, whence, at the early age of twelve, his uncle, captain Suckling, took him to sea in the *Raisonné*.

He was afterwards intended for the merchant-service, and went away to the West Indies. In 1773 a northerly voyage of discovery was undertaken by captain Phipps: this was a cruise adapted to the ambitious curiosity of the lad Nelson; he offered himself as cockswain to captain Lutwidge, and was suffered to go.

He next obtained a birth in the *Sea-horse*, and sailed in it with a squadron to the East Indies, where his health suffered much. He recovered in his native climate; became second lieutenant of the *Lowestoffe* in 1777, and post-captain in

1779 of the *Hinchinbroke*. He displayed great gallantry in the reduction of fort Juan.

In January 1793 he was appointed to the *Agamemnon* of sixty-four guns, and placed under lord Hood in the Mediterranean. He lost an eye in the successful attack on Corsica.

In February 1797, commodore Nelson joined admiral sir John Jervis, who instantly discerned, and was eager to elevate his merit. Since that period the achievements of lord Nelson have been brilliant and incessant beyond all former precedents of naval greatness. At cape St. Vincent, at Aboukir, at Trafalgar, prodigies were performed which epic poetry cannot embellish. He fell 15th October 1805.

By endowing his family, by employing the best artists about his monument, Great Britain may acquire the honour of being grateful to heroism.

We understand that a more extensive biography has been confided by lord Nelson's representatives to the care of Mr. Harrison.

ART. XVII.—*Memoirs of Richard Cumberland. Written by himself. Containing an Account of his Life and Writings, interspersed with Anecdotes and Characters of several of the most distinguished Persons of his Time, with whom he has had Interchange and Conversation.* 4to. pp. 533.

WHEN a man of long-standing and considerable rank in the republic of letters undertakes to be his own biographer, the public feel some gratitude towards the donor, as well as a lively interest in the present. With respect to the mode in which such communications are best made, whether by deed of gift or by legacy, we shall be content to shelter the authority of our critical tribunal under the sapient and saving remark, that much may be said on both sides. Mr. Cumberland's judgment on this point seems to have been at variance with his practice. He professes to have been of opinion, that he should better have consulted his own fame, by leaving his materials to the

posthumous discretion of his friends. We should hesitate about sacrificing the portrait of the inmost mind, either for the regularity of historic composition, or the warmest colouring of friendly panegyric. But whatever may be the general merits of the question, it was decided in the present case on motives purely personal and closely pressing. On this subject we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The narration sets out with some biographical sketches of the author's ancestors. It is scarcely necessary to inform our readers, that he ranks on the venerable list, bishop Cumberland, who wrote *De Legibus Naturæ*, and the great Dr. Bentley. Could he have continued to

embellish his pedigree with such themes, we would have forgiven him for tracing back his genealogy to the first Olympiad, or the Trojan war.

Our author, in the course of these memoirs, informs us of what it was impossible not to have observed long ago; that in searching out characters for his dramas, it was his constant endeavour to retrieve the credit of those classes, against whom the public prejudice had been longest and most obstinately levelled. An impulse like this seems to have directed him in the choice of his episodes on the present occasion: for he has maintained, apparently on good grounds, the urbanity of Bentley, and the political as well as personal virtues of lord Sackville.

The anecdotes of Bentley will be read with some surprize by those, who, greedily swallowing all sort of personal tittle-tattle about literary men, had formed their opinion of this great scholar from the hostile and envious representations of the wits. To such eaves-droppers of the muses, this rare cornet of the critical sphere is now presented in a fairer and more inviting aspect. The facts, resting as they do on the authority of so near a connection, are scarcely to be doubted in common candour, however repugnant to the general prepossession. Their domestic nature, and sometimes even their puerility, tend rather to corroborate than weaken the inference designed to be drawn from them. But our limits will not allow us to dwell on extraneous matter. We must therefore hasten to the opening of the main subject, with the birth of Richard Cumberland, in the lodge of Trinity-college, Cambridge, on the 19th February, 1732.

Our hero has no sooner landed himself safe in this lying and vain-glorious world, than he greets the reader with strong and voluminous assurances of truth and impartiality. These affidavits are repeated in the progress of the work, till their credit is in danger of being worn out by frequent use. There seems a want of taste in these bald asseverations: neither is there good policy in labouring a point, which was likely to have been conceded as a matter of course. Mr. Cumberland, as a gentleman in every sense of the word, must of necessity be supposed invulnerable on the side of veracity. With respect to the other claim, we feel no hesitation in admitting it, as far as the fallible nature of man, when sitting in judgment on himself, will warrant its assumption.

Meaning rather to whet than satiate

the appetite of the reader, we shall not follow our author through the schools of Bury St. Edmund's and Westminster, though the anecdotes with which his progress is accompanied are amusing, and his remarks useful. We cannot however omit the following passage, describing the manner in which the daughter of Bentley taught the author of the *West Indian* to read Shakespear.

"It was in these intervals from school that my mother began to form both my taste and my ear for poetry, by employing me every evening to read to her, of which art she was a very able mistress. Our readings were with very few exceptions confined to the chosen plays of Shakespear, whom she both admired and understood in the true spirit and sense of the author. Under her instruction I became passionately fond of these our evening entertainments; in the mean time she was attentive to model my recitation, and correct my manner with exact precision. Her comments and illustrations were such aids and instructions to a pupil in poetry, as few could have given. What I could not else have understood she could aptly explain, and what I ought to admire and feel, nobody could more happily select and recommend. I well remember the care she took to mark out for my observation the peculiar excellence of that unrivalled poet in the consistency and preservation of his characters, and wherever instances occurred amongst the starts and sallies of his unfettered fancy of the extravagant and false sublime, her discernment often-times prevented me from being so dazzled by the glitter of the period as to misapply my admiration, and betray my want of taste. With all her father's critical acumen, she could trace and teach me to unravel all the meanders of his metaphor, and point out where it illuminated, or where it only loaded and obscured the meaning; these were happy hours and interesting lectures to me, whilst my beloved father, ever placid and complacent, sat beside us, and took part in our amusement: his voice was never heard but in the tone of approbation; his countenance never marked but with the natural traces of his indelible and hereditary benevolence."

As for the specimens of poetry interspersed through these memoirs, whether juvenile or of a mature age, we shall decline any examination of them for two reasons. First, because the author has himself been before us in the task; and secondly, because we could not with a safe conscience speak better of them than he has done.

At the early age of fourteen, young Cumberland was admitted of Trinity-college, Cambridge. He seems to have been received with those happy omens

which might well await the grandson of Bentley. We shall not follow him through the detail of a college life. He expresses himself in terms of commendable gratitude to his tutors, and with entire confidence in the superiority of public education over private. His strictures deserve attention : but it does not at present come within our province to give an opinion on so difficult and momentous a subject.

Our author had no sooner taken his bachelor's degree, than he began a course of study, preparatory to the examination for fellowships. At this time it was, and apparently with a view to this individual, that the master and seniors rescinded the regulation, by which all but the bachelors of the third year were excluded. At the same period he had an invitation from lord Halifax, to be his confidential secretary. This occurrence fixed the colour of his future life. Instead of pursuing the line chalked out by the destinies of his ancestors, he now became a subaltern in the ranks of politics and diplomacy. The change seems neither to have been agreeable to his inclinations, nor beneficial to his interests.

Lord Halifax's character is prominent through a great part of these memoirs. It is well drawn, though with an air of mystery, affecting to suppress more than it reveals.

Mr. Cumberland's new appointment did not prevent him from attending the college-examination, which he passed, to his own credit and the satisfaction of the seniors. He and master Orde were the first fellows of Trinity elected in their second year.

While attending his patron in the metropolis, our author became acquainted with the celebrated Mr. Dodington. He has added some entertaining anecdotes of that gentleman, to what are already in circulation. The merits of his character seem on the whole to be fairly and ably adjudged.

Our author's first legitimate drama was the *Banishment of Cicero*. It was probably inspired by his late residence in that mansion, where, to use his own words, "the muse of Young had dictated his tragedy of the *Revenge*, and which the genius of Voltaire had honoured with a visit: here Glover had courted inspiration, and Thomson caught it." He is aware that the subject was not happy, and candidly admits the faults of the execution.

In the year 1759, Mr. Cumberland,

having previously obtained the office of crown-agent for the province of Nova Scotia, married his cousin, miss Ridge. In consequence of this event, he vacated the lay-fellowship, to which the society of Trinity had not long before elected him.

On lord Halifax's appointment as lieutenant of Ireland, our author accompanied him on the establishment. This seems to have been almost the only unclouded interval of his political life. His conduct was at once clean-handed with respect to himself, and kind to others: for without improving his own private fortune, he occasioned several of his relations to be promoted in their respective professions, and his father to be elevated to an Irish mitre. The picture of society in Dublin is interesting; and the anecdotes of George Faulkner humorous.

The manner in which the connection with lord Halifax was dissolved, and our author degraded to a clerkship at the board of trade, forcibly exhibits the precarious tenure of court-friendships. This office was, however, so far favourable, as it allowed him leisure for addressing himself to other studies, and becoming an approved writer. We shall not trace him through the long list of his dramatic labours, most of which have long since passed the ordeal of criticism. His first production was an opera, called the *Summer's Tale*; and his first comedy the *Brothers*. To the elegant and unexpected compliment in the epilogue, he was indebted for his acquaintance with "the immortal actor," whose early prejudices had not been in his favour.

The first performance of the *West Indian* was the decisive era in our author's dramatic life. We therefore give the circumstances which attended it in his own words.

"The production of a new play was in those days an event of much greater attraction than from its frequency it is now become, so that the house was taken to the back rows of the front boxes for several nights in succession before that of its representation; yet in this interval I offered to give its produce to Garrick for a picture, that hung over his chimney-piece in Southampton-street, and was only a copy from a *Holy Family of Andrea del Sarto*: he would have closed with me upon the bargain, but that the picture had been a present to him from lord Baltimore. My expectations did not run very high when I made this offer.

"A rumour had gone about, that the character, which gave its title to the comedy,

was satirical; of course the gentlemen, who came under that description, went down to the theatre in great strength, very naturally disposed to chastise the author for his malignity, and their phalanx was not a little formidable. Mrs. Cumberland and I sat with Mr. and Mrs. Garrick in their private box. When the prologue-speaker had gone the length of the four first lines the tumult was excessive, and the interruption held so long, that it seemed doubtful if the prologue would be suffered to proceed. Garrick was much agitated; he observed to me that the appearance of the house, particularly in the pit, was more hostile than he had ever seen it. It so happened that I did not at that moment feel the danger, which he seemed to apprehend, and remarked to him that the very first word, which discovered Belcour's character to be friendly, would turn the clamour for us, and so far I regarded the impetuosity of the audience as a symptom in our favour. Whilst this was passing between us, order was loudly issued for the prologue to begin again, and in the delivery of a few lines more than they had already heard they seemed reconciled to wait the development of a character, from which they were told to expect—

'Some emanations of a noble mind.'

"Their acquiescence however was not set off with much applause; it was a suspicious truce, a sullen kind of civility, that did not promise more favour than we could earn; but when the prologue came to touch upon the major, and told his countrymen in the galleries, that

— 'His heart can never trip—'

they, honest souls, who had hitherto been treated with little else but stage kicks and cuffs for their entertainment, sent up such a hearty crack, as plainly told us we had not indeed little cherubs, but lusty champions, who sat up aloft.

"Of the subsequent success of this lucky comedy there is no occasion for me to speak; eight-and-twenty successive nights it went without the buttress of an afterpiece, which was not then the practice of attaching to a new play. Such was the good fortune of an author, who happened to strike upon a popular and taking plan, for certainly the moral of *The West Indian* is not quite unexceptionable, neither is the dialogue above the level of others of the same author, which have been much less favoured. The snarlers snapped at it, but they never set their teeth into the right place; I don't think I am very vain when I say that I could have taught them better. Garrick was extremely kind, and threw his shield before me more than once, as the *St. James's* evening paper could have witnessed. My property in the piece was reserved for me with the greatest exactness; no charge of the house upon the author's rights was then only sixty pounds, and when

Mr. Evans the treasurer came to my house, in Queen-Ann-street in a hackney coach with a huge bag of money, he spread it all in gold upon my table, and seemed to contemplate it with a kind of ecstasy, that was extremely droll; and when I tendered him his customary fee, he peremptorily refused it, saying he had never paid an author so much before, I had fairly earned it, and he would not lessen it a single shilling, not even his coach-hire, and in that humour he departed. He had no sooner left the room than one entered it, who was not quite so scrupulous, but quite as welcome; my beloved wife took twenty guineas from the heap, and instantly bestowed them on the faithful servant, who had attended on our children; a tribute justly due to her unwearied diligence and exemplary conduct.

"I sold the copy-right to Griffin in Catherine-street for 150*l.* and if he told the truth when he boasted of having vended 12,000 copies, he did not make a bad bargain; and if he made a good one, which it is pretty clear he did, it is not quite so clear that he deserved it: he was a sorry fellow.

"I paid respectful attention to all the floating criticisms that came within my reach, but I found no opportunities of profiting by their remarks, and very little cause to complain of their personalities; in short I had more praise than I merited, and less cavilling than I expected. One morning when I called upon Mr. Garrick I found him with the *St. James's* evening paper in his hand, which he began to read with a voice and action of surprise, most admirably counterfeited, as if he had discovered a mine under my feet, and a train to blow me up to destruction—'Here, here,' he cried, 'if your skin is less thick than a rhinoceros's hide, egad, here is that will cut you to the bone. 'This is a terrible fellow; I wonder who it can be.'—He began to sing out his libel in a high declamatory tone, with a most comic countenance, and pausing at the end of the first sentence, which seemed to favour his contrivance for a little ingenious tormenting, when he found he had hooked me, he laid down the paper, and began to comment upon the cruelty of newspapers, and moan over me with a great deal of malicious fun and good humour—'Confound these fellows, they spare nobody. I dare say this is Bickerstaff again; but you don't mind him: no, no, I see you don't mind him! a little galled, but not much hurt: you may stop his mouth with a golden gag, but we'll see how he gets on.'—He then resumed his reading, cheering me all the way as it began to soften, till winding up in the most protest panegyric, of which he was himself the writer, I found my friend had had his joke, and I had enjoyed his praise, seasoned and set off, in his inimitable manner, which to be comprehended must have been seen.

"It was the remark of lord Lyttelton upon this comedy, when speaking of it to me one evening at Mrs. Montagu's, that had it not

been for the incident of O'Flaherty's hiding himself behind the screen, when he overhears the lawyer's soliloquy, he should have pronounced it a faultless composition. This flattery his lordship surely added against the conviction of his better judgment merely as a sweetener to qualify his criticism, and by so doing convinced me that he suspected me of being less amenable to fair correction than I really am and ever have been. But be this as it may, a criticism from lord Lyttelton must always be worth recording, and this especially, as it not only applies to my comedy in particular, but is general to all.

"I consider *listening*," said he, "as a resource never to be allowed in any pure drama, nor ought any good author to make use of it." This position being laid down by authority so high, and audibly delivered, drew the attention of the company assembled for conversation, and all were silent. "It is in fact," he added, "a violation of those rules, which original authorities have established for the constitution of the comic drama." After all due acknowledgments for the favour of his remark, I replied that if I had trespassed against any rule laid down by classical authority in the case alluded to, I had done it inadvertently, for I really did not know where any such rule was to be found."

The story of the reverend Decimus Reynolds is highly creditable to Mr. Cumberland: but being of considerable length, and merely personal, our limits compel us to do violence to our inclinations in passing it over.

Our author's next comedy was the *Fashionable Lover*. He prefers it in point of composition to the *West Indian*; and we feel flattered by this coincidence with our previous opinion. We have always thought the *Fashionable Lover* a nearly perfect specimen of genteel comedy. There is no lucky hit in respect to novelty, as in the character of Belcour; but it is "a drama of a moral, grave, and tender cast, with sentiments laudably directed against national prejudice, breach of trust, seduction, gaming, and general dissipation." This play may probably be revived, at the revival of dramatic taste. It was however very severely handled by the diurnal critics of that period, who practised so grievously on the author's sensibility, that Garrick was induced to call him the man without a skin. On this circumstance we find the following remark:

"There was a filthy nest of vipers at that time in league against every name, to which any degree of celebrity was attached. They were well known, and I am sorry to say some mer, whose minds should have been superior to any terrors they could hold out, made suit to them for favour, nay even combined with

them on some occasions, and were mean enough to enrol themselves under their despicable banners. It is to the honour of the present time, and infinitely to the repose of the present writers for the stage, that all these dirty doings are completely done away, and an era of candour and human kindness has succeeded to one, that was scandalously its opposite."

We quote this passage for the sake of observing, that we have rarely met with an instance of an elderly man, so little inclined to extol the days of his youth, merely because they were such. We trust his compliment in the present case is not undeserved; and gratitude compels us to return it: for while this veteran associate of the party introduces us to the circle of Johnson and of Garrick, and almost makes us wish ourselves old enough to have partaken of the feast in person, he is uniformly just to the present age, in which, though there seems to be less wit, there is certainly at least as much good sense, and more good temper. We must suppose our author to have dressed out his own character in its best moral array: yet, making allowance for this, we think his personal disposition will be reputed more favourably by the public, for being seen through the medium of these memoirs. It has been generally suspected that he sat for sir Fretful Plagiary; and that the likeness, though inveterate, was faithful. That severe satire has also been considered as a retaliation for an attack on the *School for Scandal*; but the supposed offender has proved an alibi. Our conclusion, from the general tenor of this work, must be, that if the author's temper was formerly so peevish and envious, it has, contrary to the general character of spleen and envy, grown more mild and candid in old age. Ingredients have from time to time been mixed in Mr. Cumberland's cup of life, sufficiently acid to have wrinkled the smoothest brow: but he speaks, throughout these pages, with resignation of past disappointments, with candour of past controversies, and with a christian spirit of extinguished enmities. His remarks on contemporary writers exhibit indeed the reverse of that faint praise, so generally imputed to him. The following character of Goldsmith's prose, while we subscribe most cordially to its justice, gives us an opportunity of submitting to our readers the most comprehensive criticism in a very narrow compass.

"There is something in Goldsmith's prose, that to my ear is uncommonly sweet and har-

monious; it is clear, simple, easy to be understood; we never want to read his period twice over, except for the pleasure it bestows; obscurity never calls us back to a repetition of it."

He has also duly characterised Johnson's three gradations of style; but Johnson's style, from first to last, has been so fully canvassed, that nothing new can be said upon it.

The success of a new play was in those days a matter of some import in the literary world. The stage is no longer in the hands of literary men; so that literary men concern themselves but little about the stage. The efforts made by the Johnsonian phalanx, in favour of Goldsmith's eccentric comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer*, were highly whimsical, and shew how much the manners of the theatre are changed before the curtain.

"We were not over-sanguine of success, but perfectly determined to struggle hard for our author: we accordingly assembled our strength at the Shakespear tavern in a considerable body for an early dinner, where Samuel Johnson took the chair at the head of a long table, and was the life and soul of the corps: the poet took post silently by his side with the Burkes, sir Joshua Reynolds, Fitzherbert, Caleb Whitefoord, and a phalanx of North-British predetermined applauders, under the banner of major Mills, all good men and true. Our illustrious president was inimitable glee, and poor Goldsmith that day took all his raillery as patiently and complacently as my friend Boswell would have done any day, or every day of his life. In the mean time we did not forget our duty, and though we had a better comedy going, in which Johnson was chief actor, we betook ourselves in good time to our separate and allotted posts, and waited the awful drawing up of the curtain. As our stations were preconcerted, so were our signals for plaudits arranged and determined upon in a manner, that gave every one his cue where to look for them, and how to follow them up.

"We had amongst us a very worthy and efficient member, long since lost to his friends and the world at large, Adam Drummond, of amiable memory, who was gifted by nature with the most sonorous, and at the same time the most contagious, laugh, that ever echoed from the human lungs. The neighing of the horse of the son of Hystaspes was a whisper to it; the whole thunder of the theatre could not drown it. This kind and ingenuous friend fairly fore-warned us that he knew no more when to give his fire than the cannon did, that was planted on a battery. He desired therefore to have a flapper at his elbow, and I had the honour to be deputed to that office. I planted him in an upper box, pretty nearly over the stage, in full view of the pit and gal-

leries, and perfectly well situated to give the echo all its play through the hollows and recesses of the theatre. The success of our manœuvres was complete. All eyes were upon Johnson, who sat in a front row of a side-box, and when he laughed every body thought themselves warranted to roar. In the mean time my friend followed signals with a rattle so irresistibly comic, that, when he had repeated it several times, the attention of the spectators was so engrossed by his person and performances, that the progress of the play seemed likely to become a secondary object, and I found it prudent to insinuate to him that he might halt his music without any prejudice to the author; but alas, it was now too late to rein him in; he had laughed upon my signal where he found no joke, and now unluckily he fancied that he found a joke in almost every thing that was said; so that nothing in nature could be more malapropos than some of his bursts every now and then were. These were dangerous moments, for the pit began to take umbrage; but we carried our play through, and triumphed not only over Colman's judgment, but our own."

Mr. Cumberland had the merit of first introducing Henderson to Garrick, though Garrick did not secure to himself the credit, as he should have done, of patronising the claims of so respectable a successor. But Garrick lived, though not long after his retirement, long enough to see Henderson take possession of the public favour, unaided by his countenance or recommendation.

After the death of lord Halifax, our author became attached to the interests of lord George Germain, afterwards lord Sackville, under circumstances highly creditable to both parties. He introduces several interesting particulars of his lordship; and among the rest the following trait of character, which we should scarcely have expected to meet in a man so circumstanced. It is seldom that a rusticated courtier retains or retrieves so much of a natural and as it were antiquated simplicity.

"To his religious duties this good man was not only regularly but respectfully attentive: on the Sunday morning he appeared in gala, as if he was dressed for a drawing-room; he marched out his whole family in grand cavalcade to his parish church, leaving only a centinel to watch the fires at home, and mount guard upon the spits. His deportment in the house of prayer was exemplary, and more in character of times past than of time present: he had a way of standing up in sermon-time for the purpose of reviewing the congregation, and awing the idlers into decorum, that never failed to remind me of sir Roger de Coverley at church; sometimes

when he has been struck with passages in the discourse, which he wished to point out to the audience as rules for moral practice worthy to be noticed, he would mark his approbation of them with such cheering nods and signals of assent to the preacher, as were often more than my muscles could withstand; but when to the total overthrow of all gravity, in his zeal to encourage the efforts of a very young declaimer in the pulpit, I heard him cry out to the reverend Mr. Henry Earoff in the middle of his sermon, 'Well done, Harry!' it was irresistible: suppression was out of my power: what made it more intolerably comic was, the unmoved sincerity of his manner, and his surprise to find that any thing had passed that could provoke a laugh so out of time and place. He had nursed up with no small care and cost in each of his parish churches a corps of rustic psalm-singers, to whose performances he paid the greatest attention, rising up, and with his eyes directed to the singing gallery, marking time, which was not always rigidly adhered to; and once, when his ear, which was very correct, had been tortured by a tone most glaringly discordant, he set his mark upon the culprit by calling out to him by name, and loudly saying, 'Out of tune, Tom Baker!'

About the year 1780, Mr. Cumberland, in consequence of intelligence which he had an opportunity of procuring, found himself committed to a personal negotiation with the Spanish minister Florida Blanca. On this business he repaired to Spain. The narrative of his journey, reception, and conduct in the prosecution of this delicate affair, are perhaps on the whole the most interesting part of this very agreeable volume. The prolix description of the voyage in nautical terms might however as well have been spared. The circumstances of his residence in Spain are detailed with too much minuteness, to be admitted within our limits; and their spirit and odour would evaporate by compression. The several anecdotes of Spanish grandees, of count Kannitz, and of the Tiranna, will be respectively interesting to the lovers of courtly or theatrical history. Mr. Cumberland's mission was terminated abruptly, on grounds of displeasure at home, which, according to his relation of them, seem rather to have been sought out invidiously, than to have presented themselves of necessity out of his conduct. At this distance of time, we have no materials for deciding on the politics of the ministry, at the close of the American war: nor, were they in our possession, should we be called upon to apply them in the performance of our

present duty. But the manner in which, to use the words of count Florida Blanca, "he was abandoned and deceived on the score of his expences," was highly disreputable to his employers. The account our author gives of this affair is as follows:

"How it came to pass that my circumstances should be so well known to count Florida Blanca is easily accounted for, when the dishonouring of my bills by Mr. Devisme at Lisbon, through whose hands the Spanish banker passed them, was notorious to more than half Madrid, and could not be unknown to the minister. The fact is, that I had come into Spain without any other security than the good faith of government upon promise, pledged to me through Mr. Robinson, secretary of the treasury, that all bills drawn by me upon my banker in Pall Mall, should be instantly replaced to my credit, upon my accompanying them with a letter of advice to the said secretary Robinson. This letter of advice I regularly attached to every draft I made upon Messrs. Crofts, Devaynes, and Co., but from the day that I left London to the day that I returned to it, including a period of fourteen months, not a single shilling was replaced to my account with my bankers, who persisted in advancing to my occasions with a liberality and confidence in my honour, that I must ever reflect upon with the warmest gratitude. I solemnly aver that I had the positive pledge of treasury through Mr. Robinson for replacing every draft I should make upon my banker, and a very large sum was named, as applicable at my discretion, if the service should require it. I had one thousand pounds advanced to me upon setting out; my private credit supplied every farthing beyond that."

Such are the circumstances to which we owe the production of these memoirs during the life of the writer. He tells us that he "embraced ruin in his own country, to preserve his honour as a subject of it; selling every acre of his hereditary estate, jointured on his wife by marriage settlement, who generously concurred in the sacrifice, which his improvident reliance on the faith of government compelled him to make." Why they ought in prudence and propriety to have been withheld, till the decease of the author had consigned them into other hands, we do not altogether comprehend. We do indeed regret, that at the close of a long and honourable life, pecuniary considerations should thus avowedly have been the cause of their coming before the public. But the discredit of this avowal rests, not with him who made it, but to those whose breach of faith gave the occasion. The

total neglect of Mr. Cumberland's just and pressing claims did not prevent him from seeking lord North's acquaintance in private. The candid and prepossessing character given of his lordship as a gentleman and a man of accomplishment, reflects the highest honour on our author, considering what grounds of complaint he had against him as a minister.

"When in process of time I saw and knew lord North in his retirement from all public affairs, patient, collected, resigned to an afflictive visitation of the severest sort, when all but his illuminated mind was dark around him, I contemplated an affecting and an edifying object, that claimed my admiration and esteem; a man, who when divested of that incidental greatness, which high office for a time can give, self-dignified and independent, rose to real greatness of his own creating, which no time can take away; whose genius gave a grace to every thing he said, and whose benignity shed a lustre upon every thing he did; so richly was his memory stored, and so lively was his imagination in applying what he remembered, that after the great source of information was shut against himself, he still possessed a boundless fund of information for the instruction and delight of others. Some hours (and those not few) of his society he was kind in bestowing upon me: I eagerly courted, and very highly prized them."

The last sentence reminds us of an anecdote, not furnished by our author, but by one well acquainted with the noble humourist. Should its fidelity be denied, the inventor must at least obtain credit for having happily fallen in with lord North's peculiar vein of pleasantry. Once on a time, Mr. Cumberland invited himself to read to his lordship, and the ladies of the family, a piece he had been preparing for the stage. Lord North parried the proposal, as long as it was consistent with good manners so to do. An author's charity, in communicating such pleasure, as his own works are capable of affording, is not easily to be frustrated. An evening was fixed, and the reading commenced. My lord availed himself of his constitutional infirmity, to drop asleep; but awoke almost instantaneously, with a profusion of courtly excuses, and many a dire anathema against his lethargic tendency. The poet admitted the plea, himself in turn apologizing for the mere explanatory dullness of a first act. Yet he could not help flattering himself that the attention of the company would be awakened, and their interest excited, by the progress and development of the plot. The drowsy fit still returned at intervals: but unfortu-

nately, in one of the most important scenes, on which the whole seemed to hinge, his lordship took it into his head to dream. He fancied himself in his place in the house; and most provokingly vociferated, "Question, Question, Question!" with such pertinacity and strength of lungs, as completely to overpower the argument of the play, and the gravity of the little audience.

The list of unpublished dramas is very long; and some of them are promised to public curiosity. The author professes never to have written any piece so much to his own satisfaction, as his tragedy on the subject of the elder Brutus. We recollect to have seen some parts of *The False Demetrius*, while it was in rehearsal four or five years ago at Drury Lane. Whether the interior politics of the theatre, or an unfavourable opinion of the piece, stopped it in its progress, we are not informed; but our own opinion of what we saw and heard was not strongly in its favour. Of all our author's tragic efforts, *The Carmelite* has left the most pleasing impression on our minds. Then, however, Mrs. Siddons not only exhibited those transcendent powers of understanding and execution, which never for a moment have been eclipsed even by the intervention of ill health, but wore the charm of novelty. We cannot therefore at this distance determine, in what proportions our thanks should have been divided between the poet and the actress. The mention of this play leads Mr. Cumberland to express his just contempt for the frivolous taste of admiring boyish actors.

The Mysterious Husband is a well devised and well written tragedy of its peculiar species. The character of lord Davenant is strongly, and that of lady Davenant affectingly drawn. We rather wonder that the concluding scene should have produced such strong agitations as the author has described; for we consider the catastrophe as feebly worked up. The situations are evidently copied from the last scene of the *Gamester*; but the pathos is far less moving, and shrinks from a comparison with that natural and affecting tragedy.

Our author dilates largely on his epic poem of *Calvary*, and appears highly pleased with the success of his effort. We do not consider the present as a fit occasion for entering copiously into the merits of his literary labours, with the exception of that immediately under review. We therefore leave it to our readers, to form

their own judgment, how far he has qualified himself for the delicate office of examining his own pretensions. He seems often to value most what the public has relished least. After all, he will probably ride down to posterity, on the shoulders of his West Indian and his Observer.

The last character in which this veteran servant of the public appears, is that of Major Commandant of the Tunbridge Volunteers. Like a Lothario of seventy-three, he is armed for either field: Mars and the Muses alternately take possession of his vigorous old age, and claim him for their own.

The narrative ends rather abruptly; but we have the pleasure of learning, that the selection and arrangement of our author's posthumous works is undertaken by Sir James Bland Burges, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Richard Sharpe. The task could not have been consigned to better hands, either for the fame of the author, or the gratification of the public.

On a review of the whole work, we can promise to the reader much entertaining, and much interesting matter. Whether it will entirely answer the expectations, which the world was entitled to form of it as a literary performance, we should feel more hesitation in deciding. We cannot easily forgive such a laxity of style, in a writer who aspires to be a classic. Whole pages are bestowed on trite argu-

mentations and common-place morality, which had been better filled with literary anecdote and history. The sentences are often out of all measure, harmony, or equilibrium; nor should such words as *reconciliatory*, *accreditation*, *ignoramus* for ignorant persons, and one or two others, have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Cumberland. We feel it the more incumbent on us to notice these aberrations from the line of classical usage, because the delinquent is of sufficient credit and standing to be quoted as an authority. The general habits of writing in our language are much improved of late years; but we deprecate that negligence into which many men of high repute have almost affectedly fallen, as if a correct and elegant style was no longer an object of ambition, because it is become more common. At the same time, these censures, not affecting the vitals of the biographical interest, are conceived in the pure love of truth and critical precision. Though elevated by our office to preside in an august tribunal, our feelings towards Mr. Cumberland are like those of a newly created judge towards a veteran barrister: we interpose our authority in court, with a stern and supercilious regard, but in our closet, we stand in awe of the knowledge his long practice has acquired, and of the eloquence his various pleadings have displayed.

CHAPTER IX.

P O E T R Y.

OUR poetical list is this year unusually copious, and amidst a large quantity of trash will, we believe, be found to contain a very respectable proportion of works of merit. The *art* of versification, like most other arts, keeps pace with the progressive advances of luxury and civilization. When from the feebleness and languor of the social machine it is requisite that all the forms of intercourse should be highly polished, in order to diminish a friction which in its more vigorous state was imperceptible, a correspondent taste in poetry is sure to spring up; the rules of versification are made more strict, and the Graces and muses are not thought worthy of being admitted into fashionable company unless they have been under the tuition of a French dancing-master. Hence sound usurps the place of sense; and a delicate perception of the mere sensual pleasure of musical cadence, comes to be confounded with a taste for and judgment in poetry. In England this change has been rapidly going on of late years; and on comparing our modern verse-writers with those who lived a century ago, it is impossible not to be struck with the vast superiority of the former over the latter in all that relates to the mechanical and musical part of poetical composition. This, as far as it goes, is, no doubt, a very material improvement; but in numerous instances that might be cited, it has been acquired at the expence of more valuable qualities; or, what is equally bad, has cheated the public into the opinion that harmony will atone for the absence of all the other qualifications for poetry, especially when seasoned with a little licentiousness, or conjoined with that nauseous whining sentimentality, the bane of every vigorous exertion and every high attainment in literature or morals. A just disdain of the affectation of this sect gave birth to another, which running into the opposite extravagance of simplicity, or to speak more properly, of discord in versification and baldness of expression, for a time divided the suffrage of the public; fortunately, however, each presented a broad mark for satire; and though we by no means justify the bitterness with which they were assailed, yet we may be allowed to rejoice that the excesses of each have nearly passed away, and that English poetry may now safely acknowledge her obligations to both. In our opinion, no age of British literature has been so favourable to the production of excellent poetry as the present is: the degree of encouragement is greater than at any former period, and both writers and readers are more fully aware that splendour of versification, high-wrought but consistent imagery, natural manners, and propriety of sentiment, are not merely compatible, but are the indispensable characteristics of such poetry as will delight not merely on a first perusal, but long after the glow of novelty is gone; as will survive not merely a few years, but be coeval with the language itself.

ART. I.—*Specimens of early English Metrical Romances, chiefly written during the early Part of the fourteenth Century; to which is prefixed an historical Introduction, intended to illustrate the Rise and Progress of romantic Composition in France and England.* By GEORGE ELLIS, Esq. In three Volumes, 8vo. pp. 387, 404, and 419.

"THESE volumes," says the author, "are intended to supply a chasm in the *Specimens of Early English Poets*, by explaining more fully the progress of our poetry and language, from the latter part of the thirteenth, to the middle of the fourteenth century, and to exhibit a general view of our romances of chivalry in their earliest and simplest form."

Mr. Ellis begins his introduction by tracing the history of the romance language, which in its most extensive sense comprises all the dialects of which Latin was the basis; in this country, however, it originally meant that dialect of the French which the Normans introduced; it then applied to all works composed in that dialect, and finally appropriated to tales of chivalry, the delight of our ancestors, and the great boast of their literature, if so it may be called. The oldest specimen of this language is the oath of Louis le Germanique, addressed, in 842, to the French army of his brother Charles le Chauve. Mr. Ellis infers that this was the general language of France, and not a southern dialect, because Aquitaine and Neustria were the original dominions of Charles, and great part of his army came from those provinces. This uniformity was broken by the invasions and settlement of the Normans.

"From these invasions ultimately resulted the division of the romance language into an almost infinite number of dialects, which subsisted during the greater part of the tenth century. It is not meant that the Normans materially contributed to this change, by importing into the conquered country a barbarous jargon composed of foreign and discordant materials; because it is evident that their influence in this respect must have been confined to the territory within which they formed their establishment. But uniformity of speech throughout a large extent of country can only arise from an easy and constant intercourse between its inhabitants; and the interruption of this intercourse must give birth to a diversity of dialects. The prevalence of the Latin had resulted from the extent and stability of the Roman empire; and the purity of the romance could only have been preserved by the permanence of that of Charlemagne. His partition of his extensive territory, and the disputes amongst his immediate successors, enervated the strength of the French monarchy, and laid open the country to the ravages of the northern invaders;

whose triumphs were less pernicious from the misery they immediately produced, than from the example of successful usurpation which they held out to private ambition. France was parcelled out amongst a number of petty tyrants, always in arms against each other, or against their sovereign; and the vulgar tongue, not yet subjected to the rules of grammar, or fixed by any just models of composition, was abandoned to all the innovations which might arise either from the ignorance or from the mixed races of the inhabitants, in the several independent districts into which the country was divided."

This reasoning seems to make it doubtful whether any uniformity of speech had subsisted before in the country; for the times when the intercourse between its inhabitants could be easy and constant, were few and short in comparison with those of warfare. Be this as it may, the Normans were the great improvers of the Roman or French language. The earliest work of northern French literature of which any remembrance remains, is a metrical life of Wandril and certain other saints, translated from the Latin, by Thibaut de Vernon, canon of Rouen, about the middle, probably, of the eleventh century. Of this only the name has been preserved. The oldest existing specimen, or rather the oldest which has been discovered, is the *Liber de Creaturis* of Philip de Than, a French metrical treatise on chronology, written soon after the year 1106. It appears, therefore, as far as present documents enable us to judge, that the northern Romance, or Norman French, was not employed as a written language till very near the time of the conquest; and it is certain that till the accession of Henry II., in 1154, all the principal compositions in that language were either devotional and moral tracts, lives of saints, scientific treatises, or chronicles, all metrical, and probably all translations. Songs and ballads there were in abundance; but Mr. Ellis says, "it may be safely affirmed that no trace of a professed work of fiction, no semblance of an epic fable, in short no specimen of what we should now call a romance, is to be found before the middle of the twelfth century."

The Normans had joculars or minstrels; this is undeniably proved by *Doomsday-book*, in which a certain Berdic, possessed

of a large tract of land in Gloucestershire, is stiled *joculator regis*.

"The register, of course, does not explain the talents of this jocular, or jogleur; but it may be fairly assumed that they were similar to those of the minstrel Taillefer, who, as Wace informs us, 'moult bien chantout,' and who preceded the duke of Normandy at the battle of Hastings 'singing about Charlemagne, and Rolland, and Olivier, and the vassals who died at Roncesvalles.' We are further informed by Gaimar, that he performed many marvellous feats of dexterity: throwing his lance into the air as if it were a small stick; catching it by the point before he cast it against the enemy; and repeating the same operation with his sword, so that they who beheld him considered him as a conjurer—

L'un dit à l'autre ki co veit,
Ke co esteit enchantement,
Ke cil fesait devant la gent,
Quant, &c.

"Now, unless it could be proved that the Normans adopted the profession of minstrelsy from the French, of which there is no evidence, it must follow that they carried it with them from Denmark; and as bishop Percy has shown that a character nearly analogous existed amongst the Danes as well as the Anglo-Saxons, the derivation of the minstrels from the *Scalds* and *Glee-men* of the north, as established in the essay prefixed to the 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry,' seems to rest upon as fair historical testimony as can be required in confirmation of such an opinion.

"It may, therefore, be reasonably admitted that Rollo carried with him his domestic bards, who, when their native idiom began to fall into disuse, would have been compelled to exercise their talents in the newly-adopted language: but still the success of their poetical efforts must have depended on the state in which they found this language, to the perfection of which they could not, from their want of learning, materially contribute."

The song of Taillefer (we fully agree with Mr. Ellis that William of Malmesbury's words will justify no other interpretation) was a French song, and of a French champion, and this fact would tend to prove that the Normans *had* adopted the profession of minstrelsy from the French. If the Norman minstrels were the successors of the *Scalds*, it is extraordinary that they should have adopted the heroes of the conquered people with their language, almost to the exclusion of their own. The theories respecting the origin of the minstrels, like those respecting the origin of romance, appear to us to be too exclusive. Poetry exists among

many savage nations, and in all barbarous ones. The manners of the Gothic swarms differed little from each other. Saxons and Franks, Danes and Normans, would each bring with them their poets or harpers, whose fashion would be modified by the circumstances of the country in which they settled. They would bring with them songs of war, and learn hymns and legends. More settled courts and more permanent patronage encouraged more elaborate works. The Anglo-Saxons had certainly their metrical romances, if the term may be applied to poems for which there was, or was believed to be, historical foundation. Such are the History of Judith and that of Beowulf.* If indeed any country can be said to have given birth to chivalry and to romance it is this. The history of Beowulf is the oldest epic poem which has yet been produced in the vernacular languages of Europe, and the rudiments of chivalry, as has been shewn by Mr. Turner, certainly existed here before the Norman conquest. But any exclusive hypothesis upon these subjects is absurd. Poetry is almost as universal as language, and the first poets are storytellers; and with respect to knighthood, all barbarians have some kind of military nobility; it was found not only in the well organized kingdom of Mexico, but also among the wild tribes on the Orococo.

Another objection to the Scandinavian origin of the minstrels may be deduced from Mr. Ellis's introduction. "The earliest existing French compositions are translations, and since their authors," he says, "when not distinguished by any ecclesiastical title, usually qualify themselves by the appellation of *clercs*, a name expressive of their pretensions to some erudition, it seems unreasonable to assign, without any authority, to an unlearned class of men, the anterior invention of works of fiction."

"The following may perhaps be accepted as a tolerable summary of the history of the minstrels. It appears likely that they were carried by Rollo into France, where they probably introduced a certain number of their native traditions; those, for instance, relating to Ogier le Danois, and other northern heroes, who were afterwards enlisted into the tales of chivalry; but that, being deprived of the mythology of their original religion, and cramped perhaps, as well by the sober spirit of christianity, as by the imperfection of a

* It is greatly to be wished that Mr. Turner would favour us with an edition of this very curious poem.

language whose tameness was utterly inapplicable to the sublime obscurity of their native poetry, they were obliged to adopt various modes of amusing, and to unite the talents of the mimic and the juggler, as a compensation for the defects of the musician and poet. Their musical skill, however, if we may judge from the number of their instruments, of which very formidable catalogues are to be found in every description of a royal festival, may not have been contemptible; and their poetry, even though confined to short compositions, was not likely to be void of interest to their hearers, while employed on the topics of flattery or satire. Their rewards were certainly, in some cases, enormous, and prove the esteem in which they were held; though this may be partly ascribed to the general thirst after amusement, and the difficulty experienced by the great in dissipating the tediousness of life: so that the gift of three parishes in Gloucestershire, assigned by William the Conqueror for the support of his *joculator*, may perhaps be a less accurate measure of the minstrel's accomplishments than of the monarch's power and of the insipidity of his court.

"To the talents already enumerated the minstrels added, soon after the birth of French literature, the important occupation of the *discur* or *declaimer*. Perhaps the declamation of metrical compositions might have required, during their first state of imperfection, some kind of chant, and even the assistance of some musical instruments, to supply the deficiencies of the measure; perhaps the aids of gesture and pantomime* may have been necessary to relieve the monotony of a long recitation: but at all events it is evident, that an author who wrote for the public at large, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, was not less dependent for his success on the minstrels, than a modern writer of tragedy or comedy on the players of the present day. A copyist might multiply manuscripts for the supply of convent libraries; but while ecclesiastics alone were able to read, there was no access to the ears of a military nobility, without the intervention of a body of men who travelled in every direction, and who were everywhere welcomed as the promoters of mirth and conviviality.

"The next step was easy. Being compelled to a frequent exercise of their talent in extemporaneous compositions, the minstrels were probably, like the *improvisatori* of Italy, at least equal, if not superior, to more learned writers, in the merely mechanical parts of poetry; they were also better judges of the public taste. By the progress of translation they became the depositaries of nearly all the knowledge of the age, which

was committed to their memory: it was natural, therefore, that they should form a variety of new combinations from the numerous materials in their possession; and it will be shown hereafter, that many of our most popular romances were most probably brought by their efforts to the state in which we now see them. This was the most splendid era of their history, and seems to have comprehended the latter part of the twelfth, and perhaps the whole of the thirteenth century. After that time, from the general progress of instruction, the number of readers began to increase; and the metrical romances were insensibly supplanted by romances in prose, whose monotony neither required nor could derive much assistance from the art of declamation. The visits of the minstrels had been only periodical, and generally confined to the great festivals of the year; but the resources, such as they were, of the ponderous prose legend were always accessible. Thus began the decline of a body of men, whose complete degradation seems to have been the subsequent result of their own vices. During the period of their success they had most impudently abused the credulity of the public; but it is a whimsical fact, that the same fables which were discredited while in verse, were again, on their transfusion into prose, received without suspicion. It should seem that falsehood is generally safe from detection, when concealed under a sufficient cloak of dulness."

In his second section Mr. Ellis enquires into the origin of romantic fiction, and agrees with us that none of the sources which have been exclusively assigned can be exclusively the right one, but that all have contributed. It is ridiculous to trace such a body of waters to any single fountain as its well-spring. We perceive with pleasure that in another point also Mr. Ellis accords with us, in attributing some influence upon early European literature to the Jews.†

The first French romances were written in England: this the abbé de la Rue has proved incontrovertibly. The Welsh herpess soon became the favourite personages of the Anglo-Norman poets. As a necessary preface to the romances which follow, analyses are given of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, and of his Life of the Caledonian Merlin, a Latin poem which has never yet been published. It is remarkable that Geoffrey should have confounded this Merddin Wyllt with Merlin the bard of Ambrosius, and the same

* The minstrels are not unfrequently called *mimi*. Ordericus Vitalis, describing a contemporary character, says, "Erat enim in militia promptus, in dando nimis prodigus, gaudens ludis et luxibus, *mimis, equis, et canibus, aliisque lujusmodi vanitatibus*. p. 596.

† See our last Volume, p. 412.

confusion is to be found in Fordun, who plainly identifies the two Merlins. Mr. Ellis might have added the chapter from the *Scotichronicon* as a supplement to Geoffrey's account. Did not the *Triads* speak of both Merlins, we should suspect the wizard to be like his own Arthur, a being purely ideal. The introduction is concluded by an enquiry into the intimate connection between the Welsh and the Normans, and the influence of this connection on romance; and by a brief statement of Mr. Scott's arguments, which prove that some original, and many translated romances were the work of Scotch poets. As the southern minstrels derived their tales from Wales or Armorica, so did the northern ones from the Britons of Strathclyde and Cambria, and our oldest and finest fictions are of Cymbric origin.

The appendix to this introduction contains an analysis by Mr. Douce, of a collection of tales, entitled *Alphonsus de Clericali Disciplina*, compiled in Latin, by Pedro Alonzo, a converted Jew of Arragon, physician and godson to Alonzo I., who was baptized at Osea, 1106. In this very curious work many tales occur which are to be found in *Le Grand's Fabliaux*, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, *Boccaccio*, and the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. The appendix also contains an abstract of Marie's lays, — perhaps the most amusing part of the work. Mr. Ritson denied the Armorican origin of these lays. "It is quite needless," says Mr. Ellis, "to discuss his opinions concerning a work which he had manifestly neglected to read, or was unable to understand." This unhappy man, excellent antiquarian as he was, was frequently committing the fault which he so bitterly condemned in others; that of delivering positive opinions upon subjects with which he was little acquainted. Marie herself expressly asserts that the stories are Armorican.

The strange tale of the *Bisclaveret* is founded upon a superstition as widely diffused as it is extraordinary, and as old as the tale of *Lycaon* and *Herodotus*. The Irish had also another superstition akin to the tale of *Nebuchadnezzar*. They believed "that he who in the barbarous acclamation and outcry of the soldiers, which they use with great forcing and straining of their voices when they join battle, doth not showte and make a noise as the rest doe, when they utter the word *pharroh*, is suddenly caught from the ground, and carried, as it were, flying in the ayre, into some desert vallies, (the

vale of Kerry, another account says) where he feedeth upon grasse, drinketh water, hath some use of reason, but not of speech, is ignorant of the present condition he stands in whether good or bad, yet at length shall be brought to his own home, being caught with the helpe of hounds and hunters."

The first romances in this series of specimens are those relating to Arthur, of which few have been preserved, except such as are in the form of ballads. They were early converted into prose, and may thus have perished when disused; but though few in number they are by no means inconsiderable in length: the *fragment* of the *St. Graal* is said to consist of 40,000 lines. The romances upon this subject are so celebrated, and some of them so truly beautiful, that we wish Mr. Ellis had in this place given a catalogue of all that exist, whether in prose or metre.

The abstract of *Merlin*, with which the specimens begin, is made from two MSS., one in the library of Lincoln's Inn, the other in the invaluable Auchinleck MSS. The two parts, though connected in order of time so that one is the continuation of the other, are of very different merit. The story of the first is complete in itself, and has no other absurdities than such as are inseparable from the use of machinery. It is the history of *Vortigern* from his usurpation till his death. After having obtained the crown by the murder of *Constantine Le Moine*, he resolved to build a strong castle upon *Salisbury Plain*, to secure himself against *Aurelius Ambrosius* and *Uther Pendragon*, brothers of the dead king, if they should attempt to revenge his death. But whatever the workmen did in the day was overthrown in the night, and *Vortigern's* wise men consulting the stars to discover the cause of this prodigy, can only find out that a boy had been born five years ago without a human father, and that the foundations would stand if besmeared with his blood. *Merlin* is this boy. He owed his birth to the desire of the evil spirits to engender a semi-devil, who should counteract the work of redemption.

"There was at that time in England a rich man, blessed with an affectionate wife, a dutiful son, and three chaste and beautiful daughters. The happiness of this family was become proverbial among their neighbours; but the fiend having discovered, in the wife, an irritability of temper which had hitherto escaped the notice of her husband and children, he applied himself to encourage this

infirmity; and with such success, that the good lady; having been betrayed into a trifling dispute with her son, suddenly burst into transports of rage; imprecated the most horrid curses on his head; and finally consigned him, with all possible solemnity, to the devil. The fiend lost no time in seizing his newly-acquired property, but strangled the young man in his sleep: the mother, stung with remorse, instantly hung herself; and her husband, overpowered by this sudden calamity, died of grief, without confession or absolution.

"Among the spectators of this tragedy was a neighbouring hermit, the holy Blaise, who, on considering all the circumstances of the case, plainly discovered that it was owing to the intervention of the fiend. Feeling a fatherly affection for the three orphan sisters, he extorted them to scrutinize severely all the thoughts and actions of their past life; received their confessions; imposed on each a proper penance; gave them his holy absolution; and then retired."

Selden and Drayton differ from this account of his birth, and make him of a better family by the mother's side. His mother therefore, according to the former, was Matilda, a nun, daughter to Pubidius king of Mathraval, and they both represent her as nothing loth! According however to this more authentic romance, she resolutely asserted her innocence notwithstanding appearances; and Blaise, to whom she had related in confession all her fears, obtained for her a respite till the truth should appear in due course of time. He had exactly calculated it, and was in waiting at the foot of the tower wherein she was confined; he received the little deviling in a basket, who was completely covered with black hair, carried him off in triumph and christened him Merlin, to the utter discomfiture of the demon's scheme.

Some of the subsequent circumstances, as Merlin's propensity to laughter, and the explanations which he gives, resemble Geoffrey's history of Merddyn Wyllt. He is found and carried to Vortigern, to whom he explains the reason why the foundations of his castle will not stand. Immediately below the soil, he said, were two deep pools of water; below the water two huge stones, and below the stones two enormous serpents, who slept during the day, but quarrelled every night, and by their battles occasioned an earthquake which destroyed his buildings. There is a tale bearing some resemblance to this in ecclesiastical history, when it pleased Zachariah the prophet that his relics should be invented: he gave directions where to find his body, and added, that near the coffin was a glass vessel full of water, and by it two serpents

so harmless and gentle that they might be handled. When Merlin's prediction was proved true, he explained the meaning of the mystery, and prophesied the destruction of Vortigern, which Aurelius and Uther accomplished.

The second part has much of Boiardo's extravagance, and of its worst kind; the multiplication of armies, the size of the Saracen giants, and the facility with which they are destroyed. It is likely that the author of *Amadis* had seen this romance in some shape. The following is the passage which leads us to suppose so:

"Among the knights who distinguished themselves in this terrible day was one whom the author is particularly desirous to recommend to the grateful remembrance of his hearers. This was Nacien, a knight of great prowess and merit, and allied to many of the most renowned heroes of chivalry. His mother was Hamignes, sister to Joseph a knight of grace, through whom he was cousin to the noble Pertival. His father was Ebron, who had sixteen more sons, all knights of great virtue; and through him Nacien was cousin to Celidoine the rich, son of Nacien of Betica, which Celidoine first saw all the merrail of the San Gréal. Nacien was also sibbe (i. e. related) to king Pelles of Listoneis,

"And sith then hadde Launcelot
In his ward almost a yer,
So the Romauns seyth elles were:
This Naciens, of whom y write,
Sith then bicom eremite;
And lette knightschipe and al thing,
And bicom preste, messe to sing.
Virgin of his bodi he was,
Whom sith then the holi Godes grace
Ravist into the thriddle heven,
Where he herde angels' steven;
And seighe Fader, Son, and holi ghost,
In on substance, in on acost.
This gave sith then the riche conseil
To the king Arthour, saunfaile,
Tho he was in gret peril
To lese his londes, and ben exil,
Ogaines the king Galahos,
The geauntes sone, of gret los,
That gaf king Arthour batailling, &c."

Is this the Nasciano who took Esplandian from the lioness? The romances of the Round Table are more than once alluded to in *Amadis*; and the tale that the hermit was sometimes regaled with heavenly food tallies with these lines in the *Merlin*.

"*Morte Arthur*. Sir Lancelot du Lake is
the hero of this romance,
the truest knight
That ever loved fair lady."

It relates his amours with queen Guenever, and their disastrous consequences. The

tales of Troy divine is not more familiar to the scholar than this delightful story to the lovers of romance.

Though Arthur has been so often in later times chosen as the poet's hero, the old traditions respecting him, beautiful as they are, have been always rejected. It has been his fortune to be celebrated by the best and the worst English poets, as well as by others of the middle rank, yet each has taken only the name of Arthur, and applied it to a creature of his own imagination. In the *Fairy Queen*, in Dryden's dramatic pageant, in the two poems of Sir Richard Blackmore, and lastly in Mr. Hole's romance, we are alike disappointed by finding a stranger instead of an old friend. The reason must be that the Arthur of the minstrels, like the Charlemagne, has been sacrificed to his knights; and as the fame of the latter is surpassed by the Paladines, so is that of the former by Sir Gawaine, Sir Tristram, and Sir Lancelot. Nor is it likely that the knights of the Round Table will ever have their Ariosto: the state of morals is too much improved, and their characters are indelible.

Two romances are classed as Saxon, *Gay of Warwick* and *Sir Bevis of Hampton*. Mr. Ellis conceiving that as the heroes are Saxon the Anglo-Norman minstrels may have taken up the old traditions of the country. They are the worst of their kind, though both have been exceedingly popular. The story of Sir Thierry's dream (p. 67) is thus told with finer circumstances of Guntrum king of the Franks. "One day he lost himself when hunting in the woods: one faithful servant was with him, upon whose knees he laid his head being tired, and fell asleep by the side of a little runnell. The servant saw a little creature creep out of his master's mouth and go to the runnell, which it tried to cross but could not. Upon this the man drew his sword and laid it across the water, over which the little creature then crost easily, and went into a hole in a mountain on the other side; in about an hour's time it came out again, recrost by the sword, and crept into the king's mouth. Guntrum immediately awoke and told his companion how he had dreamt that he came to an immense river, and crost over a bridge of iron, and went into the cave of a mountain wherein he had seen a great treasure. The servant hearing this related all that he had seen, and they both went to the

mountain, and digging by the crevice discovered a great quantity of gold, which the king applied to religious purposes." This is related by historians, not romancers, and is one proof of ten thousand which might be adduced that romances were no more intended to outstrip credibility than modern novels are.

Richard Cœur de Lion is the only Anglo-Norman romance, and a very striking one it is, in spite of all its absurdities. The poet gives him thirteen vessels laden with bee-hives, which he threw from his engines into the besieged town, instruments of offence, says the editor, little known to modern warfare: they were however used as such in the middle ages, though not by ship-loads, and probably only by the besieged. The pots of serpents which Cornelius Nepos mentions would do admirably well in romance. Our Richard Lion-heart has not had his due fame from the poets, though of all our kings he is the only one, except Alfred, whom a poet could select for his hero. The modern epic in which he is made the champion of anti-jacobinism will stand in nobody's way.

Romances relating to Charlemagne. These are three in number, *Roland and Ferragus*, *Sir Otuel*, and *Sir Ferumbras*, none of which has ever been printed: the morals of the last are the most atrocious we ever remember; the heroine betrays her father, which indeed it is not very uncommon for heroines to do, pushes her governess into the sea, knocks out the brains of a jailer, and stands by applauding while one of her father's knights is held down with a fire-fork upon the hearth till he is burnt to death.

A passage occurs in *Sir Otuel* which we shall quote.

"Otuel, for wrath, anon
Areight * him on the cheek-bone;
All tho fell off that was there,
And made his teeth all bare.
Tho Otuel saw his check-bone,
He gave Clarel a scorn anon,
And said, 'Clarel! so mote thou the,
'Why shewest thou thy teeth to me?
'I n'am no tooth-drawere!
'Thou ne seest me no chain † bear.'
Clarel feeld him wounded sore,
And was naimed for evermore;
And smote to Otuel with all his might.
And Otuel, that doughty knight,
With his sword kept the dent
That Clarel him had y-meant,
And yet the dint slode adown,
And smote Otuel upon the crown.

* reached him.

† It should seem by this that it was usual with tooth-drawers to wear a chain; or perhaps a sort of chaplet composed of teeth which they had extracted.

Quath Otuel, ' By Godis ore,
 ' Saracen, thou smitest full sore !
 ' Sith then thy beard was y-shave,
 ' Thou art woxen a strong knave !'
 Otuel smote Clarel the
 O stroke, and no mo,
 That never eft word he ne spake, &c."

We have given the whole extract for its characteristic merit. The editor's note respecting the chain is confirmed by a traveller in Portugal, who says, "I met a tooth-drawer yesterday who wore a small brass chain across his shoulder, ornamented with rotten teeth at equal distances; perhaps his professional full dress."

Romances of oriental origin. A curious and erudite introduction is given to the analysis of the Seven Wise Masters, a story-book which is certainly traced to the *Hecetopades*. In the English Thevenot's Travels the Arabic version of this book is curiously mistranslated the fables of damned Kalilè; the translator perhaps thinking that though the epithet was rather singular, it could not be misapplied upon a Mohammedan. Many of these stories are to be found elsewhere. That of the knight and his greyhound differs from the traditional tale of Llewelyn and his dog Gellert, only as the dog in the one is substituted for the serpent in the other. The father murdered by his son is part of the very amusing story in Herodotus, book 2.; and "the widow who was comforted" is the Ephesian matron. The line in this last tale when the woman, as she cuts open the head of her dead husband, says, she shall lead him

How Godis grame came to town,

may perhaps allude to the birth of Minerva, though how she should be called by this strange title we do not pretend to explain.

We now come to the miscellaneous romances, the last and most amusing division of the work. Florice and Blanchefleur is the first. Is Tressan accurate in speaking of the Spanish version as *metrical*? we have never seen the book, but are strongly inclined to think it is in prose. The Auchinleck MSS. of this interesting tale being imperfect, Mr. Ellis has supplied the beginning from Tressan's Compendium, with which the remaining half exactly agrees. But Tressan is evidently as unfaithful as usual, and by the introduction of the names of Omar, and Caled, and Averroes, has given a sort of modern air of propriety to the story not to be found in any work of so early a date.

Robert of Cysille is compressed as much as possible, having been already analysed

by Warton. The first part of sir Isumbras seems borrowed from the beginning of Job; the circumstance of his gold being carried off by an eagle and afterwards found in the bird's nest, occurs in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. The work wants references to these parallels, of which Mr. Ellis could doubtless have pointed out many more than have occurred to us. The story of the dog in sir Triamour would have been very beautiful in the hands of a true poet.

"The good grey-hound, for weal ne wo,
 Would not fro the knight go;

But lay and licked his wound;
 He weened to have healed him again,
 And thereto he did his pain;

Lo, such love is in a hound!
 He even scraped a pit for the dead body;
 covered it with moss and leaves, and guarded
 it with constant attention, except during the
 times when he was employed in securing his
 own subsistence."

"As his prey diminished, the length of his chase gradually increased; and, at the close of the seventh year, at the festival of Christmas, he suddenly appeared, gaunt with hunger, an unexpected visitor in the hall of the king of Arragon. Such an apparition excited general surprise, and particularly attracted the attention of Aradas: but the animal, with a gentleness of demeanour which belied his savage appearance, made the round of the tables and disappeared. He returned on the second day; again surveyed the company, received his pittance, and retreated. The king now recollected the dog; and gave orders to his attendants that, if he should return, they should follow him without loss of time, in the confidence that he would lead them to the place where sir Roger and the Queen were secreted. On the third day of the festival, the hall was filled at an early hour, and sir Marrock, for the first time, took his seat among the guests. The grey-hound too did not fail to repeat his visit, and with the rapidity of lightning, instantly sprang upon the murderer of his master."

"He took the steward by the throat,
 And asunder he it bote;

But then he would not 'bide:
 For to this grave he ran.

There followed him many a man,
 Some on horse, and some beside.
 And when he came where his master was,
 He laid him down upon the grass,
 And barked at the men again."

"The crowd who had followed him, being unable to drive him from the spot, returned with the tidings to the king, who instantly comprehended the whole mystery. He directed them to dig for the body, which they readily found, and which had been miraculously preserved in such a state of perfection as to be easily recognized. It was then buried

in holy ground with all due solemnity, and the faithful dog shortly after expired on the tomb which was raised in memory of his master."

The Life of Ipomydon. This is one of the most original and most amusing of the romances. Ipomydon, who is son to the king of Apulia, hearing that the king of Calabria is dead, and had left his throne to an only daughter of exceeding beauty, who had determined to marry none but the best knight in Christendom, conceives a strong passion for the princess on the report of her charms, and at length sets out with his foster-father sir Tholomeo and a small retinue to visit her incognito. They arrive just as the princess has taken her seat at table, and are admitted into the hall, when Ipomydon kneels to her and begs to be received into her service. The princess struck by his fine person, and surprised at the splendour of his appearance, makes him her cup-bearer. When he takes the cup from the butler he lets fall his rich mantle and gives it him, an act of generosity which still more increases the suspicions of the princess. The mystery of his conduct, and the secrecy with which his name is concealed, heighten her curiosity, and this curiosity produces its natural effect. She falls in love with the stranger, and bids him sit at table with her cousin Jason, thinking to look at him more at her ease. Ipomydon being quite certain that he was not indifferent to her, took the liberty to look at her in return a little too boldly; by finding fault with Jason for a similar conduct towards one of her damsels she indirectly reproved him; but he who chose to tyrannize over the heart which he had won, as soon as dinner was over requested permission to resign his office and return into his own country, from which he would not be dissuaded by his friend Jason. He leaves however a trusty servant at the court, who sends him word that her council have applied to his uncle Meleager to insist upon her marrying, that a tournament is appointed, and the victor is to be rewarded with her hand. Ipomydon and sir Tholomeo again set off, they go to Meleager's court, and the adventurer requests to be admitted into his service, with some singular stipulations.

"Ipomydon said, 'I shall you tell,
At this covenant would I dwell,
Full fain I would be ready boun,
To lead your queen, both up and down,
Fro her chamber to her hall,
And my leman I would her call.
My maiden, that is of honour,

Shall dwell in the queenys bower,
At every turn that I her lead,
A kiss of the queen shall be my meed;
I will no more for my service."

"Meleager surveyed him with some surprise; but justly concluding, from this strange proposal and from the splendour of his appearance, that the stranger knight was a man of great opulence, who wished to reside at his court for some mysterious reason, and not with any view to seduce the queen, replied that he accepted the bargain; and, the chase being concluded, conducted the new chamberlain to her majesty, who saw nothing in the person of Ipomydon which could lead her to refuse the whimsical salary annexed to his service. Thus was he naturally placed on a footing of familiarity with the royal couple, which he well knew how to improve; and his wealth and generosity soon secured the affection of their courtiers, so that he shortly became the universal favourite."

As the time fixed for the tournament approached, Ipomydon is the only person who seems to feel no concern; he declares that he is not used to such rough amusements, that they afford him no entertainment, and that he shall go hunting the first day. Every body regrets that so handsome a knight should be such a coward. He however sets off before daybreak, sounds his horn under the windows, and bidding sir Tholomeo hunt his white greyhound, and wait for him at a place appointed with the game, enters the lists in white armour, on a white horse, and bears away the honour of the first day; then discovering himself in secret to Jason, he bids him commend him to his lady, and tell her that he had done thus much for her, but was now compelled to return to his own country. The next day, while Tholomeo hunts his red greyhound, he wins the honour in red armour, on a bay horse, and again repeats the same story to Jason; and on the third day conquers in black, still obstinately refusing to take possession of the kingdom and console the princess by his presence, as Jason beseeches him. He now departs in earnest, but sends his three horses and three suits of armour, one to Meleager, one to the queen, and one to sir Campanys, the bravest of his competitors, declaring himself the victor.

Ipomydon on his return finds his father dead: his mother now tells him that before her marriage she had met with an accident, which was by no means uncommon,

Nel secol prisco, in quella bella etate
Ch'era d'ogni virtute il mondo adorno:
BERNARDO TASSO.

In consequence of which accident he had

an elder brother who had sent her a ring to give him, that if ever they met they might know each other. Ipomydon takes the ring and resolves to seek him; but at this time his trusty servant sends him intelligence from Calabria that duke Geron has taken arms to compel the princess to marry him. Immediately he sets out to her succour, but as usual, instead of appearing in his own character, goes in masquerade, in rusty armour, with a crooked spear, and shaved like a fool. In this trim he enters Meleager's hall, and demands as a boon the first adventure which may offer. This king was probably sufficiently sorry that he had granted it, when a damsel and a dwarf came in and demanded help for his niece the princess, now besieged in her citadel by duke Geron. The fool however displays his prowess on the way by discomfiting sundry knights, the last of whom was Geron's brother, whose armour he puts on, as better than his own. In this armour he encounters Geron himself at last, and compels him to cry for mercy; but the princess, when she sees him about to enter the gate, mistakes him for an enemy by his arms, escapes at another gate, and embarks on board a ship in the river. She is met on the way by sir Campanys, who is coming to her succour, he encourages her to return, and engages in battle with Ipomydon. Ipomydon's gauntlet is struck off, the ring is recognized by Campanys, who then embraces him as his brother; the mistake is cleared up, and the marriage takes place at last.

Sir Eglamour of Artoys is less original and less interesting. Lay le Fraine, a translation from the French of Marie, seems misplaced among tales of chivalry.

Sir Eger, sir Grahame, and sir Gray-

Steel. This is one of the last metrical romances which has been printed for popular sale: the copy which Mr. Ellis has made use of bears date 1711; but the printer had evidently followed a very imperfect manuscript, and most likely corrupted it still farther himself. Roswal and Lillian appears to have been printed about the same time, and also at some provincial press. The kingdom of Bealm is mentioned in both these poems: in the first it is not easy to fix its situation, it must be at no great distance from Galloway; in the latter it is not very far from Naples. They appear to be of much the same age, and neither of any great antiquity. Sir Degore, and Amys and Amylion, are both very old, being in the Auchinleck MSS. Of the last, which concludes the work, Mr. Scott has given an account in his notes to sir Tristram.

Such are the contents of these interesting volumes. The analyses are written with a levity which we have heard censured. It is perhaps too frequently apparent, but it is difficult to relate absurdities without seeming to perceive them. We should however have liked the abstracts better had they been written more in the manner of an old chronicler than of a modern.

English literature is much indebted to Mr. Ellis. We hope the success of his present work may induce him to extend it. Doubtless it would be far better that the poems themselves should be published; but if the age will not afford encouragement for this, it is desirable that we should have abstracts of all, especially from one who knows so well to select whatever is valuable.

ART. II.—*The Works of Edmund Spenser. In eight Volumes. With the principal Illustrations of various Commentators. To which are added, Notes, some Account of the Life of Spenser, and a glossarial, and other Indexes. By the Rev. HENRY JOHN TODD, M.A. F.A.S.* 8vo. 8 Vols.

IT was well remarked in the best of our magazines, when a new general collection of British poets was announced, that such collections were not desirable; that to the good writers there should be more comment, and of the indifferent ones less text; that the great poets ought to be edited with accuracy, labour, and learning, and the little ones cut down into anthologies. English literature is greatly indebted to Mr. Todd for his learned, laborious, and accurate edition of Milton, and not less so for the present work.

If there be any truth in physiognomy, the portrait prefixed to this edition is not the portrait of Edmund Spenser. It is the face of a short-sighted man wrinkling up his under eye-lids because he sees dimly; neither feeling nor genius, nor strong intellect, nor moral purity, are discoverable in any of its features; and that Spenser should have been without the outward and visible signs of any or all of these qualities, with which heaven had so richly endowed him, is not to be believed. What is the history of the original picture?

the name may have been affixed to give a value to the portrait of some forgotten person, or it may have been another Spenser, like the whole-length portrait of some Chaucer given at the end of Mr. Godwin's work, which certainly is not the likeness of old Geoffrey. If in this case it cannot be incontestably authenticated, we hope it will not be copied in any future edition; it is a libel upon the most delightful of all poets.

The present edition is in many respects the best which has ever appeared; it is the first to which the illustrations of various commentators have been subjoined, and what is of greater importance, the text has been carefully collated with the editions published during the author's lifetime. The original spelling is retained: on this subject we shall copy what the editor says.

" 'It is sufficient,' if I may apply to this circumstance the just observation of Dr. Johnson respecting the distinction of Shakespeare, 'that the words are Spenser's. If phraseology is to be changed as words grow uncouth by disuse, or gross by vulgarity, the history of every language will be lost; we shall no longer have the words of any author; and, as these alterations will be often unskillfully made, we shall in time have very little of his meaning.' And indeed if the text of Spenser, in the progress of English literature, had been constantly examined; I may be permitted, I hope, respectfully to observe that, in the invaluable dictionary of Johnson himself, some words could not have been admitted as the words of Spenser; that, in the remarks of Dr. Jortin, some conjectures would have been found needless; and that, in the observations even of Warton, a censure or two would never have appeared."

"I have also added, says the editor, a very humble account of the life of Spenser, drawn from authentic records; the curiosity and importance of which will, I trust, be admitted by the liberal and candid, as an apology for the want of biographical elegance. Mr. Todd need not have apologized; he has diligently collected many facts which had escaped former biographers; and as for the custom of sitting in judgment upon their authors, which

modern editors have introduced, and telling the reader what he is to admire, and what he is not; it is a custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

Spenser was born in London, in East Smithfield, by the Tower, about the year 1553: he was descended from the ancient and honourable family of Spenser, as his writings satisfactorily prove; and is himself the greatest honour of which that family can boast. 'The nobility of the Spensers, says Gibbon, has been illustrated and enriched by the trophies of Marlborough; but I exhort them to consider the Faerie Queen as the most precious jewel of their coronet.' The circumstances of his parents must however have been humble, since he was admitted at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, as a sizer. There is no truth in the story that he contended unsuccessfully against Andrews, afterwards the bishop, for a fellowship; but there seems to be no doubt that some disagreement took place between him and the master or tutor of the hall. The fault is not likely to have been on Spenser's side, if there be one spark of truth in the character which his friend Harvey has given of Dr. Perne.

"And wil you needes have my testimoniall of youre old controllers new behaviour? A busy and dizey heade; a brazen forehead; a ledden braine; a wooden wit; a copper face;* a stony breast; a factious and elvish heart; a founder of novelties; a confounder of his owne and his friends good gifts; a morning bookeworm; an afternoone maltworm; a right juggler, as ful of his sleights, wyles, fetches, casts of legerdemaine, toyes to mocke apes withall, odde shiftes, and knavish practizes, as his skin cap holde.' He then proceeds to reprobate the circumstance of 'many pupils, jackenates and hayle-fellowes-wel-met with their tutors; and, by your leave, some too, because forsooth they be gentlemen or great heires or a little neater and gayer than their fellows, (shall I say it for shame? beleieve me, tis too true,) their very own tutors!' To the notice of this abuse in academical instruction he subjoins a copious list of Latin reflections, full of indignation at its existence; one of which seems to point at the disagreement al-

* "This quotation certainly exhibits a choice example of Harvey's talent in the language of abuse; and Nash fails not to remind him of his 'singular liberalitie and bountie in bestowing this beautifull encomium upon Doctour Perne,' in his four letters confuted, 1592. Sign. E. 2. The author of the Life of Spenser, in the Biographia Britannica, has suffered a singular error of the press, in this passage of Harvey's letter, to pass unnoticed; by which, however, I grant, the severity of Harvey is somewhat softened, viz. 'a copper face; a sattin breast, &c.' The same ludicrous mistake occurs in the Life of Spenser, which is given in the Supplement to the Universal Magazine, vol. xlix. p. 33, &c.

ready mentioned: '*Cætera ferè ut olim: bellum inter capita et membra continuatum.*'"

There is some reason to suppose that some of Spenser's verses were published so early as 1569, the year in which he entered at Cambridge. Mr. Todd has discovered in a little volume, entitled, a Theatre for Worldlings, &c. six of the visions of Petrarch, differing only in a few corrections from those which are printed among his works. In the same volume also there are eleven of the visions of Bellay, in blank verse, yet according so nearly with the rhymed versions which Spenser afterwards published, as to shew that his versions were made from them, many whole lines being the same. Mr. Todd on these grounds, and on a passage in one of Harvey's letters, in which he praises his *Dreames*, thinks that these early translations are his. We were at first inclined to the same opinion, but on re-examination find reason to doubt, or to disbelieve. In the Theatre, the visions of Petrarch are said to be translated out of the *Brabants speech*, and those of Bellay out of *Dutch*. It is not likely that Spenser ever understood Dutch, and very unlikely that he should have understood it at the age of sixteen, which must have been his age within a year or two when the Theatre was published. Harvey's letter strengthens us in this opinion. "I dare say, he says, you will hold your self reasonably well satisfied, if your *Dreames* be but as well esteemed of in England as *Petrarches Visions* be in Italy." This would hardly have been said if Petrarch's Visions were the very poems alluded to: These visions are said, in the edition which the bookseller published when Spenser was in Ireland, to have been *formerly translated*; it is not stated by whom. But it is more likely that Spenser or the bookseller added them to complete the subject and fill the volume, than that he should have translated from the Dutch at the age of sixteen. There remains then a charge of plagiarism with respect to the Visions of Bellay, but it is of no very serious nature. He needed not, as Mr. Todd observes, to borrow such petty aids to fame. They may have been originally written by one of his friends who gave them to him to remodel.

After having taken his last degree in arts, Spenser, as it is supposed, left Cambridge, and went to reside with some relations in the north of England; in 1578 he ventured, by Harvey's advice, to Lon-

don. He had before this time written his *Dreams*, which are probably the other translations from Bellay; the *Legends and Court of Cupid*, which seem to have been interwoven into the *Faerie Queen*; his *Slomber*, his *Dying Pellicane*, and his *Stemmata Dudleiana*, of which nothing is known; his *Epihalamion Thamesis*, also in the *Faerie Queen*; and a discourse under the title of the *English Poet*, which he purposed then to publish, but fulfilled not his intention.

In a singular and excellent book entitled, France painted to the Life, of which the second edition was printed in 1657, a poem of Spenser's is mentioned, or rather meant to be mentioned, which is not now to be found among his works. The passage is as follows: the writer is describing his fellow-travellers in the coach from Orleans to Paris: "—and so I am come to the old woman, which was the last of our goodly companions; a woman so old, that I am not at this day fully resolved whether she were ever young or no: it was well I had read the scriptures, otherwise I might have been prone to have thought her one of the first pieces of the creation, and that by some mischance she had escaped the Flood: her face was for all the world like unto that of *Sybilla Erythraea* in some old print, or that of one of Solomon's two harlots in the painted cloth; you would not but have imagined her one of the reliques of the first age after the building of *Babel*, for her very complexion was a confusion more dreadful than that of languages: as yet I am uncertain whether the poem of our arch-poet Spenser entitled

was not purposely intended on her; sure I am it is very applicable in the title." p. 309. In the book before us a blank is unluckily left where the name of the poem should have been; whether it be the same in other copies we know not; but we have noticed the page that Mr. Todd may examine, if he should think there is any hope of recovering the poem by this clue.

On his arrival in London Harvey introduced him to sir Philip Sidney. It has been of late years the fashion to depreciate the genius of this most admirable man; and Mr. Todd, who, in matters of taste, exercises more faith than reason, joins in the common censure. Horace Walpole, we believe, was the first person who hazarded this opinion, and we all know how opinions are taken ready-made upon such authority. Much of the praise which Sidney received during his life may have

been paid to his rank; it may have been flattery as to its motive, but in its matter it was no more than the praise to which he was entitled. Nobody, it has been said, reads the *Arcadia*. We have known very many persons who have read it, men, women, and children, and never knew one who read it without deep interest, and an admiration at the genius of the writer, great in proportion as they were capable of appreciating it. The verses are very bad, not that he was a bad poet, (on the contrary, much of his poetry is of high merit,) but because he was then versifying upon an impracticable system. Let the reader pass over all the eclogues, as dull interludes unconnected with the drama, and if he do not delight in the story itself, in the skill with which the incidents are woven together and unravelled, and in the Shakspearian power and character of language with which they are painted; let him be assured the fault is in himself and not in the book.

Biography, like history, has been too often made up of falsehoods; the first thing which he discovers, who conscientiously sets about to write either, is, that they who have gone before him have either been deficient in research, or in veracity, or in both. Scarcely any of the anecdotes which have been related of Spenser are true. His introduction to Sidney was not by means of the stanzas describing despair; it is not true that he sent to the queen the lines about rhyme and reason, complaining that her intended bounty was withheld from him; it is not true that his merit was neglected and unrewarded; it is not true that he perished in the streets of Dublin. Mr. Todd says he was probably employed at Penshurst in some literary service; and at least assisted, we may suppose, the Platonic and chivalrous studies of the gallant and learned youth, who had so kindly noticed him. This is conjecture only; but whether he acted as tutor or not, the conversation of such a man must have been of infinite advantage to Sidney; and there is proof enough that Spenser on his part was a learner also. He became a convert to the scheme of introducing the classical metres. On this subject he thus expresses himself in his letters to Harvey.

"As for the two worthy gentlemen, master Sidney, and master Dyer, they have me, I thank them, in some use of familiarity: of whom, and to whom, what speache passeth for your credite and estimation, I leave your selfe to conceive, having alwayes so well con-

ceived of my unfained affection, and zeale towards you. And howe they have proclaimed in their *ἀπειρώται* a general surceasing and silence of balde rymers, and also of the verie beste to: in steade whereof, they have, by authoritie of their whole senate, prescribed certaine lawes and rules of quantities of English sillables, for English verse; having had thereof already great practise, and drawn mee to their faction. Newe bookes I heare of none, but only of one that writing a certaine booke, called *The Schoole of Abuse*, and dedicating it to maister Sidney, was for hys labor scorned; if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne. Such follie is it, not to regarde aforehande the inclination and qualitie of him, to whome we dedicate oure bookes. Suche mighte I happily incurre, entituling *My Slomber*, and the other pamphlets, unto his honor. I meant them rather to maister Dyer. But I am, of late, more in love wyth my Englishe versifying, than with ryming: whyche I should have done long since, if I would then have followed your counsell. *Sed te solum iam tum suspicabar cum Aschamo sapere; nunc Aulam video egregios alere Poëtas Anglicos.*"

"Truste me, your verses I like passingly well, and envye your hidden paines in this kinde, or rather maligne and grudge at your selfe, that woulde not once imparte so muche to me. But, once or twice, you make a breache in maister Drant's rules: *quod tamen condonabimus tanta Poëta, tuæq; ipsius maxime in his rebus autoritati.* You shall see, when we meete in London, (whiche, when it shall be, certifie us) howe fast I have followed after you in that course: beware, leaste in time I overtake you: *Peruntamen te solum sequar, (ut sapenumero sum professus,) nunquam samè assequar, dum vivam.*"

The specimen of iambics in this letter is surely misprinted: '*thought*' should end the second line, instead of beginning the third.

This scheme of versification, however once, says Mr. Todd, the favourite employment of our poets in the age of Elizabeth, will be always too repulsive to gain many admirers or imitators; requiring, as it generally requires, a pronunciation most dismal, most unmusical, or most ridiculous; and in a note he quotes the following passage from Nash, which as applied to that scheme of hexameter, has both truth and humour. "The hexamiter verse I graunt to be a gentleman of an auncient house, (so is many an English beggar,) yet this clyme of ours hee cannot thrive in; our speech is too craggy for him to set his plough in; hee goes twitching and hopping in our language like a man running upon quagmiers, up the hill

in one syllable, and down the dale in another; retaining no part of that stately smooth gate, which he vaunts himself with amongst the Greeks and Latins." Mr. Todd has added also a quotation from bishop Hall's Satires; but he is not aware that the satire there is particular and not general; it applies to Stanihurst's four first books of the *Aeneid*, than which certainly nothing can be more extraordinary nor more ridiculous.

The attempt failed, because it could not have succeeded unless the pronunciation of the language had been altered. If they had written by accent instead of quantity, they might have been successful. Spenser felt the inconvenience, as appears by a subsequent letter to his friend.

"I like your late English Hexameters so exceedingly well, that I also enure my penne sometime in that kinde: whyche I fynde meede, as I have heard you often defende in worde, neither so harde nor so harsh, that it will easily and fairely yeelde it selfe to oure moother tongue. For the onely, or chiefe hardness, whyche seemeth, is in the accent; whyche sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ilfavouredly; comming shorthe of that it should, and sometime exceeding the measure of the number: as in Carpenter, the middle sillable being used shorthe in speache, when it shall be read long in verse, seemeth like a lame gosling, that draweth one legge after hir: and Heaven, being used shorthe as one sillable when it is in verse, stretched out with a diastole, is like a lame dogge that holdes up one legge. But it is to be wonne with custome, and rough words must be subdued with use. For, why a God's name may not we, as * else the Greekes, have the kingdome of our owne language, and measure our accent by the sounde, reserving the quantitie to the verse?—Loe here I let you see my olde use of toying in rymes, turned into your artificial straightnesse of verse by this *tetrasticon*. I beseech you tell me your fancies, without parcialitie.

"See yee the blindefoulded pretie god, that feathered archer,

Of lovers miseries which maketh his bloodie game?

Wote ye why, his moother with a veale hath covered his face?

Truste me, least he my loove happely chaunce to beholde."

If Spenser, as he felt the inconvenience, had perceived the remedy as well, he would have naturalized the hexameter in our language, and naturalized sooner or later it will be here as in Germany. Goldsmith says that Sidney's "miscarriage was no more than that of failing in an attempt to

introduce a new fashion." The failure was not owing to any defect or imperfection in the scheme, but to the want of taste, to the irresolution and ignorance of the public. Goldsmith had probably never looked at Sir Philip's metres, or he could not have been so egregiously mistaken. What he says of the metres themselves is better founded, and a poet's opinion upon such a subject should have the same weight as that of one of the judges in law. 'It is generally supposed, says he, that the genius of the English language will not admit of Greek or Latin measure; but this, we apprehend, is a mistake owing to the prejudice of education. It is impossible that the same measure, composed of the same tunes, should have a good effect upon the ear in one language, and a bad effect in another. The truth is, we have been accustomed from our infancy to the numbers of English poetry, and the very sound and signification of the words disposes the ear to receive them in a certain manner; so that its disappointment must be attended with a disagreeable sensation. In imbibing the first rudiments of education, we acquire, as it were, another ear for the numbers of the Greek and Latin poetry; and this being reserved entirely for the sounds and significations of the words that constitute those dead languages, will not easily accommodate itself to the sounds of our vernacular tongue, though conveyed in the same time and measure. In a word, Latin and Greek have annexed to them the ideas of the ancient measure from which they are not easily disjoined. But we will venture to say, this difficulty might be surmounted by an effort of attention and a little practice; and in that case we should, in time, be as well pleased with English as with Latin hexameters. We have seen several late specimens of English hexameters and sapphics, so happily composed, that by attaching them to the idea of ancient measure, we found them in all respects as melodious and agreeable to the ear, as the works of Virgil and Anacreon, or Horace.'

It was not possible that Spenser, the most harmonious of all our poets, could long continue to write verses upon the rules of Latin prosody. He now began his *Faerie Queen*, and had written his nine comedies, which were certainly dramas, not Teares of the Muses, as has been supposed, for Harvey compares them to the come-

* Else is perhaps a misprint for *als* or *also*.

dies of Ariosto, to which he says they 'came neerer for the fineness of plausible elocution, and the rareness of poetical invention, than that elvish queen doth to his Orlando Furioso; which, notwithstanding, you will needes seeme to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly professed yourself in one of your last letters.' These plays could not have been without great merit, being Spenser's; but Harvey did not understand the genius of his friend, when he dissuaded him from the prosecution of his greater work. "If so be the Faerie Queen be fairer in your eye than the Nine Muses, (after whom the comedies are named) and Hobgoblin runne away with the garland from Apollo; marke what I saye, and yet I will not say that I thought; but there an end for this once, and fare you well till God, or some good angell, putte you in a better mind." This sneering mention of Hobgoblin is in the spirit of the cardinal's famous speech to Ariosto.

Spenser was not long without promotion. Leicester patronized him, and in 1580 he went to Ireland as secretary to Arthur lord Grey, the lord-lieutenant. In an evil hour was his lot assigned in the most barbarous and miserable country in Europe! He obtained a grant in 1586 of above 3000 acres, out of the forfeited lands of the earl of Desmond, and a heavy price did he ultimately pay for them. His residence, for he was obliged by the patent to cultivate the land assigned to him, was at Kilcolman castle, two miles north-west of Doneraile, in the county of Cork.

"The castle is now almost level with the ground. It was situated on the north side of a fine lake, in the midst of a vast plain, terminated to the east by the county of Waterford mountains; Bally-howra hills to the north, or, as Spenser terms them, the mountains of Mole; Nagle mountains to the south; and the mountains of Kerry to the west. It commanded a view of above half of the breadth of Ireland; and must have been, when the adjacent uplands were wooded, a most pleasant and romantic situation; from whence, no doubt, Spenser drew several parts of the scenery of his poem. The river Mulla, which he more than once has introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds. Here indeed the poet has described himself, as keeping his flock under the foot of the mountain Mole, amongst the coolly shades of green alders by the shore of Mulla; and charming his oaten pipe (as his custom was) to his fellow-shepherd swains."

How very much do we wish that some

views of this scenery had been given in the present edition!

In Ireland he became acquainted with Raleigh, and encouraged by him, published the three first books of his great poem. With Raleigh he came to England, and was by him introduced at court; Elizabeth soon granting him a pension of fifty pounds a year as laureat, though he is not styled so in the patent. This was but a visit to the mother-country; his destiny was to be Ireland, unhappily for himself and for English literature, and there, in 1594, he married. The epithalamium on his own marriage is one of the very finest poems which ever was written; were but a few parts omitted, it might be pronounced perfect. In 1596 the three remaining books of the Fairy Queen were published, his smaller poems having been published since the former three. He came to England in this year, and presented, as Mr. Todd fairly infers, his *View of the State of Ireland* to the queen. As this truly admirable performance deserved some high reward, so it is likely that it would have received it, had he lived longer. Mr. Malone has discovered a letter from Elizabeth to the Irish government, dated the last day of September 1598, recommending him to be sheriff of Cork. But in the next month Tyrone's rebellion broke out: Spenser was obliged to fly from the rebels, who burnt his house, his papers, and one of his children; he arrived in England with a broken heart, and died in the January following.

"The date of Spenser's death, together with some circumstances attending it, has often been mis-stated. The precise day of his death is now asserted, for the first time, on the following authority communicated by the learned and reverend John Brand, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries; which exists in the title-page of the second edition of the *Faerie Queene*, now in his possession, and which appears to have belonged originally to Henry Capell; after whose autograph, the date of 1598 is added. After the name of Ed. Spenser in the title-page, the following invaluable anecdote is preserved: 'Qui obiit apud diversorium in platea regia, apud Westmonasterium iuxta London, 16^{to} die Januarij 1598^o. Juxtaq; Gellereum Chaucer, in eadem ecclesia supradict. (honoratissimi comitis Essexie impensis) sepelitur.' Henry Capell has added *apud diversorium* in the paler ink with which his own name is written. It appears then that the testimony of Camden, in regard to the place of Spenser's death, is correct; which was in King-street, Westminster, as he relates; and not, as * others in

* Cibber's Lives of the Poets. Warton's Observ. on Spenser, vol. ii. p. 231. Brydges's edition of Phillips's Theatrum Poet. Anglic. p. 156, &c.

opposition to his authority have reported, in King-street Dublin. It appears also that he died at an inn or lodging-house, 'apud diversorium,' in which he and his family had probably been fixed from the time of their arrival in England. It is remarkable that Mr. Capell should have omitted to notice a single circumstance of the extreme poverty in which Spenser is said to have died, if the bitterest circumstances of that kind had really attended his death. The burial having been ordered at the charge of the earl of Essex, may surely be considered as a mark of that nobleman's respect for the poet, without proving that the poet was starved. Of the man who had thus perished a remarkable funeral might seem almost mockery; and yet the pall was held up by some of the poets of the time.

"But Camden has said, that Spenser returned to England poor; 'in Angliam inops reversus.' Deprived, by a general calamity, of his property in the province of Munster; he was, if we contrast his situation with better days, undoubtedly poor. Yet was he not without the certainty of at least a decent subsistence; and, I am persuaded, was not without friends. His annual pension of fifty pounds, granted him by the queen, was beyond the reach of the barbarous kerns of Munster; a sum by no means inconsiderable in those days. And we may at least believe, that a plundered servant of the crown would not pass unnoticed by the government, either in regard to a permanent compensation, or to immediate relief if requisite. But the numerous narrators of Spenser's death, both 'in prose and rhyme,' have determined to give an unbounded meaning to Camden's *inops*; and have accordingly represented the poet as dying in extreme indigence and want of bread."

Some particulars respecting the children and descendants of Spenser have also been discovered by Mr. Todd. They recovered as much of their ancestor's lands after the Restoration as could be proved to be his; but forfeited them by adhering to James II. One branch however followed the better party, and a daughter of that branch is now living. An original portrait of the poet is said to be in her possession; but Mr. Todd has not been successful in his enquiries concerning it. As he mentions another, reported to be at Castle Saffron, in the neighbourhood of Kilcolman, the seat of John Loor, esq. we hope that by one or other of these the present portrait may be disproved.

After the life follow lists of the editions, and imitations, and criticisms on Spenser, as also of the alterations of Spenser. We copy the account of two of these literary curiosities.

"Alterations of Spenser.

"1. Spenser Redivivus, containing the first book of the Fairy Queen; his essential design preserv'd, but his obsolete language and manner of verse totally laid aside. Deliver'd in heroic numbers. By a per on of quality. Lond. 1687. 8vo.—This person of quality complains that Spenser's style is no less unintelligible than the obsolete of our English or Saxon dialect, and that to the politely judicious he presents the poet as 'he ought to have been, instead of what is to be found in himself.' I must confess, however, that such an exhibition of Spenser Redivivus, however politely intended, bears no very flattering testimony to the judgment of this reformer. Let him speak for himself. The revived poem thus opens:

'A worthy knight was riding on the plain,
In armour clad, which richly did contain
The gallant marks of many battels fought,
Tho' he before no martial habit sought, &c.
Yet with his comely looks appeared sad,
Without the sign of fear or being bad.—
Near to his side an ass, more white than
snow,

A lovely lady's weight did undergo ?—

On their approach to the cave of Error,
the Dwarf is represented

'Begging that instant they'd for safety fly,
Since his soul, tho' in his small bulk, could
spy
Vast mischiefs did within that cave abscond,
And must, if sought, best human strength con-
found.'

And this is the dress forsooth in which poor
Spenser ought to have appeared ! !

"2. Spenser's Fairy Queen attempted in blank verse, with notes, critical and explanatory. Lond. 1783. 8vo. The copy, which I have seen, proceeds no further than to the end of the fourth canto of the first book. And, I believe, no more was published. The introduction relates that 'The following cantos are presented for the approbation of the publick, in which case they will be followed by the remainder of the poem. The first of these cantos was published some years ago, and the transposer has since added some notes from the best writers on the subject, &c. &c.—The whole of this work will be comprised in sixteen numbers, and will be published with all convenient speed, should this first number meet with a moderate share of encouragement. A short account of the life of Spenser will be subjoined to the last number.' The four first lines will be a sufficient specimen of this alteration.

"'No more my muse her shepherd's weeds
shall wear,
But change her oaten pipe for trumpets loud,
And sing of noble deeds which long have
slept;

Fierce wars and faithful loves shall grace my song.' "

The commendatory verses on Spenser might well have been omitted. Where the author himself, according to old custom, has affixed them, they ought to be retained, being then materials for literary history; but there is no end of stringing together passages from modern poets in praise of the great masters of the art, and no use in it.

The poems are printed in the order of their first publication, except that those which appear between the two parts of the Faery Queen are placed after it. To the Shepheard's Calender, the *glosse* or *scholion* of Spenser's friend E. K. to whom the care of editing it was intrusted, is properly retained. Hughes first omitted it, in which all the subsequent editions have followed him. On Mr. Todd's annotations we shall make such remarks as have occurred in an attentive perusal of this the first good edition of our favourite poet.

Vol. I. p. 32. "*Perke as a peacocke. Pert or brisk.*" This word Dr. Johnson observes is obsolete; but I believe it is yet in use among the vulgar. Todd." We have often heard both the adjective and the verb in the west of England. An amusing example may be cited from the translation of Hans Engelbrecht's Visions by Francis Okely, formerly of St. John's, Cambridge, 1780. Hans having been expressly ordered by an angel to write his visions down and get them printed, says, "Now this was my motive for getting up very early this morning at four o'clock to begin; and therefore do I exhort you all ye men in the world who get the reading of this narrative into your hands, to be sure never to suffer your reason to *perk up*, and be dictating therein; but believe you this simply just as I have written it down."

P. 139. The song of which Mr. Todd says every seventh verse is an echo to the preceding is a regular sextine, a foolish species of trifling, common in Italian and Spanish poetry. Mr. Todd has not understood it. The final words of each line must be the same in every stanza; but the last termination of the first stanza becomes the first of the second, the first second, the second third, and so on, till the six changes have been rung, and the whole is concluded by a tercet of the second, third, and sixth termination of the first stanza. Of the many foolish tricks which have been tried upon versification, there have been few more foolish than this, for it has nothing but its difficulty to recommend it.

"Ver. 53.—checkmate.] The movement on the chess-board, says Dr. Johnson, that kills the opposite men or hinders them from moving. But, according to Mr. Tyrwhitt, *chekemate*, or simply *mate*, is a term used at chess, when the king is actually made prisoner, and the game finished. Gloss. to Chaucer. The word is repeatedly used by Chaucer; and by Skelton, in the same sense: see Skelton's Poems, edit. 1736, p. 158.

'Set vp ye wretche on hye
In a trone triumphantly;
Make him a great estate,
And he wil play check mate
With royall maiestee, &c.'

In the same poems, we find the participle *check-mated*, p. 258.

'Oure days be datyd,
To be chek matyd
With drawtys of deth, &c.' Todd."

It is amusing to see Johnson and Tyrwhitt referred to for the explanation of a term known to every chess-player in the kingdom, and wrongly explained by both! and Skelton quoted for a word every day in use.

The remarks of various critics upon the Shepheard's Calender are misplaced; they should have been after the epilogue, not after the last eclogue.

Much preliminary matter is affixed to the Faery Queen: the remarks of Hughes, Spence, Warton, Upton, and Hurd, with notes and additional remarks by the present editor.

Vol. II. p. civ. Mr. Todd traces the enchanted chamber of Cupid to the eighth book of Amadis of Gaul, or rather the second part of Amadis of Greece. But the procession or mask of Cupid is to be found in the same work, cap. 118. ff. 210. of the original Spanish.

P. cxxv. An edition of Bernard's Isle of Man was printed at Bristol three or four years ago. It is dull, because the allegory is 'according to the lawes of England.' But, as Mr. Todd observes, it very probably occasioned the Pilgrim's Progress. Bunyan's other allegory, the Holy War, is not mentioned in this list. How can Mr. Todd praise Henry More's platonic Song of the Soul as "often presenting as just an allegory and as sweet a stanza as the original which it professes to follow?" The stanza, if our memory does not deceive us, is the same in structure—but as for any other resemblance, they who seek it will seek it in vain: nothing can be more obscure, inharmonious, unpoeetical, and unreadable.

P. clxi. The Alexandrine will be found in the History of Beryn, printed with the

Canterbury Tales of Chaucer. Sir Thomas Wiat may perhaps first have used it as a final line.

P. cxcix. The poem signed R. S. cannot be by Robert Southwell. Southwell was a jesuit, and would never have complimented Elizabeth. The "Epistle of Comfort," addressed by this good man to the suffering catholics, is a truly beautiful work. He himself at last was a martyr in the cause.

Mr. Todd has marked in the text all such syllables as he conceives to be accented differently from the present pronunciation: but this is not always done to the advantage of the metre. He seems to proceed upon an assumption that the verse *must* be iambic; an opinion very prevalent among gentlemen who review modern verses, but which ought not to appear in one who is editing old poetry. The following lines, for instance, read better according to the natural accentuation, than by Mr. Todd's accent.

"Soon as that uncouth light upon them shone.
All clean dismayed to see so uncouth sight."

uncouth is one of the very few words in our language which are pure spondees.

"Who now is left to keepe the forlorne maid?"

If the editor's accent be followed, it makes a molossus at the end of the line. It is needless to multiply instances. The principle upon which he proceeds is wrong. The following note is a glaring instance of the same common error, differently applied.

"Of proud Lucifer, as one of the traine:] So the first quarto: the 2d, "Of proud Lucifer" as one of the traine." Which is no versè: So too the folios. But Mr. Hughes from his conjecture, "of proud Lucifera as one o' th' traine." That the reading which I have given is Spenser's own, appears not only from the authority of his own edition; but likewise from his usual elision in such like proper names: Thus, in F. Q. i. iv. 2.

'Called Fidess', and so suppos'd to be.'

Again, st. 15.

'But to Duesse' each one himselfe did payne.'
See also F. Q. i. vi. 2. xii. 21. iii. ii. 32. UPTON."

Mr. Upton, and Mr. Todd after him, have not perceived, that to make this a verse as they have printed it, *as* and *of* must be made long syllables, whereas according to the folios and the second quarto, no other licence is taken than that of

accounting two short syllables as one long one, of which instances may be found in every page of every good poet. The examples adduced as authority are not in point: the elision, in both cases, is inevitable, and the lines can no more be read without it, than this can with it.

Vol. II. 85. A humorous example of the notion, that a lion will offer no injury to a true virgin and of royal blood, occurs in the Mad Lover of Beaumont and Fletcher. When the old general Memnon has run mad for the love of the princess, they think to impose upon him by bringing him a whore under her name.

"Memnon. Come hither once more:
The princess smells like morning's breath,
pure amber,
Beyond the courted Indies in her spices.
Still a dead rat by heaven!—thou art a princess.

"Eumen. What a dull whore is this!

"Memn. I'll tell ye presently;
For if she be a princess, as she may be,
And yet stink too and strongly, I shall find her;
Fetch the Numidian lyon I brought over,
If she be sprung from royal blood, the lyon
He'll do ye reverence—else—"

Vol. III. 65. Best musicke breeds *delight* in loathing eare. *Dislike* should have been in the text. What Dr. Leyden says in his excellent edition of the Complaynt of Scotland, should be remembered by all editors. "With all his respect for ancient authors, the editor has never ceased to recollect, that no ancient of them all, is so old as common sense; and he is ready to admit, that the preservation of an obvious typographical error, has always appeared to him as flagrant a violation of common sense, as the preservation of an inverted word or letter: a species of inaccuracy which the most rigid antiquary does not hesitate to correct."

P. 90. *Griesie* is rightly restored to the text instead of *grisly*, which the delicacy of modern editors had substituted.

"As eagle, fresh out of the ocean wave,]
See Psalm ciii. 5. 'Thy youth is renewed like the eagle.' The interpreters tell us, that every ten years the eagle soars into the fiery region, from thence plunges himself into the sea, where, moulting his old feathers, he acquires new. To this opinion Spenser visibly alludes. UPTON."

Upon this passage a good commentary is to be found in the old translation of Bartholomeo Glantville's book, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, by Stephen Ratman, professor in divinitie. "Austria

saith, and Plinie also, that in age the eagle hath darknesse and dimnesse in eien, and hevinesse in wings, and against this disadvantage she is taught by kinde to seeke a well of springing water; and then she flyeth up into the aire as far as she may, till she be full hot by heat of the aire, and by travaile of flight, and so then by heate the pores be opened, and the feathers chafed, and she falleth sodeinglye into the well, and there the feathers be chaunged, and the dimnesse of her eien is wiped away and purged, and she taketh againe her might and strength."

Was it with reference to this poem that Raleigh called one of the rivers which he entered in Guiana, the River of the Red Cross?—"ourselves," he says, "being the first christians that ever came therein."

Page 300.

"Is not enough fowre quarters of a man
Withouten sword or shield, an hoste to
quayle?"

There is a fine story in the Edgeworths' Essay on Bulls, which makes us believe that Spenser caught the expression in Ireland.

P. 348. Church's emendation should have been adopted in the text. Spenser never introduces the Alexandrine out of its place in his stanza. Excepting his he-nistichs, there is but one instance of irregularity throughout the whole of the poem, which is in the arrangement of a hyme, and even that is probably an error of the printer.

Vol. IV. p. 8. The verb to *coure* is by no means obsolete. We have heard it in common use in many parts of the kingdom.

P. 200. Spenser mentions among

"the nation of unfortunate

And fatall birds—

The whistler shrill, that whoso heares doth
dy."

What is this? the line requires a note.

P. 350.

Long time ye both in armes shall beare
great sway,

Till thy wombes burden thee from them do
call,

And his last fate him from thee take away;
Too rathe cut off by practise criminall
Of secrete foes, that him shall make in secret
fall."

The imitation of Ariosto is not noticed here. It is the more remarkable, because there seems to be no reason for leaving so unpleasant a prophecy either upon Britomart or the reader.

P. 416. There is an oversight in this part of the story which all the commentators have overlooked. Florimell's Dwarf Dony says that his mistress left the court upon the rumour of Marinell's being slain; but in the poem, Guyon, and prince Arthur, and Britomart, are separated by Florimell's flight, the two knights pursue her; the Errant-damsel proceeds on her way, and coming the next day to the sea-shore encounters Marinell, and gives him his dangerous wound.

P. 228.

"More subtle web Arachne cannot spin;
Nor the fine nets, which oft we woven see
Of scorched dew, do not in ayre more
lightly flee."

What then was the gossamer supposed to be?

Vol. V. p. 139. The emendation proposed by Church should have been adopted. So also p. 221, *quiet age* is nonsense as it stands there, *quietage*, just such a word as Spenser would have made when he wanted it.

Vol. VI. p. 77.

"And all his face deformed with infamie."

This passage requires a note. Scarifying the face was one of the Gothic punishments, but to what chivalrous custom does this allude?

P. 299. st. 61. In this stanza the irregularity of rhyme occurs. Church proposes the easy alteration of *hire* instead of *meed*; but Mr. Todd says, the stanza exhibits three triads of rhymes, and no alteration seems requisite. Did he not recollect that it is the only stanza in the poem which has three triads? We may here observe that Upton has mistaken the metre of the arguments; he says that the poet intended they should be metre, but humbled down to the lowest prose; and therefore split his words, as thus:

"The witch creates a snowy Lady
like to Florimell."

The fact is, that the two lines were considered as one in metre, and only printed otherwise on account of the length of line. The common ballad stanza was a couplet; and when written thus has a greater variety of pauses, as in this very instance, than in its modern form.

I know not whether it has been observed that Spenser becomes less alliterative as his poem proceeds.

The notes which Mr. Todd has retained are more numerous than useful. Many,

indeed, are utterly worthless. Why should good paper be filled with such word-hunting inanity as in these instances?

"In sunbright armes,] The epithet sunbright is certainly, as Mr. Upton has observed, a very happy one. But I doubt whether Spenser may be pronounced the original framer of it. In Greene's *Arcadia*, 1589, it is thus employed: "Sunnebright Venus." Fairfax, Milton, and Henry More, all ardent admirers of Spenser, have adopted this compound. Davies also in his *Scourge of Folly*, 1611. p. 44, has "his sun-bright glory. Todd."

"They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
And their bright squadrons round about us plant;] The guardianship of angels is a favourite theme of Spenser and of Milton. It is difficult to pronounce which of them has decorated the subject with greater elegance and sensibility. Spenser probably might here remember the following lines of Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, ver. 121.

—Δαίμονες ἴσι Διὸς μεγάλα δῶ βωγῆς,
Ἑσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Italian poetry, I should observe, delights in describing angelic squadrons. See my note on Milton's *Par. Lost*, b. iv. 977. Milton, indeed, before he had become deeply versed in Italian literature, borrowed from his favourite Spenser, this disposition of the heavenly host into squadrons bright. See his *Ode Nativ.* v. 21. "And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons bright." We may therefore no longer suppose that Milton could here be much indebted to Sylvester's "heaven's glorious host in nimble squadrons," *Du Bart.* p. 13. See *Considerations on Milton's early Reading*, 1800, p. 46. The fact is, that Sylvester often plunders Spenser, but often also accommodates the theft to his purpose with little taste or judgment. Todd."

"They courteous congé took.] It may be remarked that this phrase often occurs in romance. Thus, in *Histoire du Chevalier aux armes doree*, 4to. Paris, bl. l. s. d. Sign. G. iii. 'Comme le Cheuallier aux armes doree print conge de la bonne dame pour aller poursuyre le roy de Noruegue.' Again, Sign. L. i. 'Le Cheualier print conge du seigneur du chasteau engage lequel luy fist bailler chevaux & armeures.' And, in *l'Histoire & plaisant Cronique du petit Jehan de Saintre*, 4to. bl. l. s. d. fol. x. b. 'Et quant il fut hors de la chambre & eut prins son piteux congie, &c.' Again, fol. xxvii. 'Après que Sainte eut prins conge des barons, &c.' See also *F. Q.* ii. iii. 2, ii. xi. 17, &c. Todd."

A most stupid note of Upton's is retained vol. VI. p. 151. A character in the poem is called Dolon, and the sagacious commentator tells us that Dolon is mentioned by Homer, and goes on as if this were the

same person! Upton's notes are in general the worst, except indeed a few political ones, which might have been very pretty articles to carry to market ten years ago, but are now somewhat stale. A few of the present editor's, and but few, contain some curious matter. We shall quote the best.

"And many-folded shield] An idea of the many-folded shields, which were formerly in use, may be gathered from a curious writer on the subject. "Our Saxon ancestors," says he, "used shields of skin, among whom for that the artificer put sheep-sells to that purpose, the great Athelstan, king of England, vterly forbad by a lawe such deceit, as in the printed booke of Saxon lawes is extant to be seene. With this vsage of agglewing or fastning hard tanned hides for defense, agree their etymologie, who derive *scutum*, the Latin of a shield, from the Greeke word ΣΚΥΤΟΣ, a *skinne*:"—And presently after the writer describes the many-folded shield of the Duke of Lancaster, hung up in old St. Paul's cathedral; "It is very convex toward the bearer, whether by warping through age, or as made of purpose. It hath in dimension more then three quarters of a yeard of length, and aboue half a yeard in breadth. Next to the body is a canvas glew'd to a boord; vpon that thin boord are broad thin axicles, slices, or plates of horne, naild fast; and againe ouer them twenty and sixe thicke peeces of the like, meeting or centring about a round plate of the same size as the nauell of the sheild; and ouer all is a leather clozed fast to them with glew or other holding stuffe, vpon which his armories were painted, &c." *Bolton's Elements of Armories*, 4to. 1618, pp. 66-70. Todd."

"Which by that new rencounter &c.] Rencounter is an accidental combat or adventure. Fr. *Rencontre*. It is thus explained, in contradistinction to duelling. Duelling having been formerly prohibited in France, 'no attair of honour was decided but by the way of *Rencontre*;' a word invented to escape the cognizance of the law. By the term *Rencontre* is meant, that, if a gentleman either covertly or overtly affronts another, the first opportunity, out of the reach of witness, is taken, by either or both, to appoint a street or a road in which they are to meet to a moment; and, either on foot, on horseback, or in their carriage, occasion some kind of jelling or sudden scuffle, as they should have agreed on beforehand, to be looked upon in the sense of whatever spectators may be accidentally present, as an unforeseen and instantaneous event, and by no means the effect of any former provocation, since which they might have had time to reflect and grow cool." See M. Goustard de Massi's *History of Duelling* transl. Lond. 1770. P. ii. Sect. ii.

"Todd."

The treatise on the state of Ireland, it appears, has not been published without mutilation. In some MSS. says Mr. Todd, which I have seen, the severity of Spenser, as well in respect to certain families as to the nation in general, is considerably amplified. But I have not thought it necessary to specify every particular of dormant, and perhaps not justifiable harshness. It would be difficult to conceive any degree of harshness which would not have been justifiable from Spenser in those times, and we cannot but wish this admirable treatise had been printed entire.

The smaller poems have received some valuable additions. The original translations of Bellay are added in a note; and four sonnets by Spenser, collected from the original publications in which they appeared. They are however wrongly placed at the end of his other sonnets, which they might better have preceded, for they interrupt the connection with the epithalamium.

It is singular that Spenser, who possessed the finest ear of all our poets without

any exception, should uniformly end his sonnets with a couplet, the worst possible termination for that form of poem.

The editor has not done rightly in retaining Britain's *Ida*, which is universally acknowledged not to be Spenser's. Its licentiousness would be proof enough were there no other. Spenser had a perfectly pure mind; in the whole of his works there is but one stanza reprehensible for indecency.

This edition is assuredly a very valuable one, and the public are greatly indebted to Mr. Todd for his fidelity and labour. We wish the book were handsomer; handsome it is as far as regards quality of paper, form of letter, and colour of ink; but every page is deformed by the abominable custom of splitting a verse because the page is too narrow. There are two ways of remedying this offensive unsightliness: by using a smaller type suited to the page, or restoring the foolscap quarto; the size universally preferred for poetry over all Europe two centuries ago, in the best age of printing, and certainly the best adapted for it.

ART. III.—*The Wanderer of Switzerland, and other Poems.* By JAMES MONTGOMERY. small 8vo. pp. 175.

IF the reader will take the trouble to refer to the critiques on the first, second, and third volumes of the Poetical Register, in the respective volumes of the Annual Review, he will find in every one a warm commendation of the pieces there given under the signature of Alcæus, some of which are quoted in confirmation of the opinion expressed, and 'as an encouragement to bashful merit.'

This Alcæus, as it now appears, is Mr. Montgomery, and it must naturally give us the most lively satisfaction to learn from his preface, 'that the favour which a few of his pieces anonymously obtained, gave birth to the present volume.'

Oh! when the lyre of such a poet, like the harp of Memnon, which he has so beautifully apostrophized in one of his odes, was waiting only to beamed upon to wake into life and harmony, who could have forgiven the niggard churlishness of that criticism which should have refused to illumine his retirement with the brightest smile of welcome?

Kindle every chord, that gleams
Like a ray of heavenly fire!

Battle of Alexandria."

The first and longest of these poems, entitled 'The Wanderer of Switzerland,' commemorates, in equal strains, characters and events worthy to live for ever in the memory of patriots and the song of bards—it commemorates the heroes of the democratic cantons of Switzerland, and relates that gallant resistance and final destruction of their country by the overwhelming power of France, which has crowned the tombs of the vanquished with immortal honour, and branded the forehead of their conqueror with everlasting disgrace. The form and manner of this piece is very singular. It is divided into parts, and several interlocutors are brought forward—the Swiss wanderer, his wife and daughter, and a shepherd who hospitably entertains them on their way. The wanderer relates his country's story and his own, and the other speakers only relieve the narrative occasionally. The author has, we think, been unfortunate in the choice of his measure, which is the trochaic of seven syllables: we have perhaps none so ill adapted to dialogue or prolonged narration, for none admits of so little latitude in its structure. The first

" Harp of Memnon! sweetly strung
To the music of the spheres,
While the hero's dirge is sung,
Breathe enchantment to our ears.

" As the sun's descending beams,
Glancing o'er thy feeling wire,

syllable should always be decidedly long ; a point very difficult to accomplish in our language, where so large a proportion are either short or common ; a considerable stress should likewise fall on the third and fifth syllables, and this very abundance of emphasis, which gives the measure so striking an effect in short pieces on topics requiring energy and spirit, renders it fatiguing in longer ones, which embrace a variety of tone and sentiment. But the hand of genius, whatever tool it may employ, is still inimitable in its touches.

" While the lingering moon delay'd
In the wilderness of night,
Ere the morn awoke the shade
Into loveliness and light :

" Gallia's tigers, wild for blood,
Darted on our sleeping fold ;
Down the mountains, o'er the flood,
Dark as thunder-clouds they roll'd.

" By the trumpet's voice alarm'd,
All the valley burst awake ;
All were in a moment arm'd
From the barriers to the lake.

" In that valley, on that shore,
When the graves give up their dead,
At the trumpet's voice once more
Shall those slumberers quit their bed !

" For the glen that gave them birth
Hides their ashes in its womb :
Oh, 'tis venerable earth,
Freedom's cradle, Freedom's tomb !"

" Then in agony I rose,
And with horror look'd around,
Where embracing, friends and foes,
Dead and dying, strew'd the ground.

" Many a widow fixed her eye,
Weeping, where her husband bled,
Heedless, though her babe was by
Prattling to his father dead.

" Many a mother, in despair,
Turning up the ghastly slain,
Sought her son, her hero there,
Whom she long'd to seek in vain !

" Dark the evening shadows roll'd
On the eye that gleam'd in death ;
And the evening-dews fell cold
On the lip that gasp'd for breath."

We know not what strain this admirable minstrel awakes in the highest perfection—whether the trumpet-note that sounds the glory of Britain, and calls her sons to rally round their tombs and their altars, or the organ-stop of devotion that wafts the ennobled soul to purer and to happier worlds than this, or the wild flute-breathings of poetic fancy and deep melancholy feeling. His 'Ode to the Vo-

lunteers' we have formerly copied from the 'Poetical Register.' His 'verses to the memory of Joseph Brown,' are worthy of any martyr to conscience and religion, and there is not a piece in the volume that does not bear the stamp of superior talents. How rich in various beauty is the following passage from the Snow-drop !

" Winter's gloomy night withdrawn,
Lo ! the young romantic Hours
Search the hill, the dale, the lawn,
To behold the SNOW-DROP white
Start to light,
And shine in Flora's desert bowers,
Beneath the vernal dawn,
The Morning Star of Flowers !

" Oh welcome to our Isle,
Thou Messenger of Peace !
At whose bewitching smile
The embattled tempests cease :
Emblem of Innocence and truth !
Firstborn of Nature's womb,
When strong in renovated youth,
She bursts from Winter's tomb ;
Thy Parent's eye hath shed
A precious dew-drop on thine head,
Frail as a Mother's tear
Upon her infant's face,
When ardent hope to tender fear,
And anxious love, gives place.
But lo ! the dew-drop falls away,
The sun salutes thee with a ray,
Warm as a Mother's kiss
Upon her Infant's cheek,
When the heart bounds with bliss,
And joy that cannot speak !

" When I meet thee by the way,
Like a pretty, sportive child,
On the winter-wasted wild,
With thy darling breeze at play,
Opening to the radiant sky
All the sweetness of thine eye ;
—Or bright with sun-beams, fresh with
showers,

O thou Fairy-queen of flowers !
Watch thee o'er the plain advance
At the head of Flora's dance ;
Simple SNOW-DROP ! then in thee
All thy sister train I see :
Every brilliant bud that blows,
From the blue-bell to the rose ;
All the beauties that appear
On the bosom of the Year ;
All that wreath the locks of Spring,
Summer's ardent breath perfume,
Or on the lap of Autumn bloom,

All to thee their tribute bring,
Exhale their incense at thy shrine,
Their hues, their odours all are thine !
For while thy humble form I view,
The Muse's keen prophetic sight
Bring's fair Futurity to light,
And Fancy's magic makes the vision true.

" There is a Winter in my soul,
The Winter of despair ;

Oh when shall Spring its rage controul?
When shall the SNOW-DROP blossom
there?

Cold gleams of comfort sometimes dart
A dawn of glory on my heart,
But quickly pass away:
Thus Northern-lights the gloom adorn,
And give the promise of a morn,
That never turns to day!

"But hark! methinks I hear
A small still whisper in mine ear;
"Rash Youth! repent:
Afflictions from above,
Are Angels sent
On embassies of love.

A fiery Legion, at thy birth,
Of chastening Woes were given,
To pluck thy flowers of Hope from earth,
And plant them high
O'er yonder sky,
Transform'd to stars,—and fix'd in hea-
ven."

We shall now cite some stanzas which
appear to us to possess the property which
a French writer well remarks as charac-
teristic of a work of genius—that of seem-
ing easy and being inimitable. They are
not unlike some of the happiest efforts
of Cowper.

"The Common Lot.

"Once in the flight of ages past,
There lived a Man:—and who was He?
Mortal! howe'er thy lot be cast,
That Man resembled Thee.

"Unknown the region of his birth,
The land in which he died unknown;
His name hath perish'd from the earth,
This truth survives alone:

"That joy and grief, and hope and fear,
Alternate triumph'd in his breast;
His bliss and woe,—a smile, a tear!
Oblivion hides the rest.

"The bounding pulse, the languid limb,
The changing spirits' rise and fall;
We know that these were felt by him,
For these are felt by all.

"He suffer'd,—but his pangs are o'er;
Enjoy'd,—but his delights are fled;
Had friends,—his friends are now no more;
And foes,—his foes are dead.

"He loved,—but whom he loved the
grave
Hath lost in its unconscious womb:
Oh she was fair!—but nought could save
Her beauty from the tomb.

"The rolling seasons, day and night,
Sun, moon and stars, the earth and main,
Erewhile his portion, life and light,
To him exist in vain.

"He saw whatever thou hast seen,
Encounter'd all that troubles thee;
He was—whatever thou hast been;
He is—what thou shalt be.

"The clouds and sunbeams, o'er his eye,
That once their shades and glory threw,
Have left in yonder silent sky,
No vestige where they flew.

"The annals of the human race,
Their ruins, since the world began,
Of HIM afford no other trace
Than this,—THERE LIVED A MAN!"

But the master-piece of our author is
the poem called 'Ocean.' It displays,
in happy union, a vividness and novelty
of description, a majesty, a spirit, and a
pathos, which very few indeed, even of
the favourite productions of the muses,
can boast—in short, we doubt not that it
will come to be considered among the lo-
vers of the art, as a noble addition to the
store of *first-rate English poetry*. We
trust that the author will not consider our
selection of a few stanzas as a robbery.

"All hail to the ruins*, the rocks and the
shores!

Thou wide-rolling Ocean, all hail!
Now brilliant with sun-beams, and dimpled
with oars,
Now dark with the fresh-blowing gale.
While soft o'er thy bosom the cloud-shadows
sail,

And the silver-wing'd sea-fowl on high,
Like meteors bespangle the sky,
Or dive in the gulph, or triumphantly ride,
Like foam on the surges, the swans of the
tide.

"From the tumult and smoke of the city set
free,
With eager and awful delight,
From the crest of the mountain I gaze upon
thee;

I gaze,—and am changed at the sight;
For mine eye is illumined, my Genius takes
flight,

My soul, like the sun, with a glance
Embraces the boundless expanse,
And moves on thy waters, wherever they
roll,
From the day-darting zone to the night-brood-
ing pole.

"My Spirit descends where the day-spring
is born,
Where the billows are rubies on fire,
And the breezes that rock the light cradle of
morn

Are sweet as the Phoenix's pyre:
O regions of beauty, of love, and desire!
O gardens of Eden! in vain
Placed far on the fathomless main,

Where Nature with Innocence dwelt in her youth,
When pure was her heart, and unbroken her truth.

"But now the fair rivers of Paradise wind
Through countries and kingdoms o'erthrown;
Where the Giant of tyranny crushes mankind,
Where he reigns,—and will soon reign alone.
For wide and more wide o'er the sun-beaming zone,
He stretches his hundred-fold arms,
Despoiling, destroying its charins;
Beneath his broad footstep the Gauges is dry,
And the mountains recoil from the flash of his eye."

"As homeward my weary-wing'd Fancy extends
Her star-lighted course through the skies,
High over the mighty Atlantic ascends,
And turns upon Europe her eyes;
Ah me! what new prospects, new horrors arise!
I see the war-tempest flood
All foaming, and panting with blood;
The panic-struck Ocean in agony roars,
Rebounds from the battle, and flies to his shores.

"For Britannia is wielding her trident today,
Consuming her foes in her ire,
And hurling her thunder with absolute sway
From her wave-ruling chariots of fire.
She triumphs; the winds and the waters conspire
To spread her invincible name;
The universe rings with her fame;
But the cries of the fatherless mix with her praise,
And the tears of the widow are shed on her days!

"O Britain! dear Britain! the land of my birth;
O Isle, most enchantingly fair!
Thou Pearl of the Ocean! Thou Gem of the Earth!

O my Mother! my Mother! beware:
For wealth is a phantom, and empire a snare
Oh let not thy birth-right be sold
For reprobate glory and gold:
Thy foreign dominions like wild grafting shoot,
They weigh down thy trunk,—they will tear up thy root:

"The root of thine OAK, O my Country that stands
Rock-planted, and flourishing free;
Its branches are stretch'd over far-distant lands,
And its shadow eclipses the sea:
The blood of our Ancestors nourish'd the tree;
From their tombs, from their ashes it springs
Its boughs with their trophies are hung;
Their spirit dwells in it: and hark! for I spoke;
The voice of our Fathers ascends from the oak."

This is surely the 'new Alcæus fancy-blest,' this the free and lofty strain after which the fine mind of Collins seemed to feel prophetic longings! It cannot be matter of regret that he has rather chosen to celebrate the glorious martyrs of Swin than those of Thermopylæ—the fall of Abercrombie than the death of Epaminondas—that his voice inspires the volunteers of Britain, instead of soothing the manes of the victors of Marathon. In times like these,

"When the welfare of millions is hung in the scale,
And the balance yet trembles with fate,"
away with the cold pedantry of Greek and Roman allusions: let the songs of our bards 'come home to our businesses and bosoms,' let them rouse the unconquerable spirit of our forefathers; and let Britain, recollecting betimes in whose midst it is that she is strong, free, and glorious, clasp with rapture to her bosom the child of liberty, of virtue, and the man.

ART. IV.—*Select Icelandic Poetry, translated from the Originals; with Notes.* By W. LAM HERBERT. 8vo. pp. 200.

BUTLER tells us that when the waters of Hippocrene are brewed into ale or porter, they make men scribble without skill—

"Inspire a poet, spite of fate,
And teach all people to translate;
Tho' out of languages, in which
They understand no part of speech."

And certainly of these inspired translations and gifts of tongues we have lately seen instances, which put our French and German teachers in danger of passing for natural-born.

Mr. Herbert, the author of the volume before us, is a splendid exception to the prevailing taste in interpretation. He knows the language from which he undertakes to make his versions. He has acquired, and with so much command as to compose verse in it, the modern Danish; and he has studied the ancient language of the north with an attention and penetration, which the Danish interpreters of the Edda have reason to envy. The outlandish half of his task, he is qualified in a rare and superior manner.

requirements are not confined to the Scandinavian dialects: he has studied books as well as words: his reading embraces the whole range of the original writers on northern paleosophy, the sagas of the skald, the chronicles of the historian, and the speculations of the antiquary. He announces in his preface, and may he speedily realize the promise! an account of the ancient history and poetry of Iceland. Like the radiations of the boreal lawn, he is adapted, and he aspires, to illumine these frost-bound regions, and to askier segments of the literary horizon.

Whether Mr. Herbert's versification and phraseology be so well fitted to secure him rank as a poet, as his learning and fidelity to secure him confidence as a translator, may be questioned. Among his readers there is already a division of opinion. Some think that our language can bear the mixture of iambic and anapestic feet in the same line, without bounding altogether discordant and barbarous: others think that it cannot. If such a method of versification were that of the original sagas, there would be sufficient excuse for returning to the primordial but exploded rhythms of our forefathers. The form of verse is an important part of the characteristic features of many poems; it belongs much to the costume of the composition: an Iliad in rime sounds unnaturally; so would an Orlando Furioso in blank verse. But rime is a Cimbric* not a Gothic invention; we owe it to our Welsh not to our Scandinavian ancestors; we disfigure the poetry of the bard by omitting, and of the skald by introducing, it. It is true that the Thryms Quida begins with a rimed quatrain, or stanza:

"Reidr war tha ving Thor er han vacnadi.
Ok sins hamars um sacnadi:"

but this is accidental, and is the only part of the poem in which any rhyme occurs: so that its real alliterative metre might thus be imitated, neglecting however the short syllable which ought to terminate the alternate lines.

"Wrath was king Thor
When he awoke,
And for his hammer
Hied around;
He shook his beard,
He brush'd his brow;
The son of earth
Grop'd every where."

To any such imitative form of metre, Mr. Herbert preferably substitutes the following.

"Wrath waxed Thor, when his sleep was
flown,
And he found his trusty hammer gone;
He smote his brow, his beard he shook,
The son of earth gan round him look;
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Now listen what I tell thee, Loke;
Which neither on earth below is known,
Nor in Heaven above, my hammer's gone."
Their way to Freyia's bower they took,
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Thou, Freyia, must lend a winged robe,
To seek my hammer round the globe."

"Freyia sung.

"That shouldst thou have, though 'twere
of gold,
And that, though 'twere of silver, hold."
Away flew Loke; the wing'd robe sounds,
Ere he has left the Asgard grounds,
And ere he has reach'd the Jotunheim bounds.
High on a mound in haughty state
Thrym the king of the Thursi sate;
For his dogs he was twisting collars of gold,
And trimming the manes of his coursers
bold.

"Thrym sung.

"How fare the Asi? the Alfi how?
Why com'st thou alone to Jotunheim now?"

"Loke sung.

"Ill fare the Asi; the Alfi mourn;
Thor's hammer from him thou hast torn."

"Thrym sung.

"I have the Thunderer's hammer bound,
Fathoms eight beneath the ground;
With it shall no one homeward tread,
Till he bring me Freyia to share my bed."
Away flew Loke; the wing'd robe sounds,
Ere he has left the Jotunheim bounds,
And ere he has reach'd the Asgard grounds.
At Midgard Thor met crafty Loke,
And this the first word that he spoke;
"Have you your errand and labor done?
Tell from aloft the course, you run.
For, setting off the story fails,
And lying off the lie prevails."

"Loke sung.

"My labor is past, mine errand I bring;
Thrym has thine hammer, the giant king;
With it shall no one homeward tread,
Till he bear him Freyia to share his bed."
Their way to lovely Freyia they took,
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Now, Freyia, busk, as a blooming bride;
Together, we must, to Jotunheim ride."
Wrath waxed Freyia with ireful look;
All Asgard's hall with wonder shook;
Her great bright necklace started wide.
"Well may ye call me a wauton bride,
If I with ye to Jotunheim ride."

* Suhm is for making Cimbric into a Gothic word, and for deriving it from Kiamper, striver.

The Asi did all to council crowd,
The Asinize all talk'd fast and loud ;
This they debated, and this they sought,
How the hammer of Thor should home be brought.

Up then and spoke Heimdaller free,
Like the Vani, wise was he ;
" Now busk we Thor, as a bride so fair ;
Let him that great bright necklace wear ;
Round him let ring the spousal keys,
And a maiden kirtle hang to his knees,
And on his bosom jewels rare ;
And high and quaintly braid his hair."
Wrath waxed Thior with godlike pride ;
" Well may the Asi me deride,
If I let me dight, as a blooming bride."
Then up spoke Loke, Laufeyia's son ;
" Now hush thee, Thor ; this must be done :
The giants will strait in Asgard reign,
If thou thine hammer dost not regain."
Then busk'd they Thor, as a bride so fair,
And the great bright necklace gave him to wear ;

Round him let ring the spousal keys,
And a maiden kirtle hang to his knees,
And on his bosom jewels rare ;
And high and quaintly braided his hair.
Up then arose the crafty Loke,
Laufeyia's son, and thus he spoke ;
" A servant I thy steps will tend,
Together we must to Jotunheim wend."
Now home the goats together hie ;
Yoked to the axle they swiftly fly.
The mountains shook, the earth burn'd red,
As Odin's son to Jotunheim sped.

Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said ;
" Giants, stand up ; let the seats be spread :
Bring Freyia Niorder's daughter down
To share my bed from Noatun.

With horns all gilt each coal-black beast
Is led to deck the giant's feast ;
Large wealth and jewels have I stored ;
I lack but Freyia to grace my board."
Betimes at evening they approach'd,
And the mantling ale the giants broach'd.
The spouse of Sif ate alone

Eight salmons, and an ox full-grown,
And all the cates, on which women feed ;
And drank three firkins of sparkling mead.

Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said ;
" Where have ye beheld such a hungry maid ?

Ne'er saw I bride so keenly feed,
Nor drink so deep of the sparkling mead."

Then forward lent the crafty Loke,
And thus the giant he bespoke ;

" Nought has she eat for eight long nights,
So did she long for the nuptial rites."

He stoop'd beneath her veil to kiss,
But he started the length of the hall, I wiss.

" Why are the looks of Freyia so dire ?
It seems, as her eyeballs glisten'd with fire."

Then forward lent the crafty Loke,
And thus the giant he bespoke ;

" Nought has she slept for eight long nights,
So did she long for the nuptial rites."

Then in the giant's sister came,
Who dared a bridal gift to claim ;

" Those rings of gold from thee I crave,
If thou wilt all my fondness have,
All my love and fondness have."
Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said ;
" Bear in the hammer to plight the maid ;
Upon her lap the bruizer lay,
And firmly plight our hands and fay."
The Thunderer's soul smiled in his breast,
When the hammer hard on his lap was placed ;
Thrym first the king of the Thursi he slew,
And slaughter'd all the giant crew.
He slew that giant's sister old,
Who pray'd for bridal gifts so bold.
Instead of money and rings, I wot,
The hammers bruises were her lot.
Thus Odin's son his hammer got."

For our parts we are well satisfied with this method of translation, and should think it a great acquisition to our literature, if the principal mythological sagas of the Scandinavians were thus to be versified ; so that we might exactly know what sort of divinities were those of the Goths in their own estimation, and according to their native legends. The commentaries of antiquaries have much disfigured the heathenism of the north, by endeavouring to find a counterpart in Grecian mythology for every Gothic god : they thus rub out what is peculiar, and home-born ; and foist Corinthian capitals upon the faggot-shafts of northern architecture. There are passages insufficiently clear in this version : such are the two lines :

" For setting oft the story fails,
And lying, oft the lie prevails."

which in the notes are said to signify, that he, who sits down to drink, forgets his message : and that he, who lies down to sleep, invents another. Such a maxim might be reduced to a proverbial form in English, e. g. A sipper is a tripper, and a napper is a rapper : or

" Who tells after ale,
Forgets half his tale ;
Who tells after bed,
Knows more than was said."

But this is not a truth of nature ; it is therefore not the meaning of Samuel, the sayer ; it is contradictory to experience ; for wine makes eloquent, but sleep refreshes the memory. We suspect the interpretation to be incorrect ; and that the spirit of the proverb is that even a short stay affords time for embellishment, and a long rest for thorough misrepresentation and falsehood ; on which account it is better to receive a message, or a relation, before the time for indulgence.

A sip wets truth; and a draught drowns her. The sitting, and lying of the text are not opposed as food to rest; but as different degrees of the same gratification, as a short bait to a long one. The words are

"Opt sitianda saugor'um fallaz,
Ok liggiandi lygi um bellir."

Of from the sifter tales falls about; and from the recumbent, lies. So that the meaning would be represented by some such words as these:

"Who sits down alters,
Who lies down falters."

Or thus:

"A pint paints,
And a quart taints."

Or thus:

"A mug makes a high-flier,
A tankard makes a liar."

a wise saw likely enough to merit the attention of the tipping divinities of Valhalla. The men in buckram always multiply between glass and glass; the modest hero becomes a Rodomonte; and Rodomonte an epic poet.

The second poem is less striking: it is entitled the Battle of Hafur's-bay. The third contains merely the introduction, which Gray left untranslated, to the descent of Odin. The fourth is the dying song of Asbiorn. The fifth is Gunlang and Rafen; a short song, of which the notes contain a very interesting story. The sixth is the combat of Hialmar and Oddur, a singular mixture of prose and verse, admirably annotated. The seventh is the song of Hroke the black. The eighth is the death of Hacon, by Evind Skaldaspiller. It is one of the finest odes extant in any language, and deservedly passes for the triumph of Gothic song. Percy had already given a prose translation of it at page 63 of his five pieces of Runic poetry. The new version of Herbert runs thus:

"Gondul and Skogul swiftly flew,
To chuse from Yugva's boasted blood
What king should wend, with heroes slain
To dwell in Odin's rich abode.

"Unmail'd beneath his banner bright
They saw Biorn's valiant brother stand;
The javelins flew; the foemen fell;
The storm of war gan shake the land.

"The army's lord had warn'd the isles;
The bane of earls, stout Denmark's dread,
With gallant suite of northmen bold
High rear'd his eagle-crested head.

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"The king of men (before he hied
To stir the war with fearless might)
To ground his iron mail had cast,
The cumbrous harness of the fight.

"He sported with his noble train,
When roused to guard his native land;
Joyful beneath the golden helin
Now did the dauntless monarch stand.

"His glittering brand the hauberks clove,
As if it fell on liquid waves;
The falchions clash'd, the bucklers broke;
The armour sung beneath the glaives.

"Keen burn'd the swords in bleeding
wounds;
Long axes bow'd the struggling host;
Loud echoing rang the bossy shields;
Fast rain'd the darts on Storda's coast.

"Behind the buckler warriors bled;
In fight they joy'd from thirst of gold:
Hot flow'd the blood in Odin's storm;
The stream of blades whelm'd soldiers
bold.

"With helmets cleft, and actions pierced,
The arm'd chiefs rested on the plain;
Ah! little thought that valiant host
To reach the palace of the slain.

"Couching her lance quoth Gondul fair;
"The crew of heaven be now encress'd;
Stout Hacon with his countless host
Is bidden hence to Odin's feast."

"The monarch heard the fatal words,
The steel-clad maids of slaughter bore;
All thoughtful on their steeds they sat,
And held their glittering shields before.

"Why thus" (he said) "the war decide?
From Heaven we merit victory!"
"Thy force" (quoth Skogul) we up-
held,
We bade thy mighty foemen fly.

"Fair sisters," (cried the virgin bright)
Ride we to heaven's immortal domes!
Hear, Odin! Lo, to grace thy court
The king of men, the victor comes."

"Haste, Braga, and Hermoder, haste!
To meet the chief" (quoth Odin) "go!
Hither he wends, whose sturdy arm
Has wrought full many a champion woe."

"From war return'd, the battle won,
His limbs shed fast a gory stream;
"Odin," (he cried) "merciful Lord of death,
Thy fell decrees full savage seem!"

"The peace of heroes shalt thou have;
Quaff with the Gods the sparkling beer!
Proud bane of earls," (great Braga said)
"Eight valiant brothers hast thou here."

"Our arms" (the generous Rhin replied)
"These war-worn hands shall never yield;
Helmet and mail be well preserv'd:
'Tis good the trusty blade to wield."

O o

"Then was it known, that Hacon's hand
Due offerings to each Power had giv'n;
Who to their blissful seats was ha'ld
By all the glorious host of heav'n.

"Hallow'd the day, and famed the year,
That bore a king so largely loved!
His memory be for ever saved,
And bless'd the land, on which he mov'd!

"Fenris the wolf from Hell unchain'd
On mortals shall his fury pour,
Ere monarch great and good, as he,
Visit this desolated shore.

"Wealth perishes, and kindred die;
Desert grows every hill and dale:
With heathen gods let Hacon sit,
And melancholy swains bewail!"

In the first quatrain of the foregoing translation, it would have been well, for the sake of euphony, to employ the name *Gondula*, which is already familiarized to the English ear in Richard's *Odin*. The idea, expressed in the original, that the two *Valkries* were sent by *Tyr*, the god of battle, is omitted both by Percy and by Herbert.

In the second quatrain Percy introduces the brother of *Biorn* with his mail; Herbert unmailed. They read the text differently; but the sequel proves Herbert to have chosen the true reading.

In the third quatrain Herbert gives "eagle-crested head." In this case the text would surely have been written *und ara hialmi*, not *und ar hialmi*. It might be rendered first, 'stood first under his helmet, put on first that piece of armour. Yet we rather suspect it to be a mere ending of the preposition *undur hialmi*, under helmet.

This rendering is not opposed by the repetition in the fifth quatrain, 'stood under his helmet of gold,' where the termination may be cut off to make room for the new epithet.

After the twenty-fourth line a stanza occurs in Percy, wherein he ignorantly introduces a wholly imaginary deity, named by him *Bauga*, of whom no trace occurs in the *Edda*, nor in any northern poetry. Mr. Herbert very learnedly proposes a probable reading and interpretation; and very modestly avoids to insert it in his text: his reading however will not scan. It is with diffidence that we offer any hint after Mr. Herbert: yet there would surely be less violence done to the original by reading *feigr Tys*, the death-doomed of *Tyr*, instead of the extant *fyrir Tys*, which would give to the text this form.

"Trauddoz tanngos
Feigr Tys ok bauga
Hialta hardfotom
Hausi Nordmanna."

'Down trod the shields of the death-doomed of *Tyr*, and their rings, the heels of the hard-footed head of the *Normans*.' By the rings is probably meant those spiral twists of thick gold wire, which the northern chieftains wore round the arm, and of which they broke off a piece more or less valuable, in proportion as they wished to recompense a follower. This was in fact a form in which they carried money.

The concluding quatrain appears to us to have suffered in both interpretations: but it is again with the most hesitating deference that we venture to disagree with Mr. Herbert.

'Wealth perishes, and friends die: land and people decay: but Hacon shall sit with the Heathen gods, until the morning when the trumpet shall sound.' This means, surely, until *Heimdal* shall sound the brazen trump, which is to announce the twilight of the gods. A far nobler conclusion to a sublime ode, than Mr. Herbert's. 'And melancholy swains bewail,' and, as seems to us, a far closer and more obvious rendering of the original text.

The *Biarkamal*, a short fragment of overrated antiquity, concludes this learnedly commented selection. We regret that the fear of fatiguing and the desire of supplying novelty should in general have induced Mr. Herbert to confine his versions to short and inedited pieces. If he would give us a complete *Edda*, interpreting anew the often misinterpreted passages, and annotating, with the long-armed power of his arctic erudition, the whole scheme of Scandinavian mythology, he would supply, to the historian and the antiquary, a knowledge hitherto very imperfect of the antient religion of our forefathers; and, to the poet, the correct basis of that machinery, which he must one day employ to decorate the romantic enterprizes of the heroes of the north. It would require less effort to supersede than to correct the northern antiquities of Percy.

A cultivation of these studies will be found to contribute to higher interests than those of archæologic curiosity; and to prepare the bonds of commercial and civil friendship between the nations who once bowed to the name of *Odin*, and who still partake the Gothic tongue. The investigation of septentrional antiquities ought not

to repose wholly on continental industry : to the praiseworthy names of Gräter, of Rozen, and of Nyerup, we trust that Great Britain will ere long have that of Herbert to oppose.

" Ist Achäa der Thuisconen Vaterland ?
Unter des weissen Teppichs Hüllen
Ruh auf dem Friedenswagen Hertha !
Im blumenbestreuten Haine walle der Wagen hin,

Und bringe die Göttinn zum Bade des einsamen Sees.

" Es vereine Lovna, voll Nossas Reizen,
und Vara,
Wie Sait' und Gesang, die Lieb' und die Ehe !
Braga töne.

" Vom Schwert, gegen den Eroberer gezuckt ; und That
Des Friedens auch, und Gerechtigkeit.
Ichr' euch Wodan."

ART. V.—*The Song of the Sun; a Poem of the Eleventh Century; from the more ancient Icelandic Collection called the Edda. Imitated by the Rev. JAMES BERESFORD, A. M. Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. With a Preface, Notes, and short Account of the Author. 8vo. pp. 108.*

THE preface to this metrical translation begins with a melaucholy dirge on the declension of English poetry: asserts, that in the greener periods of society, the best poetry is produced; that our poets are born an age too late; and that the bloom of English poetry will soon be past for ever.

We deny the fact; we contest the system. We maintain that the poets, who have flourished during the reign of George the third, have produced as great a quantity of lasting poetry, as those who flourished during the reign of Elizabeth, or during any other half-century of the British annals. The tragedies of that age live; so will the comedies of ours. Our chorus-dramas, and our ballads, are decidedly superior to those of our ancestors: so are our elegies, and songs, and odes. One good translation, Fairfax's Tasso, has been bequeathed to us from the times of Elizabeth: we have Sotheby's Oberon, and several other master-pieces, whose collective weight makes a counterpoise.

And why should a rude age be favourable to the production of good poetry? Rudeness implies a public of bad critics; in ignorance of history, of antiquities, of the limits of nature, likely to tolerate the absurdest violations of truth, costume, geography, and probability. Accordingly, the poets of rude ages, who are neither more nor less likely than others to have genius, commonly offend by want of taste: and this frequently in so great a degree, as to condemn their works to be refashioned; in which case, the modernizer runs away with the praise. Homer indeed originated early, but was probably corrected by a good critic, in an age of taste. Tasso, who has produced the next best poem to Homer, flourished in the autumn, not before spring, of Italian culture. Virgil loomed in an age of refinement, and Claudian was still a poet. The funeral

song of Hacon is a fine ode: but so is the bard of Gray. The tragedies of Schiller, the fabliaux of Wieland, were composed at the very close of the eighteenth century; just before the French revolution had blunted the acme of human refinement. The proportion of good specimens of poetry produced in rude times is very small.

Mr. Beresford, no doubt, considers the song of the sun, as among these specimens. It forms one rhapsody of the Sæmundine Edda, which was composed, or compiled in Iceland, about the close of the eleventh century, and re-edited at Copenhagen in 1787. Sæmund, the author, was a son of Sigfusar, a pagan priest, and of Thoreya; but having been taken to Rome, by Jonas, the christian bishop of Holar, he embraced the religion of the south, and came home to propagate it. He seems to have met with the gospel of Nicodemus, and with other legendary books of that kind; for he introduces many descriptions, which Dante, and other early poets, also selected from the same sources. He did not practise celibacy, but married Gudruna, and lived to see his grandchildren eminent. He is praised for preventing a civil war between the chieftains Thorgil and Haflið; and for composing, or collecting, not only these mythological, but other historical, sagas. He died at the age of eighty.

This poem describes the death and descent to the nether world of the writer, who professes to have dictated it from the grave. We transcribe the most striking portion.

" 36.

" Then came Disease.—Long time with languish'd head,
Bow'd down, I sat;—yet ceas'd not life to crave;—
But The All-Potent with his pow'r prevail'd:—
Swift are the last approaches to the grave.
O 2

37.

And now, the heavy chains of death, put on,
 Were to my sides, with iron grasp, tight-
 bound;
 To burst them I essay'd—but firm they
 held:—
 None, laden sore, steps lightly o'er the ground.

38.

I felt—past thought!—what strength'ning
 press of pains
 From ev'ry pore wrung agonizing foam!
 While, with each night's return, the maids of
 death
 Invited me in horror to their home!

39.

I saw the sun, all faithful star of day,
 Mournful, and wau, amidst the sounding
 spheres:
 I heard, far-off oppos'd, the gates of hell
 Groan heavily, and harshly, through mine
 ears!

40.

I saw the sun, with bloody lines drawn o'er—
 While verging to my fall from this terrene:
 Ten-thousand-fold, methought, more fierce
 he stood,
 Than, from my hour of birth, these eyes had
 seen!

41.

I saw the sun:—some Deity august
 He seem'd, as I beheld in trance sublime!
 Him, bent in veneration, I ador'd—
 My last orisons, in the world of time.

42.

I saw the sun;—but, in such kind he shone,
 That all was dream!—I hark'd! and-seem'd
 to know
 Where Gilvar's flood, outrageous boiling
 down,
 Thunder'd—with mingling tides of blood—
 below!

43.

I saw the sun—but saw with reeling eyes;—
 Fill'd up with horror! stiff'ning as I lay!
 While more—and every moment more—my
 heart,
 In the last languors ling'ring, ebb'd away.

44.

I saw the sun—more damp at heart ne'er
 saw!—
 Now trembling to my fall from upper ground:
 My tongue—a lifeless log it seem'd to lie,
 Where death's chill gripe had froze all parts
 around.

45.

I saw the sun—but saw the sun no more,
 Beyond the twilight of that doleful day:
 'To me, the dewy vault of heav'n was clos'd;
 And I was gone—from sorrows call'd away."

A little further on, the poet introduces,
 into his infernal regions, figures from the
 northern mythology: this is not more out
 of costume than Dante's placing Charon
 and Virgil in the christian hell, and ought

not to have been suppressed by the trans-
 lator. Instead of the following six stanzas,
 Mr. Beresford gives only three.

75. Mighty father,
 Greater son,
 Holy spirit of heaven,
 I pray thee,
 Who hast created us,
 To take us from our woes.

76. Crooked and cunning
 Are the maids that sit
 By the doots of the harsh one
 On steady stools;
 Iron tears
 Fall o'er their noses,
 Waking hatred among the living.

77. The wife of Odin
 Rows in her earth-ship,
 Mightily, merrily;
 Late shall she furl
 The rope-propt sail.

78. Heir, thy father
 Only has strayed
 With the sons of sunshine,
 And breathed through the hart's horn
 (or speaking-trumpet,
 Which the wise slunner of battles
 Lifts from the tomb.

79. These are the words
 Which they wrote,
 The nine daughters of Niard;
 Bend-forth is the eldest,
 Creep-forth is the youngest,
 And their sisters are seven.

80. Every where
 They abate
 Cold and flame; (Sualr ok snarl-log)
 Blood they staunch,
 Wounds they suck,
 And smooth the waves like oil.

To these six stanzas Mr. Beresford sub-
 stitutes the following three.

75.

"Father Omnipotent! Puissant Son!
 All-holy Spirit!—hear thy servant pray!
 To thee I pray, who gavest man to be,
 Take us,—O take from miseries all away!

76.

These healing strains, my son, I, sole of men,
 With those that in the sun's bright courts were
 bred,
 Have learn'd for thy behoof; to me, erewhile,
 Brought by my sage instructor from the dead.

79.

By the nine daughters to Niardar born
 Was plough'd in leaves of brass my deathless
 lore;
 The first-born skill'd to bend the soul; the last
 Queen of sweet song;—with those sev'n sisters
 more.

Of these three, the seventy-eighth appears to us to have been misunderstood. The poet means to say: My heir, thy father alone is one, who has frequented the sons of light (literature); though dead, he yet speaketh; the shunner of battles, who is wise, is still heard from the tomb.

We invite the readers of Dante to compare this northern skald with the Italian poet. There is so much analogy in the plan of their compositions, that we are persuaded some monkish legend will yet be discovered, of which both the writers had availed themselves. If the northern rhymers has too much abridged, the southern has too much expanded his theme; so that one may be allowed to hesitate which guide to prefer into the infernal regions. If Sæmund has nothing very striking to exhibit, Dante is so talkative a showman,

that he makes even of a striking a tedious exhibition. We believe, however, that he has so much more force, fancy, and invention, than his Icelandic competitor, that readers and critics will on the whole prefer his hell, and inscribe over it.

Per mè si va nella città dolente:
Per mè si va nell' eterno dolore:
Per mè si va tra la perduta gente.

But we do not quit all hope, that those who enter on such perusals may yet find a superior guide.

Mr. Beresford has executed a meritorious task with considerable elegance: he does not possess the learning of Herbert in the northern languages: but he displays the reading, the taste, and accomplishment, of an educated and travelled man.

ART. VI.—*Poems and Plays.* By WILLIAM RICHARDSON, A. M. Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. 2 vols. 12mo. A new Edition.

MR. RICHARDSON has collected, into two elegant pocket-volumes, the scattered productions of his muse. Three little poems only are inserted which have never before made their appearance; they are not very interesting, and certainly we

feel not the slightest inducement on the present occasion to deviate from our original determination, only to notice the new edition of a work when it urges a claim to attention by additional matter.

ART. VII.—*Fugitive Poems.* By MRS. BAYFIELD. 12mo. pp. 192.

MANY of these poems are addressed by the author to her children and her husband, whose duty as an officer in the army called him upon a foreign service; and do credit to the feelings of the author as a

mother and a wife. They are introduced by a numerous and a respectable list of subscribers, who have no reason to blush at this extension of their patronage.

ART. VIII.—*Valle Crucis Abbey; or the Vision of the Vale, a Poem.* 12mo. pp. 160.

IN these lines we find a larger portion of politics than of poetry.

ART. IX.—*The Rustic: a Poem in four Cantos.* By EWAN CLARK. 12mo. pp. 119.

"SING we Man's life through each progressive stage,
From lisping infancy to silver'd age.
But chief we paint the manners of the plain,
Where joy and health, and honest labour reign."

nor are we disposed to be censorious, and claim much from him whose pretensions are humble:

"My muse for lofty pitches shall not roam,
But homely piper of her native home."

Such is the subject of this poem: Mr. Ewan Clark has 'seen his seventieth year,' and very innocently employed his hours of retirement and repose in describing the rustic festivities which he had witnessed, and perhaps participated, in his earlier days. It would be unreasonable to expect from old age all the fancy of youth;

This is Mr. Clark's motto, and a very unassuming and appropriate one it is. His descriptions of rustic sports are, we dare say, very faithful, and some of them are not destitute of animation: particularly that of blind-man's buff, the dance of the lads and lasses in the barn, &c.

ART. X.—*Ruth a sacred Eclogue; and Tobit, a Poem. With two select moral Tales, translated from the Work, and preceded by the Life of M. de Florian, Member of the Academies of France, Madrid, and Florence. By S. MAXEY.* 12mo. pp. 122. With Engravings.

THE writings of this elegant moralist and amiable man are dear to all those who have at heart the interest of virtue and humanity. Many of M. Florian's tales and novels have been translated into our language, and they cannot be too strongly recommended to young persons: "Ruth" and "Tobit," however, can no where be read with so much effect as in the simple language of the Bible. Mr. Maxey's translations are very bald: this fault probably arises from an over-anxious desire not to deviate from the simplicity of his original. "The Spanish Courser," and "The French Pullet," are the two tales which he has selected from the miscellaneous

works of Florian, together with a "Hymn to Friendship," addressed by the author to Boissay d'Anglas, who, in the hour of peril, when his friend was under the proscription of Robespierre, lingering in the Conciergerie, and waiting death, had the courage to stand forward in his defence, and to plead, with undaunted perseverance, for his liberation. This event, however, would probably have not taken place but for the ninth of Thermidor, which rid France of the sanguinary monster. Boissay d'Anglas at length succeeded, and Florian retired to the Parc de Sceaux, where he soon afterwards died in the 39th year of his age.

ART. XI.—*Half an Hour's Lounge: or Poems, by RICHMAL MANGNALL.* 12mo. pp. 80.

THE dedication is as unassuming as the title-page: "To my own family, these trifles are inscribed by an affectionate sister and friend." 'Tis true they are only trifles; but we have often lounged away

a half-hour much less agreeably than in company with this incognita, who, we suspect, has concealed her real name within the mystery of an anagram.

ART. XII.—*Fatal Curiosity; or the Vision of Sylvester: a Poem in three Books. By JOSEPH BOUNDEN.* 12mo. pp. 112.

WOE to the wight whose "fatal curiosity" leads him to cut open these lethargic

leaves! His heavy slumbers will certainly be unblest by the genius of poetry.

ART. XIII.—*The Battle of Largs: a Gothic Poem. With several miscellaneous Pieces.* 12mo. pp. 76.

BELOW the rank of great poets who have united, in a considerable degree, almost all the different requisites of their art, there exists a class of writers who occasion no small trouble and perplexity to us periodical critics. We mean those in whom some genuine poetic lineaments appear so meanly clothed or ill-accompanied, that we are more than half-ashamed to acknowledge them. To apportion to each of these his due share of applause and censure, encouragement and reproof; to discriminate between the rude vigour of untutored genius, and the cold extravagance of labouring mediocrity; between lively ignorance which seeks to learn, and dull conceit that never can be taught—is certainly no easy task. Each individual reader will determine for himself what qualities he most requires in verse, or best can do without; and however particular criticisms may be approved as just, no general verdict can be expected to meet the

full assent of one poetic judge in ten. These observations have almost unavoidably arisen from the work before us, which we proceed more closely to examine. The battle fought at Largs, in Ayrshire, A.D. 1263, was that in which Alexander the Third of Scotland, after a bloody and obstinate conflict, totally defeated Hako king of Norway, who, having subdued the isles of Bute and Arran, had landed on the coast of Cunningham. The baffled invaders fled for refuge to their ships, and a storm ensuing, many of them were wrecked. King Hako reached the Orkneys in safety, where he landed; but soon after died, as is said, of a broken heart. At the present period, many circumstances would unite in giving an interest to this ancient tale if narrated with spirit and distinctness. But our author has unfortunately fallen into several essential faults. In the first place, he has encumbered his little poem with a most uncouth ma-

chinery. The three fatal sisters of northern mythology open with an address to Lok, and afterwards hold several conversations among themselves, all highly flavoured from the dregs of Shakspeare's witch-cauldron. Secondly, the narrative is often impeded by sentences of turgid bombast, delivered in lines so harsh and tuneless, that it is hard to say whether it will be found more difficult to understand or to read them: and, thirdly, the poem ends in a most abrupt and unsatisfactory manner. The author has evidently, in his principal poem, aimed at more than he is at present equal to; but from parts of it, and from some of the smaller pieces, we are inclined to augur well of his future proficiency, provided he will take pains to refine his style, and learn that coarseness is not strength, nor strangeness sublimity. For the description of natural objects he appears to have considerable talent.

"With shrill short shrieks the petterels past
Before the howling hurrying blast;
Bold birds, that o'er the desert deep
On vague adventures swiftly sweep;
When ridgy waves the clouds assail,
They skim along the dreadful vale,
And oft and ere the dangers gloom,
To warn a fated vessel's doom,
They flock her hanging stern beneath,
And churming chaunt the dirge of death.
The bernacle, that wary fly,
The marine sportsman's aiming eye,
(Of fabulous birth, a plumy brood,
Bred by the sea in porous wood),
Whirl'd in the volleys of the storm,
Flew thick around, nor dreaded harm.
With circling flight the murmuring gulls
Of tusky rocks and shelving shoals
Appriz'd the pilots, while the shore,
With drizzly mist impervious hoar,
Alarms their breasts with throbbing fears
As on the rushing navy nears."

The following passage, with many faults, has most of those excellences which seem to mark out the author for a youth indeed, but a youth of some genius.

"As o'er the main an isle of ice
Comes with its crystal precipice,
And silv'ry spires, and dazzling streams,
All orient in the summer beams;
Awhile the seaman pleas'd surveys
The glorious pageant's distant blaze;
But as it nears, the freezing air
Turns his delight to chill despair;
And oft he strives, and strives in vain,
The open rippling sea to gain,
Till shipwreckt on the coast he lies,
And more by fear than suffering dies;
So gay afar, so dreadful near,
Did bold Strathern in fight appear:

His milkwhite charger pranc'd along,
And champing, neigh'd the Danes among,
Where faint and languid Drakoff breath'd,
His visor up, his falchion sheath'd,—
Strathern his truncheon wav'd and pass'd—
But Buchan, ruthless as the blast,
That fiercely besoms all the plain,
And whelms the tree where many a swain
Beneath its calm embowery shade,
The vow of guileless passion made,
And children held their mirthful sport,
The charter'd redbreast's old resort,
Forward rush'd, high whirls his brand,
And Drakoff welters on the strand.
'O shame,' a hundred voices call,
'Revenge, revenge, our fathers fall.'
The Danes are rous'd, the battle burns,
The Scots recoil, and hope returns;
Enormous carnage swells beneath,
Gorg'd with the revolvies of Death.
As when the clouds, by tempests driven
Confus'd along the fields of heaven,
Hurl darkly wild, on every side
Before the eddying battle's tide;
The Scots retire, for now the Danes
(As o'er the trim Batavian plains,
When rous'd by storms, the billows roar
Through the torn barriers of the shore;
And on the deluge, raving loose,
Rides Ruin multitudinous)
Roll'd bloody, and behind them spread
In heaps the dying and the dead."

To point out more minutely the blemishes of this work, as bad rhymes, imperfect sentences, distorted phrases, redundant ornaments, and violent metaphors, would be loss of time to us and our readers: as for the author, if he has good sense, he will in time amend himself; if not, our criticism cannot amend him. With one of his elegant trifles we conclude.

"Deride me not, but softly tell
What is this dear delicious spell,
That makes my soul in absence see,
No form but thine, no thought but thee."

Thee I have met with fond surprise
In many a stranger's azure eyes;
In many a lovely stranger's mien,
All present! thee I oft have seen.

When round the social board I sit,
Where Fancy sparkles into Wit,
Whate'er is polish'd, keen, or gay,
Reminds me of thy sprightly play.

And if sedate groupes I join,
Their wisdom dimly shadows thine;
And Lore the baldpate only seems
The dull reflector of thy beams.

Even in the solemn scenes of woe,
Where sympathetic sorrows flow,
My wand'ring thoughts unconscious trace
Of thee some tender pensive grace.

Deride me not, but softly tell
What is the dear delicious spell,

That makes my soul in absence see
No form but thine, no thought but thee."

ART. XIV.—*The Spirit of Discovery; or the Conquest of Ocean. A Poem, in five Books: with Notes, historical and illustrative. By the Rev. WM. LISLE BOWLES. 8vo. pp. 230.*

"I NEED not perhaps inform the reader," says Mr. Bowles, "that I had before written a canto on the subject of this poem; but I was dissatisfied with the metre, and felt the necessity of some connecting idea that might give it a degree of unity and coherence.

"This difficulty I considered as almost inseparable from the subject; I therefore relinquished the design of making an extended poem on events, which, though highly interesting and poetical, were too unconnected with each other to unite properly in one regular whole. But on being kindly permitted to peruse the sheets of Mr. Clarke's valuable work on the History of Navigation, I conceived (without supposing *historically* with him that all ideas of navigation were derived from the ark of Noah) that I might adopt the circumstance *poetically*, as capable of furnishing an unity of design; besides which it had the advantage of giving a more serious cast and character to the whole."

We did not peruse this paragraph without surprise. The work which Mr. Bowles praises, is, in our judgment, one of the very worst compilations upon which good paper was ever wasted; and as for Noah's ark, how it was to give unity of design to a long poem upon any other subject than the deluge, appeared inexplicable. The poet is himself apprehensive lest his readers, upon an inattentive survey, might imagine there was any *carelessness of arrangement*, and he has therefore prefixed a general analysis of the several books. "I'm sure the design's good; that cannot be denied. Besides, sir, I have printed above a hundred sheets of paper to insinuate the plot into the boxes."

Except Burns and Cowper, no poet of the present reign has been so generally admired as Mr. Bowles. 'It will be found, we believe, on a reference to the old reviews, that few or none of the poems which they have highly praised have ever become popular; and that they have usually noticed, with censure or scorn, those which have been fairly received into the funds of English literature. This we well remember was the case with Mr. Bowles's first publications. The critical dancing-masters of the public attended to nothing but his *feet*; he did not move to the old tune of *te-te te-tum*, which was the tune they had been taught, and they did not like his new steps. Foreigners, therefore, who form their opinions from the English

journals, knew not the name of Bowles, while his poems were winning their way in a manner of all other most gratifying to the poet; they were treasured up in the memory of young readers, repeated in company by lovers of poetry, and imitated by young poets. The beautiful imagery, and the natural feeling, with which they abound, had found their way to the heart of those for whom poetry is written; the reviewers had overlooked their excellences; their praise was reserved for Della Crusca and poor Mrs. Robinson.

It is now twelve years since Mr. Bowles first collected his separate poems into a volume; from that time his reputation has been progressive: not that his subsequent pieces have been better than his first, but they have had the same characteristic beauties, and beauties of a higher kind were not required for such subjects as he had usually chosen. But coming forward at present on other ground, and with loftier claims, he feels and expresses a diffidence of success.

"But after all, at a time so unfavourable to long poems, I doubt whether the reader will have patience to accompany me to the end of my *circum-navigation*. If he do, and if this much larger poetical work than I have ever attempted, should be as favourably received as what I have before published, has been, I shall sincerely rejoice.

"At all events, in an age which I think has produced genuine poetry, if I cannot say '*Ed io, anchi, sono pittore*;' it will be a consolation to me to reflect, that I have no otherwise courted the muse, but as the consoler of sorrow, the painter of scenes romantic and interesting, the hand-maid of good sense, unadulterated feelings, and religious hope.

"It was at first intended that the poem should consist of six books; one book being assigned to Da Gama, and another to Columbus. These have been compressed; which I was the more inclined to do, as the great subject of the discovery of America is in the hands of such poets as Mr. Southey and Mr. Rogers.

"There are some inaccuracies and verbal errors, which the author need not print out. He has, however, no objection to the strictest investigation of the faults of this poem, if it be pursued in the spirit of *fair criticism*, and the opinions conveyed in the *language of a gentleman*."

The introductory lines allude to the author's early poems.

"Awake a louder and a loftier strain!
Beloved harp, whose tones have oft beguiled
My solitary sorrows, when I left
The scene of happier hours, and wander'd far,
A pale and drooping stranger; I have sat
(While evening listen'd to the convent's bell)
On the wild margin of the Rhine, and woo'd
Thy sympathies, 'a-weary of the world.'
And I have found with thee sad fellowship,
Yet always sweet, when'er my languid hand
Pass'd carelessly o'er the responsive wires,
While unambitious of the laurel'd meed
That crowns the gifted bard, I only ask'd
Some stealing melodies the heart might love,
And a brief sonnet to beguile my tears!

"But I had hope that one day I might wake
Thy strings to higher utterance; and now
Bidding adieu to glens, and woods, and streams,
And turning where, magnificent and vast,
Main Ocean bursts upon my sight, I strike,—
Rapt in the theme on which I long have
mus'd,—
Strike the loud lyre, and as the blue waves
rock,
Swell to their solemn roar the deep'ning chords.

"Lift thy indignant billows high, proclaim
Thy terrors, Spirit of the hoary seas!
Lsing thy dread dominion, amid wrecks,
And storms, and howling solitudes, to Man
Submitted: awful shade of Camoens
Send from the clouds of Heav'n!

"By the bold tones
Of minstrelsy, that o'er the unknown surge
Where never daring sail before was spread
Scho'd, and startled from his long repose
Th' indignant phantom of the stormy Cape;
Oh let me think now in the winds I hear
Thy animating tones, whilst I pursue
With ardent hopes, like thee, my vent'rous
way,
And bid the seas resound my song! And thou,
Father of Albion's streams, majestic Thames,
Amid the glittering scene, whose long-drawn
wave

Is noiseless, yet with conscious pride, be-
neath
The thronging vessels' shadows (nor through
scenes
More fair, the yellow 'Tagus, or the Nile,
'That ancient river,' winds). Thou to the
strain
Shalt haply listen, that records the might
Of Ocean, like a giant at thy feet
'Anquis'd, and yielding to thy gentler state
The ancient sceptre of his dread domain!"

Camoens is wrongly accented in these
lines; it should be Camoëns; the word is
an *amphibrachys*. The note upon his not
singing with Gama* might have been
omitted. The idea for which it apologizes
could not have been perceived without it,
and does not deserve to be pointed out.

* Mr. Bowles writes the name *Da Gama* improperly: it should either be *Gama*, or *Vasco da Gama* at full length.

The poem opens with the resting of the
ark upon Ararat: no part of the whole is
better executed or more impressive than
this; but it would have been as well if
the author had trusted his reader to find
out the more striking expressions, with-
out marking them in capitals.

"ALL WAS ONE WASTE OF WAVES, that
bury'd deep
Earth and its multitudes: the ARK alone,
High on the cloudy van of Ararat,
Rest'd; for now the death-commission'd storm
Sinks silent, and the eye of day looks out
Dim through the haze, while short successive
gleams
Flit o'er the face of deluge as it shrinks,
Or the transparent rain-drops, falling few,
Distinct and larger glisten. So the Ark
Rests upon Ararat; but nought around
Its inmates can behold, save o'er th' expanse
Of boundless waters, the Sun's orient orb
Stretching the bull's long shadow, or the Moon
In silence, through the silver-cinctur'd clouds,
Sailing, as she herself were lost, and left
IN NATURE'S LONELINESS!

But oh, sweet Hope,
Thou bidst a tear of holy ecstasy
Start to their eye-lids, when at night the Dove,
Weary, returns, and lo! an olive leaf
Wet in her bill: again she is put forth,
When the sev'nth morn shines on the hoar
abyss:—

Due ev'ning comes: HER WINGS ARE HEARD
NO MORE!

The dawn awakes, not cold and dripping sad,
But cheer'd with lovelier sunshine; far away
The dark-red mountains slow their naked
peaks

Upheave above the waste: IMAUS gleams:
Fume the huge torrents on his desert sides:
Till at the awful voice of HIM WHO RULES
THE STORM, the ancient Father and his train
On the dry land descend.

Here let us pause—
No noise in the vast circuit of the globe
Is heard; no sound of human stirring; none
Of pasturing herds, or wandering flocks; nor
song
Of birds that solace the forsaken woods
From morn till eve; save in that spot that
holds

The sacred Ark: there the glad sounds ascend,
And Nature listens to the breath of LIFE.
The fleet horse bounds, high-neighing to the
wind

That lifts his streaming mane; the heifer lows;
Loud sings the lark amid the rainbow hues;
The lion lifts him muttering: MAN comes
forth—

He kneels upon the earth—he kisses it;
And to the GOD who stretch'd the radiant
bow,

He lifts his trembling transports.

The present state of the inhabited world is now contrasted with its melancholy appearance immediately after the flood: in this there are some very happy lines; but it is too episodic, and interrupts the order of a poem which is of itself too desultory. After the sacrifice, the angel of destruction appears to Noah in a dream; his speech aims at sublimity without success. He says

"My hall

Deep in the centre of the seas received
The victims as they sunk! Then with dark joy
I sat amid ten thousand carcasses
That weltered at my feet."

There is nothing sublime in this: what follows is better. He denounces future miseries to mankind occasioned by that very ark, which has now been the means of their preservation; and he sets before him, in vision, the conduct of the Spaniards in America, and the wretchedness occasioned by the slave-trade. Mrs. More has said of the poets, with an illiberality more congenial to her sect than to her own better nature, that whenever any mischief was to be done, they, to do them justice, had never been backward in furthering it. She might more truly have said, that whenever the interests of humanity were concerned, the poets have been ready and disinterested advocates; and the Slave Trade, her own subject, should have occurred to her recollection.

In this part of his poem Mr. Bowles calls the native Americans *sable*: we know not whether this be one of the inaccuracies for which he has taken out a licence in his preface. The bloody character of the Peruvians should not have been insisted upon in the notes; that of the Mexicans may be said indeed to

"Justify the ways of God to man."

Whoever is well acquainted with the superstition of that people, the most bloody which ever was established, must regard the overthrow of the Mexican empire, horrible as its circumstances were, as one of the happiest events, as well as one of the most splendid, in the history of mankind.

Waking from this vision Noah ascends Mount Ararat (which the author conceives to be the Indian Caucasus) led by an angel, who, purging his mortal sight, spreads out the world below him in prospect. We are reminded of Milton by this Pisgah view, and by the geographical picture; and perhaps there is nothing in which

Milton can so safely be imitated. The angel describes the situation of fallen man, the rise of superstition, the system of redemption, and the spread of the gospel, by means of navigation, which, whatever temporary evil it may occasion, is thus subservient to the great system of optimism.

"Let it suffice,

He hath permitted evil for awhile
To mingle its deep hues and sable shades
Amid life's fair perspective, as thou saw'st
Of late the black'ning clouds; but in the end
All these shall roll away, and evening still
Come smilingly, while the great sun looks
down

On the illum'd scene. So Charity
Shall smile on all the earth, and Nature's
God

Look down upon his works; and while far off
The shrieking night-fiends fly, one voice shall
rise

From shore to shore, from isle to farthest isle,
Glory to God on high, and on earth peace,
Peace and good-will to men.

"Thou rest in hope,
And Him with meekness and with trust adore!"

"He said, and spreading bright his ample
wing,
Flew to the heav'n of heav'ns; the meek man
bow'd

Adoring, and, with pensive thoughts resign'd,
Bent from the aching height his lonely way."

Thus far there has been a personage in the poem, to whom every thing refers: but he disappears here at the end of the first book. The second is judiciously opened by a reference to his prophetic view of futurity: the progress of society, and the rise of commerce, is then detailed upon the historical hypothesis of Bruce. Tyre leads to an eulogium of England, and the book closes with an Ode upon the siege of Acre. This digression, the author says, appeared to him not only natural, but in some measure necessary, to break the uniformity of the subject. This is fairly confessing that the subject is bad. The ode is in every respect a very poor composition. In the notes to this book some reasons are offered for supposing Ava to be the Ophir of scripture. In one fact, however, Mr. Bowles is mistaken: he says there is no appearance of ancient magnificence in Sofala, no marks of former arts and civilization. This is certainly erroneous: there were, when the country was first discovered by the Portuguese (and probably still are), large ruins resembling those in Upper Egypt.

The third book opens beautifully, in Mr. Bowles's peculiar manner.

My heart has sigh'd in secret, when I
thought
the dark tide of time might one day
close,
land, o'er thee, as long since it has clos'd
Egypt and on Tyre: that ages hence,
in the Pacific's billowy loneliness,
we tract thy daring search reveal'd, some
isle

but rise in green-haired beauty eminent,
like a goddess, glittering from the deep,
after sway the sceptre of domain
a pole to pole; and such as now thou art,
as New Holland be. For who shall say
at the Omnipotent Eternal One,
I made the world, hath purpos'd?

Thoughts like these,
ugh visionary, rise; and sometimes move
ment's sadness, when I think of thee,
country, of thy greatness, and thy name,
ing the nations; and thy character,
high some few spots be on thy flowing
robe)

preliest beauty: I have never pass'd
ugh thy green hamlets on a summer's
morn,
heard thy sweet bells ring, or saw the
youths
smiling maidens of the villagery
in their Sunday tire, but I have said,
a passing tenderness; 'Live, happy land,
the poor peasant feels, his shed though
small,

dependence and a pride, that fill
onest heart with joy—joy such as they
crowd the mart of men may never feel.
England, is thy boast: When I have
heard

oar of Ocean bursting round thy rocks,
when a thousand thronging masts aspire,
is the eye could reach, from every port
every nation, streaming with their flags
the still mirror of the conscious Thames.
I have felt a proud emotion swell
I was British-born; that I had liv'd
ness of thy glory, my most lov'd
honour'd country; and a silent pray'r
of rise to Heav'n, that fame and peace,
and love

erty, would walk thy vales, and sing
holy hymns; whilst thy brave arm re-
pell'd

ty, e'en as thy guardian rocks
the dash of Ocean; which now calls
ing ring fondly on the river's side,
my destin'd voyage; by the shores
in, and the wreck of cities old,
let us burst into the wilder deep
Gama; or the huge Atlantic waste
old Columbus stem; or view the bounds
the, stretching to the southern pole,
thee, benevolent, but hapless Cook!"

the history of the empires succeeding
here touched on: the fall of Baby-
lon, and Alexander. This conqueror,
career, "proceeds to the last river
the Panjab, the Hyphasis, which de-

scends into the Indus, the sources of which
are near the mountains of Caucasus,
where the Ark rested." In this manner
does the author, like Mr. Bayes, insinuate
his plot into the reader. A Bramin meets
him, and sings an ode describing the Hin-
doo account of the deluge, and prophesying
his conquest of the seas. The Hindoo
mythology is too little understood as yet
to be fit for many practical allusions.

Commerce is represented as standing
on the Pharos of Alexandria, and calling to
all nations. But a wider scene opens, and
the poet at once passes to the commence-
ment of modern discoveries by prince
Henry, and relates the romance of Robert
a Machin and Anna d'Arfet. This story,
which Mr. Clark has related as sober his-
tory, is not well managed. The lovers
are thus described in the island.

"Now evening, breathing richer odours
sweet,

Came down: a softer sound the circling seas;
The ancient woods resounded, while the dove,
Her murmurs interposing, tenderness
Awak'd, yet more endearing, in the hearts
Of those who, sever'd far from human kind,
Woman and man, by vows sincere betroth'd,
Heard but the voice of Nature. The still
moon

Arose—they saw it not—cheek to cheek
Inclin'd, and unawares a stealing tear
Witness'd how blissful was that hour, that
seem'd

Not of the hours that time could count. A kiss
Stole on the list'ning silence; never yet
Here heard: they trembled, e'en as if the
Pow'r

That made the world, that planted the first pair
In Paradise, amid the garden walk'd—
This since the fairest garden that the world
Has witness'd, by the fabling sons of Greece
Hesperian nam'd, who feign'd the watchful
guard

Of the scal'd dragon, and the golden fruit."

It is not very clear *who* trembled at the
first kiss which was ever given in the
island of Madeira: if the woods be meant,
it is the most injudicious imitation we
ever remember. The lines upon the
lady's tomb have been admired, and we
shall therefore copy them, without feeling
any admiration ourselves.

INSCRIPTION.—ANNA D'ARFET.

"O'er my poor Anna's lowly grave
No dirge shalt sound, no knell shall ring;
But angels, as the high pines wave,
Their half-heard '*miserere*' sing!

No flow'rs of transient bloom at eve
The maidens on the turf shall strew;
Nor sigh, as the sad spot they leave,
Sweets to the sweet! a long adieu!

But in this wilderness profound,
O'er her the dove shall build her nest,
And Ocean swell with softer sound
A requiem to her dreams of rest!

Ah! when shall I as quiet be,
When not a friend, or human eye,
Shall mark beneath the mossy tree
The spot where we forgotten lie?

To kiss her name on the cold stone,
Is all that now on earth I crave;
For in this world I am alone—
Oh lay me with her in the grave."

"Robert a Machin, 1344.—*Miserere nobis, Domine.*"

The poem passes on to the voyages of Gama, Columbus, and Magalhaens. Thus far only the triumphs of discovery have been described; the last book speaks of its evils. The slave-trade is again noticed, the conquest of Mexico and Peru, the buccanniers, and the triumphs of destruction by sea, how many perished by shipwreck or by savages, which leads to the fate of Magalhaens, Perouse, and Cook. The advantages resulting from Cook's voyages are then stated; and, as he first ascertained the proximity of America to Asia, this circumstance leads us back from the point whence we set out, THE ARK OF NOAH, and hence we are partly enabled to solve, what has been for so many ages unknown, the difficulty respecting the earth's being peopled from one family. The poem having thus gained a middle and end, the conclusion of the whole is, that as thus uncertainty in the physical world has been by DISCOVERY cleared up, so all the apparent contradictions in the moral world shall be reconciled. We have yet many existing evils to deplore: but when the SUPREME DISPOSER'S plan shall have been completed, THEN THE EARTH, which has been explored and enlightened by discovery and knowledge, shall be destroyed; but the MIND OF MAN, rendered at last perfect, shall endure through all ages, and JUSTIFY HIS WAYS FROM WHOM IT SPRUNG.

At the conclusion of the poem is this expostulation addressed to England, which we copy, willing to turn from a plan so truly ill-contrived, to notice the merit of the execution.

"But hast thou no deep failings, that might turn

Thy thoughts within thyself? Ask, for the sun
That shines in heav'n hath seen it, hath thy
power

Ne'er scatter'd sorrow over distant lands?
Ask of the East, have never thy proud sails
Borne plunder from dismember'd provinces,

Leaving 'the groans of miserable men'
Behind! And free thyself, and lifting high
The charter of thy freedom, bought with
blood,

Hast thou not stood, in patient apathy,
A witness of the tortures and the chains
That Afric's injur'd sons have known? Stand
up—

Yes, thou hast visited the caves, and cheer'd
The gloomy haunts of sorrow: thou hast shed
A beam of comfort and of righteousness
On isles remote; hast bid the bread-fruit
shade

The Hesperian regions, and hast soften'd much
With bland amelioration, and with charms
Of social sweetness, the hard lot of man.
But weigh'd in truth's firm balance, ask, if all
Be even: Do not crimes of ranker growth
Batten amid thy cities, whose loud din,
From flashing and contending cars, ascends,
Till morn? Enchanting, as it ought so sweet
Ne'er faded, do thy daughters wear the weeds
Of calm domestic peace and wedded lore;
Or turn, with beautiful disdain, to dash
Gay Pleasure's poison'd chalice from their lips
Untasted? Hath not sullen atheism,
Weaving gay flow'rs of poetry, so sought
To hide the darkness of his wither'd brow
With faded and fantastic gallantry
Of roses, thus to win the thoughtless smile
Of youthful ignorance? Hast thou with awe
Look'd up to Him whose pow'r is in the
clouds,

Who bids the storm rush, and it sweeps to
earth

The nations that offend, and they are gone,
Like Tyre and Babylon? Well weigh thyself—
Then shalt thou rise undaunted in the night
Of thy Protector, and the gather'd hate
Of hostile hands shall be but as the sand
Blown on the everlasting pyramid."

To see Dr. Darwin's *Loves of the Plants*
and Temple of Nature coupled with the
Slave Trade as a national sin, is somewhat
curious!

As the poem contains little more than
two thousand lines, the author need not
have been apprehensive that its length
would be a hindrance to its success. Its
failure is imputable to its plan, than which
nothing can be clumsier. It is extraordinary
that Mr. Bowles did not recollect the
fate of Thomson's *Liberty*, a case pre-
cisely in point. Thomson was a true poet;
his subject admitted of splendid passages;
but he worked upon a bad plan, and the
poem has added nothing to his reputation.

The best parts of this spirit of discovery
are those which are most in the author's
original manner, and in this style of writ-
ing he is not likely to be excelled. The
odes are the worst; he has no ear for me-
trical music. The blank verse, where it
imitates Milton, imitates him with judg-
ment, and is as little unhappy as any such

imitation can be ; but occasionally, as must have been perceived in our extracts, there is a sad falling off. Yet, on the whole, if Mr. Bowles gains no fame by the present

attempt, as little should he lose any ; in his own style he still remains unrivalled, and to that he should confine himself ; to excel in one thing is sufficient praise.

ART XV.—*The poetical Works of the Author of the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers.* 8vo. pp. 127.

WE should have commended the republication of these pieces, if the little volume in which they are comprized had not been made very unreasonably dear.

The author, whoever he was, was a man of extraordinary wit ; but it may be remarked that, of his six publications, each is progressively inferior to the former one. He seems fairly to have been burnt out. Nothing can be better in its kind than these lines in the Heroic Epistle.

“ Now to our lawns of dalliance and delight,
Join we the groves of horror and affright ;
This to achieve no foreign aids we try,
Thy gibbets, Bagshot ! shall our wants supply ;
How slow, whose heath sublimer terror kills,
Shall with her gibbets lend her powder mills.
Here too, O King of Vengeance, in thy fane,
Tremendous Wilkes shall rattle his gold chain ;

And round that fane on many a Tyburn tree,
Hang fragments dire of Newgate-history ;
On this shall Holland's dying speech be read,
Here Bute's confession, and his wooden head ;
While all the minor plunderers of the age
(Too numerous far for this contracted page)
The Rigbys, Calcrafts, Dysons, Bradshaws
there,

In straw-stuff effigy, shall kick the air.
But say, ye powers, who come when fancy
calls,

Where shall our mimic London rear her walls ?
That Eastern feature, Art must next produce,
Tho' not for present yet for future use
Our sons some slave of greatness may behold,
Cast in the genuine Asiatic mould :
Who of three realms shall condescend to
know

No more than he can spy from Windsor's brow ;
For Him that blessing of a better time,
The Muse shall deal awhile in brick and lime ;
Surpass the bold ΑΔΕΛΦΙ in design,
And o'er the Thames tiling one stupendous
line

Of marble arches, in a bridge, that cuts
From Richmond Ferry slant to Brentford
Butts.

Brentford with London's charms will we
adorn ;

Brentford, the bishopric of parson Horne.

There at one glance, the royal eye shall meet
Each varied beauty of St. James's-street ;
Stout Talbot there shall ply with hackney
chair

And patriot Betty fix her fruit-shop there.

Like distant thunder, now the coach of state
Rolls o'er the bridge, that groans beneath its
weight.

The court hath crost the stream ; the sports
begin ;

Now Noel preaches of rebellion's sin :

And as the powers of his strong pathos rise,
Lo, brazen tears fall from sir Fletcher's
eyes.

While skulking round the pews, that babe of
grace,

Who ne'er before at sermon shew'd his face,
See Jenny Twitcher shambles ; stop ! stop
thief !

He's stol'n the earl of Denbigh's handkerchief.

Let Harrington arrest him in mock fury,

And Munsfield hang the knave without a jury.

But hark the voice of battle shouts from far,

The Jews and maccaroni's are at war :

The Jews prevail, and, thund'ring from the
stocks,

They seize, they bind, they circumcise Charles
Fox.

Fair Schwellenbergen smiles the sport to see,
And all the maids of honour cry te ! he !

Be these the rural pastimes that attend

Great Brunswick's leisure : these shall best
unbend

His royal mind, whene'er, from state with-
drawn,

He treads the velvet of his Richmond lawn ;

These shall prolong his Asiatic dream,

Tho' Europe's balance trembles on its beam.”

Mr. Almon, the editor, observes that the Heroic Epistle and Gray's Elegy were the two most popular short poems published in the last century. He had forgotten the Deserted Village ; yet it is so nearly true, as to be a disgrace to a century in which mere personal satire could obtain such applause. We have had much of this during the present reign, and of much merit ; but how inferior to Dryden !

ART. XVI.—*London Cries ; or, Pictures of Tumult and Distress : a Poem. To which is added, the Hail of Pedantry.* With Notes. 8vo. pp. 87.

THE London Cries is an ill-chosen title. One expects a poetical catalogue of the pedlars, who hawk their various wares

from door to door : one finds pictures of distress, beggary, and prostitution : yet these melancholy scenes occupy but a

small portion of the satire, which begins with the history and antiquities, and ends with the present state of the metropolis. The plan of the poem is too comprehensive, disconnected, and desultory.

The third satire of Boileau has been admirably imitated by Goldsmith in his *Haunch of Venison*. This poem is not an equally successful imitation of the sixth satire: if that may be called an imitation, which perhaps owes its occasional resemblance to the common consultation of Horace and Juvenal. The French poet is more felicitous in the invention of circumstance, and more picturesque in the description of object. We shall transcribe some parallelisms, that we may not be thought to award the preference without examination.

"Here, with Salmonean dim and desprate force,

Contending chariots urge their thund'ring course:

Dull pride of birth, reclin'd in brilliant coach,
Pines at the vulgar hackney's bold approach:

The sturdy ruler of the batter'd car
Joys painted Fashion's glitt'ring pomp to mar.

Six chevaux attelés à ce fardeau pesant,
Ont peine à l'émouvoir sur le pavé glissant.
D'un carrosse en tournant il accroche une roue;
Et d'un choc le renverse dans un grand tas de boue.

Quand un autre à l'instant, s'efforçant de passer,

Dans le même embarras se vient embarrasser.

Here Death's dull waggon moves in black parade,

The plummy pageantry of Mourning's trade.

Là d'un enterrement la funèbre ordonnance,
D'un pas lugubre et lent vers l'église s'avance.

And dragg'd in creaking chains, the forest's pride,

Enormous trunks the car-borne ranks divide.

Là sur une charrette une poutre branlante
Vient menaçant de loin la foule qu'elle augmente.

Hurrying where crackling flames ascend on high,

And roll red volumes through the lurid sky.

Car le feu, dont la flamme en ondes se déploie,
Fait de notre quartier une seconde Troie.

Now droves of bleating sheep the ebbing throng

Confound, and goaded oxen plunge along:

The staring, frighted beast, with rattling scourge,

And jagged clubs, the striding drovers urge.

Strange varying sights and sounds his senses scare,

Unlike the calm repose in pastures fair.

Et pour surcroit de maux, un sort malin contr'eux

Conduit en cet endroit un grand troupeau de boeufs:

Chacun pretend passer; l'un mugit, l'autre jure.

Des mulets en sonnans augmentent le murmure."

This writer has learn to make verses. His rhymes are generally correct, though common: his structure of line is easy, natural, and various, in a higher degree than is usual with young artists. Most couplet-makers are content with the few forms of line employed by Pope, and repeat, like Darwin, to satiety the golden verses and hackneyed cadences of their master; as Cowper says, every warbler has *his tune* by heart. It is some merit to have an original note; and not, like the bullfinch, to have learnt one whole song from the hand-organ.

In order to make poetry, a further apprenticeship is necessary. Much redundancy must be thrown aside. The pictures, or descriptions, must be connected and grouped: there must be some motive, some reason, for their occurrence. If these leaves were separated and shuffled, they might be reprinted in any new accidental order with nearly equal propriety. No one leading emotion, as in Boileau, provokes the recapitulation of the object. Here are topics for three distinct satires. The first, on the change of the manners of London from ancient rudeness to modern refinement, which the ape of Juvenal would consider as a change for the worse. The second, on the embarrassments of thronged places, which Boileau has so admirably condensed. The third, on the distress of the unfortunate but necessary portion of the population of a great city; which seems to be the favourite topic of the author, as he has illustrated it by various notes relative to plans of beneficence. We recommend a separate poem on each of these subjects; but as didactic topics are not favourable to the display of fancy, a long elaboration will be requisite to infuse the sterling sense of Pope or Johnson.

The hall of pedantry is composed in Spenser's dialect, but in a less picturesque manner. Personified abstractions belong to the philosophic, not to the poetic style: the Greeks wisely avoided them in poetry.

ART. XVII.—*Ballads.* By WILLIAM HAYLEY, ESQ. Founded on Anecdotes relating to Animals, with Prints, designed and engraved by WILLIAM BLAKE. 8vo. pp. 212.

MEDIOCRITY, as all the world knows, is forbidden to poets and to punsters; but the punster has a privilege peculiar to himself,—the exceeding badness of his puns is imputed as a merit. This privilege may fairly be extended to Mr. Hayley: his present volume is so incomparably absurd that no merit within his reach could have amused us half so much. Let us treat our readers with the first ballad:

“Of all the speechless friends of man
The faithful dog I deem
Deserving from the human clan
The tenderest esteem:

This feeling creature form'd to love,
To watch, and to defend,
Was given to man by powers above,
A guardian, and a friend!

I sing, of all e'er known to live
The truest friend canine;
And glory if my verse may give,
Brave Fido! it is thine.

A dog of many a sportive trick,
Tho' rough and large of limb,
Fido would chase the floating stick
When Lucy cried, “go swim.”

And what command could Lucy give,
Her dog would not obey?
For her it seem'd his pride to live,
Blest in her gentle sway!

For conscious of her every care
He strain'd each feeling nerve,
To please that friend, his lady fair
Commanded him to serve.

Of many friends to Lucy dear,
One rose above the rest;
Proclaim'd, in glory's bright career,
The monarch of her breast.

Tender and brave, her Edward came
To bid his fair adieu;
To India call'd, in honour's name,
To honour he was true.

The farewell rack'd poor Lucy's heart,
Nor pain'd her lover less;
And Fido, when he saw them part,
Seem'd full of their distress.

Lucy, who thro' her tears descried
His sympathetic air,
“Go! with him, Fido!” fondly cried,
“And make his life thy care!”

The dog her order understood,
Or seem'd to understand,
It was his glory to make good
Affection's kind command.”

Edward, when he was in India, used,

it seems, frequently to take a fearless swim, as Mr. Hayley poetically expresses himself, not being aware that there was a crocodile in the water. His custom was to leap from a high bank. One day when he was undressing, Fido did all he could to prevent him; his master, not understanding the meaning of this interruption, scolded, and at last beat him; but the dog finding all his efforts vain, and seeing Edward about to plunge in, ran before him, and leapt—into the crocodile's mouth. The poet has had the singular good fortune to meet with a painter capable of doing full justice to his conceptions; and, in fact, when we look at the delectable frontispiece to this volume which represents Edward starting back, Fido *volunt*, and the crocodile *rampant*, with a mouth open like a boot-jack to receive him, we know not whether most to admire the genius of Mr. William Blake or of Mr. William Hayley. The conclusion of the story is equally original.

“When Lucy heard of Fido's fate,
What showers of tears she shed!
No cost would she have thought too great
To celebrate the dead.

But gold had not the power to raise
A semblance of her friend;
Yet kind compassion, who surveys,
Soon bids her sorrow end.

A sculptor, pity's genuine son!
Knew her well-founded grief;
And quickly, though he promised none,
Gave her the best relief;

He, rich in Lucy's sister's heart,
By love and friendship's aid,
Of Fido, with the happiest art,
A secret statue made.

By stealth in Lucy's chamber plac'd,
It charm'd the mourner there,
Till Edward, with new glory grac'd,
Rejoin'd his faithful fair.

The marble Fido in their sight,
Enhanc'd their nuptial bliss;
And Lucy every morn, and night,
Gave him a grateful kiss.”

The second ballad relates how an eagle, in Scotland carried a child to his eyrie, and the mother climbed after it. Her son, a boy of seven years old, stands below watching her, and the story thus proceeds,

"He saw, as far as eye may ken,
A crag with blood besp'd,
And entering this aerial den
The eagle and the child.
The boy, tho' trusting much in God,
With generous fear was fill'd;
Aware, that, if those crags she trod,
His mother might be kill'd.
His youthful mind was not aware
How nature may sustain
Life, guarded by maternal care
From peril, and from pain.
And now he sees, or thinks he sees
(His heart begins to pant)
A woman crawling on her knees,
Close to the eagle's haunt.
It is thy mother, gallant boy,
Lo! up her figure springs:
She darts, unheard, with speechless joy
Between the eagle's wings.
Behold! her arms its neck enchain,
And clasp her babe below:
Th' entangled bird attempts in vain
Its burthen to o'erthrow.

Now heaven fend thee, mother bold,
Thy peril's extreme:
Thou'rt dead, if thou let go thy hold,
Scard by that savage scream;

And bravely if thou keep it fast,
What yet may be thy doom!
This very hour may be thy last,
That aerie prove thy tomb.

No! No! thank heaven! O nobly done!
O marvellous attack!
I see thee riding in the sun,
Upon the eagle's back."

The remaining tales are equally marvellous in design, and equally extraordinary in execution. *Virginibus puerisque canto*, says the author. We could not help quoting O'Keefe's song, *Hayley-gayly gam-borayty higgledy piggedly galloping draggle-tail'd dreary dun*.

ART. XVIII.—*Oriental Tales, translated into English Verse. By J. HOPPNER, Esq.*
R. A. 8vo. pp. 123.

IT would be unjust to examine the faults of these tales with any degree of rigour, after Mr. Hoppner's avowal in the preface.

"My eldest son having the prospect of an appointment in India, the attainment of the Persian language became an essential point in his education; and among other books laid before him, was the *Tooti Nameh*, or *Tales of the Parrot*. It was in a translation of this work that I first read the tale of 'the Ass and the Stag,' the genuine merit of which struck me so forcibly, as to engage me in an attempt at putting it into verse, where I conceived the humour and whimsical gravity of the dialogue would be seen to more advantage. Whether I was right in this conjecture will be ascertained by those less partial than the most diffident author ever was supposed to be: and to their decision I shall readily submit; satisfied that what I may lose on the side of vanity, I shall gain in a more just estimation of my own powers, and in the subsequent management of them accordingly.

"Let it not however be inferred from this, that I have the slightest intention of ever making my appearance before the public again as a poet. I have too great a reverence for this art, to suppose that I may attain, at my leisure, what men with greater advantages have not been able to acquire after the most diligent study. My object in publishing these trifles was rather to prove my love than display my skill: and when I am called upon to shew 'some vanity of mine art,' it shall be in a mode in which I have a more legitimate claim to attention and public favour. If it be urged that this demonstration of attach-

ment to excellence out of my peculiar line of study was unnecessary, I reply—that I cannot think so. Every thing that artists may hope to achieve with the view of raising themselves in the just estimation of a public so little disposed in their favour, should be attempted. The general opinion entertained of the extent of our acquisitions, is sufficiently indicated in the judgment passed upon sir Joshua Reynolds's Lectures: for, since they cannot be styled clumsy performances, the honour of having written them has been awarded to others, not only against the evidence of common sense, but of men of the highest respectability, who had ample means of better information.

"On what this hostility to English artists is founded, it would perhaps be difficult to guess. Few men act more discreetly, or labour with greater diligence to obtain that to which, in the present state of art in Europe, they have decidedly the best claim. Theirs come arising from any liberal profession, however great it may be, is not a sufficient stimulus to noble exertions; and those, therefore, cut off the incitements to a virtuous ambition, who withhold their praise. He who is condemned to pursue his studies with ideas of loss and gain, will stop at that point where exertion ceases to be profitable; and labour to live now, instead of hereafter."

The remainder of the preface, which is of considerable length, contains some very able and very just strictures upon the French artists, and, in particular, the success which madame le Brun has obtained in England. These strictures are not indeed quite in-

their place, but they are well-founded, and well-justified.

"I have, as the reader sees, availed myself of the present occasion to express my sentiments on this subject, not as it may affect me; but public taste, so intimately connected with morals, and, indeed, with every thing that distinguishes a great from a barbarous nation. All private considerations in matters of this moment must give way to a more imperious duty; and whenever a spurious art appears among us, powerful enough in its patronage, hot in its inherent strength, to do mischief, I trust I shall neither want patriotism nor courage openly to meet, and cordially to assist in its defeat and extermination.

"Although the age of chivalry is past, it may still be thought that the common laws of gallantry required me to spare the artist, in honour of her sex. But, in her overweening presumption, Madame le Brun has destroyed distinction, and ostentatiously waved her privilege. She has challenged hostility, when she might have escaped with impunity by falling into that rank which the mediocrity of her talents, and the state of the arts in this country, rendered it decent for her to take. To expose successful imposition is, at all times, a hazardous enterprise, and, unfortunately; personal considerations, in the present case, add a degree of unpopularity to the danger,—but silence might have been mistaken for acquiescence; and the world has nothing more painful to inflict than the imputation of inferiority to such miserable productions. That these are not merely the fretful and interested wailings of personal disappointment, every one the least acquainted with my intercourse in society will, I am persuaded, do me the justice to believe. Were this a fit occasion to enlarge on matters of private concern, or to unbosom myself on such a subject, I could display instances of benefits conferred upon me, in consideration of my professional character, which in the few boastful events of my life, stand as eminently distinguished as do the personages who, in addition to the high respect and veneration due to their rank and talents, have bound me to them by indissoluble ties of the warmest gratitude.

"It is no trifling consolation to me, that the few strictures which I have advanced on the expensive trash of this lady, cannot, by the most prejudiced of her partisans, be attributed to any suggestions of jealousy, which always implies a common aim; which has in view the same excellence to excite ambition—the same powers to invigorate contention. Enthusiasm is sufficiently contagious, but who has ever heard of the attractions of inanity; or what English artist could be warmed with the frigid productions of French art?

Where burnish'd beads, silk, satin; laces vie,
In leaden lustré with the gooseberry eye,

ANN. REV. VOL. IV.

Where broad-cloth breathes, to talk where
cushions strive,
And all, but Sir, or Madam, looks alive."

The tales are not improved by being told in verse: they are not of that character of fiction in which poetry delights. Lest, however, we should be conceived to imply a heavier censure than is our intention, we add a specimen which will by no means discredit the artist. An ass and a stag have broken into a garden, and the ass, intoxicated with cabbage and parsley, insists upon singing.

"The stag, half pitying, half amazed
Upon his old associate gazed;
'What! hast thou lost thy wits?' he cried;
'Or art thou dreaming; open eyed?
Sing, quotha! was there ever bred
In any mortal ass's head
So strange a thought! But, no offence—
What if we first remove from hence;
And talk, as erst, of straw and oats,
Of scurvy fare, and mangy coats,
Of heavy loads, or worse than those,
Of cruel drivers, and hard blows?
For recollect, my gentle friend,
We're thieves, and plunder is our end.
See! through what parsley we've been toiling;
And what fine spinage we are spoiling!
'He most of all doth outrage reason,
Who fondly singeth out of season.'
A proverb that, in sense, surpasses
The brains combined of stags and asses:
Yet, for I must thy perils trace,
Sweet bulbul of the long-ear'd race!
Soft soul of harmony! yet hear;
If thou wilt rashly charm our ear,
And with thy warblings, loud and deep,
Unseal the leaden eye of sleep:
Roused by thy song, and arm'd with staves;
The gard'ner, and a host of slaves,
To mourning will convert thy strains,
And make their pastime of thy pains."

"His nose in scorn the songster rears,
Pricks up his twinkling length of ears,
And proudly thus he shot his bolt:—
'Thou soulless, senseless, tasteless dolt;
If, when in vulgar prose I try
My voice, the soul in ecstasy
Will to the pale lip trembling flee,
And pant and struggle to get free,
Must not my song—"

"O, past pretence!
The ear must be deprived of sense,
Rejoin'd the stag,—'form'd of dull clay
The heart that melts not at thy lay!
But, hold, my ardent prayer attend,
Nor yet with songs the welkin rend;
Still the sweet murmur in thy throat,
Preclusive of the thrilling note!
Nor shrink not up thy nostrils, friend;
Nor thy fair ample jaws extend;
Lest thou repent thee, when too late,
And mean thy pains, and still-earn'd fate.'
"Impatience stung the warbler's soul,
Greatly he spurn'd the mean controul;

P p

And from the verdant turf uprear'd,
 He on his friend contemptuous leer'd:
 Stretch'd his lean neck, and wildly stared,
 His dulcet pitch-pipe then prepared,
 His flaky ears prick'd up withal,
 And stood in posture musical.
 'Ah!' thought the stag, 'I greatly fear,
 Since he his throat begins to clear,
 And strains and stares, he will not long,
 Deprive us of his promised song.
 Friendship to safety well may yield.'
 He said, and nimbly fled the field.
 'Alone at length, the warbler ass
 Would every former strain surpass;
 So right he aim'd, so loud he bray'd,
 The forest shook, night seem'd afraid,
 And starting at the well-known sound,
 The gard'ners from their pallets bound;

The scared musician this pursues,
 That stops him with insidious noose;
 Now to a tree behold him tied,
 Whilst both prepare to take his hide.
 But first his cudgel either rears,
 And plies his ribs, his nose, his ears;
 His head converted to a jelly,
 His back confounded with his belly;
 All bruised without, all broke within,
 To leaves they now convert his skin;
 Whereon, in characters of gold,
 For all good asses, young and old
 This short instructive tale is told." }

The picture of the songster is very striking, and the whole extract shows that Mr. Hoppner would have worked better on better materials.

ART. XIX.—*A Poetical Epistle to JAMES BARRY, Esq. Containing Strictures upon some of the Works of that celebrated Artist. With an Appendix. By FRANCIS BURROUGHS, Esq. 8vo. pp. 132.*

THE best lines in this poem are those in which the author expresses his patriotic wishes and his private feelings.

"How have thy wrongs, O Erin, wrung
 my breast,
 Thy people, goaded, beggar'd, and oppress'd,
 How, have I prov'd, each pang, and felt, each smart,
 And, bore thy sorrows, in my aching heart;
 May, heav'n propitious, hear, my ardent pray'r,
 And, make, O! make thee, its, peculiar, care.
 'Mongst nations, give thee, thy, imperial place,
 Restore, thy learning, and, revive, thy grace,
 Snatch thee from civil and intestine strife,
 That arms a brother 'gainst a brother's life:
 By lenient laws restrain the restless mind;
 And different sects in holy union bind:
 Tune their discordant tongues to sweet accord,
 And sheathe, for ever, the devouring sword.
 Laws! fram'd to harmonize contrarious creeds,
 And heal the wounds thro' which a nation bleeds:
 Laws,—that should mitigate a people's woes;
 And make them dreadful only to their foes.
 Christ's righteous canon!—politic, as just,
 'To kings committed as a sacred trust;
 That truly pious and pacific code,
 To God's eternal house the ample road:
 Laws!—mild, impartial, tolerant, and firm,
 A bond of union for a people mix'd.
 Such as good Calvert fram'd for Baltimore,
 And Penn, the Numa of th' Atlantic shore.
 Happy the land! where laws like these prevail,
 To guide the private, guard the public weal;
 Where faction dares not raise his hideous form,
 Nor bigot frenzy conjure up the storm:"

Where all fulfil the strict command *He gave*,
 Who came to suffer, but who came to save;
 And own his truth divine—though tyrants frown,
 That they who bear *his cross* shall wear *his crown*."

"And thou! who on life's stormy ocean
 tost,
 My fortunes fled—my country's franchise lost,
 My bark conducted through a world of woes,
 Calm'd my sad heart and sooth'd it to repose;
 Bless'd be the hour that link'd thy fate with mine,
 And bade our stars, as kindred stars to shine;
 Bless'd be that guiding hand—that angel form,
 That mark'd my way and snatch'd me from the storm,
 Gave me dear pledges of thy care and love,
 And seem'd a saving mercy from above.—
 Thine! let me pay the debt to *truth* I owe,
 And boundless gratitude while here below:
 The meed awaits thee, in an higher sphere,
 These fading flow'rs, my feeble offering here.
 And if the wreath my trembling fingers twine,
 Of florets fresh, with tendrils from the vine,
 Be rudely wrought—excuse my tearful eyes
 And throbbing heart, that o'er my country sighs;
 Sighs, for her slaughter'd sons,—a blood-stain'd band,
 And all the horrors that pollute the land.—
 Long may our ruling destinies unite,
 In spite of envy, and, in fortune's spite;
 And many years of health and pleasure past,
 May that which shall divide us—*be my last!*
 May then thy thread of life, not rudely torn,
 But gently rais'd,—on seraph's wing be born;
 To Portia—Arria—Pembroke—Russel rise,
 And form a new galaxy in the skies.
 There, mingling with the good and virtuous,
 shine,
 With heavenly lustre, and a light divine.

O! had I Jubal's lyre, or Miriam's tuneful tongue,
 High would I hymn their praise, the just among;
 Man's soft consolers, amidst gloomy care,
 A solace sure, in anguish or despair:
 His nurse in childhood, and his friend in age;
 Companions dear, through life's sore pilgrimage.
 In sickness and in death,—his couch beside,
 His mild physician or his pious guide."

Mr. Burtoughs is a catholic, and seems to believe in the fabulous history of Ireland! His poem in general is inferior to the passages which we have quoted: the best painter of the age deserved a better

poet. But Mr. Barry's fame will rest upon his own works; his pictures in the Adelphi, as they are now the *only* public monument of the art in this kingdom, are likely long to be the best. His merit is acknowledged, and the nation will regret, when it is too late, that it has met with no better reward. Before Mr. Barry will have been ten years in his grave, the Venus Anaduomene and the Pandora will singly be purchased, and cheaply purchased, for a larger sum, than all the labours of the living artist have ever obtained. His works will be the boast of England, and his history its opprobrium.

ART. XX.—*Metrical Tales, and other Poems.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY. 8vo. pp. 202.

WHEN the Sibyl asked a specific price for her poems, and was refused, she burnt a portion of them. She then asked the same price for the remainder, and was again refused, but with more hesitation. At length she burnt another third, and obtained her original demand for the residue. Could Mr. Southey imitate the conduct of the Sibyl, it would be attended with equal advantage. The poetic rank to which he aspires, would long ago have been conceded, had he laid before us only the specimens of his excellence: he has half-buried his reputation beneath the quantity of his productions.

His *Old Woman of Berkley* is the best original English ballad extant. Were he known as a ballad-maker only, by that he would stand at the head of the poets in this line; but having produced many ballads of secondary value, he incurs appreciation at the average, and not at the highest rate of his production.

Mr. Southey is adapted for a writer of ballads. He is unaffected beyond all our poets. He never steps aside to pick up an ornament, nor strains the language for a curious felicity. The cleanly simplicity of the good old time adheres to his thoughts and to his expressions. He is natural even to excess; for artists ought to skip, in their delineations, all the uninteresting features; he usually portrays too much. He paints external nature with the deceptive fidelity of the Flemish school, but with too many touches, and with insufficient selection of object. Nor is it in description only that his copiousness borders on prolixity; in the very wording of his phrases, there is a redundancy of expletive and unmeaning particles, of *for*s and *and*s and *there*s and

upons, which, in any other form of composition than the ballad, where one is accustomed to it, would be insupportably trailing. In the rhetorical figure called repetition, Mr. Southey delights; in short, he has all the resources of amplification at command: what he has to learn is to curtail and condense. Milton and Pope are the writers he should study; he has too much of the Spenser and Dryden exuberance already.

The first of these metrical tales relates God's judgment on bishop Hatto, who, having caused the death of the poor during a famine, was devoured by rats. The catastrophe is well told, the arrival of the army of rats is described with living movement; but the incident at the barn was too tragical to form a subordinate part of any narrative, or to be ludicrously avenged.

The pious painter again is somewhat faulty in the structure of the fable: for when Beelzebub is found in the prison, and then vanishes in lightning, it seems obvious to arrest the painter again, and to chain him as before: one is not satisfied that the story is at an end.

St. Michael's Chair is one of the poems which the author should have suffered to perish in the Anthology, where it first appeared. Rebecca Penlake is a religious woman, who, during the sickness of her husband, vows to saint Michael a gift of six marks, in case of his recovery. With honest piety she collects her little savings, and urges her husband, as soon as he is well enough, to travel with her to saint Michael's church, in order to discharge the sacred debt. On the steeple of this church is a chair, which projects over the eaves: and tradition vouches that every

woman, who has the courage to sit in it, will be mistress in her own house. Rebecca is eager to climb the steeple, and to sit in the chair: she falls from the battlements, and is dashed to pieces on the grave-stones. From this incident an attempt is made to extract mirth: the husband orders the bell not to be toll'd for her death, lest it should wake her. If this story had had a lewd turn, the author would on no account have related it; he is too much so at times for probability of character in his heroes. How can he permit himself, one of the chastest of our poets, the greater immorality of attempting to excite laughter, where pity was due; and of tickling away the frown, which ought to arise at the ingratitude and cruelty of this unfeeling, this abominable husband?

The ballad of a young man that would read unlawful books is very impressive; and moreover remarkable, as it seems to contain the germ of the Old Woman of Berkeley.

"Cornelius Agrippa went out one day,
His study he lock'd ere he went away,
And he gave the key of the door to his wife,
And charg'd her to keep it lock'd, on her life.

And if any one ask my study to see,
I charge you trust them not with the key,
Whoever may beg, and intreat, and implore,
On your life let nobody enter that door.

There liv'd a young man in the house who in
vain
Access to that study had sought to obtain,
And he begg'd and pray'd the books to see,
'Till the foolish woman gave him the key.

On the study-table a book there lay,
Which Agrippa him-self had been reading that
day,
The letters were written with blood within,
And the leaves were made of dead men's skin.

And these horrible leaves of magic between
Were the ugliest pictures that ever were seen,
The likeness of things so foul to behold,
That what they were, is not fit to be told.

The young man, he began to read
He knew not what, but he would proceed,
When there was heard a sound at the door
Which as he read on grew more and more.

And more and more the knocking grew,
The young man knew not what to do;
But trembling in fear he sat within,
'Till the door was broke and the devil came in.

Two hideous horns on his head he had got
Like iron heated nine times red hot;
'Till the breath of his nostrils was brimstone blue,
And his tail like a fiery serpent grew.

What wouldst thou with me? the Wicked
One cried,
But not a word the young man replied:
Every hair on his head was standing upright
And his limbs like a palsy shook with affright.

What wouldst thou with me? cried the Au-
thor of ill,
But the wretched young man was silent still:
Not a word had his lips the power to say,
And his marrow seem'd to be melting away.

What wouldst thou with me? the third time
he cries,
And a flash of lightning came from his eyes,
And he lifted his griffin claw in the air,
And the young man had not strength for a
prayer.

His eyes red fire and fury dart
As out he tore the young man's heart;
He grinn'd a horrible grin at his prey,
And in a clap of thunder vanish'd away.

The MORAL.

Henceforth let all young men take heed
How in a Conjuror's books they read."

A more serious moral would have converted the poem into a fine and impressive allegory.

King Charlemain is a lively story, but narrated with less display of descriptive force than is usual with the writer.

Saint Romuald is somewhat liable to the same moral objection as Saint Michael's Chair; that the predominant final emotion is that, which ought not to prevail; that which Voltaire and the perverters of moral taste would have chosen to excite; but the poem is executed in Peter Pindar's best manner, and with rival ease and vivacity.

The Well of Saint Keyne, which is built on the same frame of satire as Saint Michael's Chair, is exquisitely managed; the reader is here not compelled to bestow a smile which he disapproves. There are few comic ballads equal to this: the three last stanzas are especially admirable. The ten first stanzas may be censured as diffuse; but the protraction of expectation is on the whole favourable to the effect of the close.

Bishop Bruno is a well-executed narration; if any thing is wanting, it is some specific motive for his soul's being required of him that night. We are again tempted to transcribe:

"Bishop Bruno awoke in the dead midnight,
And he heard his heart beat loud with affright:
He dreamt he had rung the palace bell,
And the sound it gave was his passing knell.

Bishop Bruno smiled at his fears so vain,
He turned to sleep and he dreamt again:
He rung at the palace gate once more,
And Death was the porter that opened the door.

He started up at the fearful dream,
And he heard at his window the screech owl
scream!

Bishop Bruno slept no more that night,
Oh! glad was he when he saw the day light!

Now he goes forth in proud array,
For he with the emperor dines to-day;
There was not a baron in Germany
That went with a nobler train than he.

Before and behind his soldiers ride,
The people throng'd to see their pride:
They bow'd the head, and the knee they bent,
But nobody blest him as he went.

So he went on stately and proud,
When he heard a voice that cried aloud,
Ho! ho! bishop Bruno! you travel with
glee,
But I would have you know, you travel to me!

Behind and before and on either side,
He look'd, but nobody he espied:
And the bishop at that grew cold with fear,
For he heard the words distinct and clear.

And when he rung at the palace bell,
He almost expected to hear his knell:
And when the porter turn'd the key,
He almost expected Death to see.

But soon the bishop recover'd his glee,
For the emperor welcomed him royally;
And now the tables were spread, and there
Were choicest wines and dainty fare.

And now the bishop had blest the meat,
When a voice was heard as he sat in his seat,
With the emperor now you are dining in glee,
But know, bishop Bruno! you sup with me!

The bishop then grew pale with affright,
And suddenly lost his appetite;
All the wine and dainty cheer
Could not comfort his heart so sick with fear.

But by little and little recovered he,
For the wine went flowing merrily,
And he forgot his former dread,
And his cheeks again grew rosy red.

When he sat down to the royal fare
Bishop Bruno was the saddest man there;
But when the masquers entered the hall,
He was the merriest man of all.

Then from amid the masquers crowd
There went a voice hollow and loud,

You have past the day, bishop Bruno, with
glee!

But you must pass the night with me!

His cheek grows pale and his eye-balls glare;
And stiff round his tonsure bristles his hair;
With that there came one from the masquers
band,
And took the bishop by the hand.

The bony hand suspended his breath,
His marrow grew cold at the touch of Death;
On saints in vain he attempted to call,
Bishop Bruno fell dead in the palace hall."

The battle of Blenheim is not adapted to become a popular poem: it thwarts a certain instinctive patriotism, which chooses to value high the successful military efforts of our countrymen, in order that a succession of life-riskers may rise up for our defence. The condition of mankind is not sufficiently secure against violence, to cashier the protecting force of rival violence. When we want Marlboroughs, we must praise Marlboroughs. It is better to call forth military talent under the constitution than over the constitution. There is no alternative. The anti-warlike revolutionists of France must submit to the will of the warlike revolutionists. Poets, pray continue to praise heroes!

Saint Gualberto is a more finished piece of versification than this poet often executes: it shows that neat writing is in Mr. Southey's power, whenever he bestows the requisite time and pains. Cowper says, a poet should never tire of correcting his own works. We recommend this truism to Mr. Southey's notice.

Of the monodramas, Ximalpoca pleased us most: it was probably intended for an episode to Madoc, and not being of convenient insertion, was published apart: it would not have disparaged that truly great and fine poem. We suspect some songs of the Indians to have a similar origin.

The Love Elegies of Abel Shuffelbottom are excellent, especially the fourth: few heroï-comic poems have been composed with equal felicity.

The sonnets, the anomalies, the miscellanies, the eclogues, and the inscriptions, comprize good pieces; but there is alloy enough among them to make the ore pass for a specimen of less than its real value.

ART. XXI.—*The Penance of Hugo, a Vision on the French Revolution. In the Manner of Dante. In four Cantos. Written on the Occasion of the Death of Nicola Hugo de Bassaville, Envoy from the French Republic at Rome, January 14, 1793. Translated from the original Italian of Vincenzo Monti into English Verse. With two additional Cantos. By*

the Rev. HENRY BOYD, A. M. Vicar of Drugmuth, in Ireland, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Charleville. 8vo. pp. 180.

NO poem of modern Italy, indeed no poem of modern times, has experienced such great and rapid success as Vincenzo Monti's *Cantica in Morte di Ugo Basseville*. It passed through eighteen editions in six months. It is surprising that a work so celebrated, so singular, and upon a subject of such temporary attractiveness, has not before been naturalised. Had this version appeared in 1794, under some *taking title*, and with a larger assortment of "bloody notes," the associations would have circulated it, and its terrific effects might have vied with those of the Furies of Æschylus.

To the edition of this poem contained in the *Parnasso Moderno*, some brief memoirs of Basseville are prefixed, which are not to be found in the translation. He was the son of a dyer at Abbeville; had been educated for the church, but abandoned the study of theology, and went to seek his fortune at Paris as a man of letters. There he obtained the situation of librarian to some great personage, whose name is not mentioned. Two young and rich Americans arrived at Paris with letters to his patron, and he recommended Basseville to them as a travelling companion or tutor through Germany, for which they rewarded him with a pension of three thousand livres. At Berlin he formed an intimate friendship with Mirabeau, was associated to the royal academy there, and carried on a controversy in defence of the French writers against Carlo Denina, the historiographer to Frederic the Great, and author of the well-known work *delle Rivoluzioni d'Italia*. From thence he travelled into Holland to study the principles of commerce, upon which subject he wrote a poem, which, according to the Italian editor, does no dishonour to his name. Next he published the Elements of Mythology, which the French journals noticed with praise, and a volume of poems which evinced him to be a man of brilliant imagination, but at the same time a consummate libertine; for, says the Italian, he scattered through them those wicked and impious elegances, the springs of which were opened by Marot, and dilated so much by Voltaire, that all France has been inundated and contaminated. At the commencement of the revolution he took the side of government, and distinguished

himself in a journal, which bore for its motto these words: *Il faut un Roi aux Francois*, and he supported the same sentiments in a history of the revolution, in two volumes, which he dedicated to his great friend La Fayette. But changing his opinions, as wider prospects, either political or personal, opened upon him, he connected himself with Biron and Brissot, and Dumourier, and by the interest of the latter he was nominated secretary of legislation at the court of Naples. From thence he was sent as envoy of the republic to Rome, to stir up, as it is said, a revolution there. He is said to have expressed and written his opinion that Rome, contrary to what he had expected, was *ineluctable*, and this expression is adduced in proof of the guilt of his designs. But he was urged on by some of his countrymen, against his own better judgment, and at length after some open insult to the majesty of the pope and the dignity of the people, the mob attacked him. Basseville was an intrepid man, and fired a pistol among them; they dragged him out of the carriage, and murdered him upon the spot. No other Frenchman was killed, much to the honour of the Roman populace, say the Abati Monti his Italian editor, and his English translator. This moderation of the mob seems to imply that the murder was premeditated, and that they acted under orders. The persons of ambassadors have never been held sacred when any thing was to be got by assassinating and kidnapping them. Dorislaus and Ascham, Semonville and Jean de Brie, and sir George Rumbold, are enough to prove the assertion, though the name of Basseville were not added to the list. The widow and child of this victim were taken care of by the pope; he himself in a brief will, which he had time to make before he expired, recommended them to the protection of Brissot, and of one of his American friends.

How long Basseville's name may be preserved by his own writings, we know not, never having seen them; in Italy it is not likely soon to be forgotten. The very singular poem of which he is the hero, is in imitation of Dante, and written in the *terza rima*, Dante's metre. It begins after the murder, when just time enough has elapsed for a devil to have seized the soul, and an angel to have

rescued it. These are the opening stanzas :

"The contest paus'd; th' infernal claimant flew,
With baffled rage, to join the Stygian crew
That waited in the deep th' human prey.
His vulture hands the fury stretch'd on high;
Then, like a lion, through the nether sky
Sent a long yell, and curst the luckless day.

"Loud blasphemies against th' Eternal Sire
The demon spoke, while round his temples dire

The horrent hydras, as he shot along,
His'd through the gloom. But from the deadly strife

Sad Hugo's spirit, scarce recovering life,
O'er the abyss with feeble pinions hung.

"Smit with alternate anguish and dismay,
Now on his gory members, where they lay,
He look'd aghast; and now, with deeper awe,

The world of spirits, from afar, beheld,
Half warn'd by hope, and half by dread repell'd;

New to the second life's mysterious law.

"With smiles that seem'd the rosy dawn of joy,
The Delegate, that on this hard employ
Was sent, the victim cheer'd, and thus began :

'Hail! happy Spirit, hail! the doom is past;
Amid that favour'd train thy lot is cast,
Which owe salvation to the Son of Man.

"Fear not yon dark flood's sullen roar below;

You never there shall join the sons of woe,
To quaff the baleful stream, and sing despair;

For Justice, with Eternal Love combin'd,
Shall purge the black contagion from your mind,

And make you fit to breathe empyreal air.

"The great recording angel wrote your fate

In adamant, and bars the blessed gate,
To keep you from the taste of heavenly joy
Till France atones her crimes. The troubled tide

Of anguish and of rage you long must ride,
And deep remorse your gloomy hours employ.

"You shan'd the guilt, and you the price must pay;

Yon noisome fume, that, in the face of day,
Breathes horrible to souls, your sense refine'd,

In torture shall sustain; for now the hour
To Vengeance, Vengeance, calls th' eternal Power,

Though Mercy still with Justice lives combin'd."

Mr. Boyd professes to have given only a free translation: if however we rightly understand the original, he has given additional obscurity to a poem which needed

none, by confusing the scenery. Ugo is not represented in the Italian as hovering over the abyss: these are the lines:

"Allor timide l'ali aperse e scosse
L'anima d'Ugo alla seconda vita
Fuor delle membra del suo sangue rosse
E la mortal prigione, ond'era uscita,
Subito in dietro a riguardar si volse,
Tutta ancor sospettosa e sbigottita."

Has Mr. Boyd been misled by the second line?

"E lo Spirto d'abisso si partia?"

Hugo bids his body farewell, and departs from Rome with his guiding angel; but as they go they behold one of the seven angels standing on St. Peter's, and shadowing the whole Vatican with his shield. They pass on and witness the dispersion of the French fleet by a storm, and frantic Liberty defying Britain, who smites her in her wrath. Spain, Italy, Germany are rising in arms; the spirit of Basseville, weeping at this sight, reaches Marseilles; a blasphemous crowd are there insulting the crucifix, at the foot of which lies a human body, newly murdered. The ghost, which has just left it, joins Hugo and relates his history, that he being the common executioner of the town, had been ordered by the mob to fasten a halter round the image of Christ, and put to death for the refusal, for which martyrdom his soul had found grace: the spirits embrace, and separate, and Hugo and his guide hold on their way, beholding the miserable state of France as they go. Every where they see blood flowing, gibbets erected, dead bodies, churches demolished, their leaden roofs sent to the furnace, the country lying waste, and boys torn from their parents for the army. At length they reach the French Babylon.

"O when will Penitence, returning late,
Atone the crimes of this polluted state?"

Pale Sorrow thus her doleful descant sung,
By cruel mockery driven to deep despair,
And, roaming round, was heard unhallow'd Care,

Their tasks dispensing to the madding throng.

"And stern Necessity with iron scourge,
Was seen the brainless populace to urge

To ruthless deeds. While, with a vacant eye,

Dull Indolence the rising storm beheld,
And join'd its progress, to the task impell'd;

With the strong despot link'd in Stygian tie.

"There Famine too, an hide-bound fiend, appear'd,

And to the dire employ the many cheer'd,
Distinct, the dire anatomy was seen;

Her rayless eyes in hollow sockets roll'd,
Her grinding jaws were hideous to behold,
And Hades glimmer'd on her Gorgon
mien.

"Far other was the fiery glance of Rage,
With lion ramp he trode the dusky stage,
With Discord close behind, a Stygian
bride,

Rending her veil; a snaky wreath, instead
Of May's perfuming fragrance bound her
head,

As onward she pursu'd her desperate guide.

"A band of Dreams, in moonlight, moody
mirth

Illusive, led the blinded sons of earth
To horrible exploits, and Hope was there,
Of things impossible: and causeless Dread,
With her the living tide inpepp'd, or led
Fierce in the van, or storming in the rear.

"With quick, reverted eye, and fearful
look,

The trembling soul of Vigilance he shook
With new alarms, as on the pond'rous bar,
That clos'd the gate, he fixt an anxious eye;
For oft with hand unseen, a demon nigh,
Open'd and clos'd at will the port of War.

"'Twas she, the sister and the slave of
death,

Whose dreadful joy, when legions yield their
breath,

Peals thro' the firmament. When, o'er the
plain

She calls her hell-dogs to the feast of gore,
Her name in thunder rolls from shore to
shore,

And terror wild foreruns her dismal reign."

The characteristic defects of Mr. Boyd's
translation may be seen by comparing this
passage with the original, which consists
of exactly half as many lines.

"Sul primo entrar della città dolente
Stanno il Pianto, le Cure, e la Follia,
Che salta, e nulla vede, e nulla sente.

E vi il turpe Bisogno, e la restia
Ipèzia colle man sotto le ascelle,
L'uno all'altra appoggiati in sulla via.

E vi l'arbitra Fama, a cui la pelle
Inforna-i dall'ossa, e i lerci denti
Fanno orribile siepe alla mascelle.

Vi son le rubiconda ire furenti;
E la Discordia pazza, il capo avvolto
Di lacerate bendè e di serpente.

Vi son gli orbi Desiri: e della stolta
Citrinaglia i Sogni, e le Paure smorte,
Sempre il crin rabbuffate, e sempre in volta.

Veglia custodia delle meste porte
E le chiude a suo senno, e le disserra
L'ancella e incienie la rival de Morte;

La cruda io dico, furibonda Guerra.
Che nel sangue s'abbevera e gavazza;
E sol del nome fa tremar la terra."

The distinctness, and precision, and
force, of the original, are destroyed by this
loose paraphrase.

The human inhabitants of Paris are at

this time preparing for some great event.
The bells are still, there is no sound of
business in the streets, but low speeches,
and murmurs and sounds of sorrow. Wo-
men are holding their babes closer to the
breast in fear, and striving in vain to soften
the hearts of their husbands. The ghosts
of the Druids pass over them, and shower
down blood and poison; and the Parisians
taste and become mad with the devilish
intoxication. They seize and bind the
king. The airs of heaven, motionless with
horror, bewailed him, and the angels
wept; and then the Almighty weighed in
the balance the crimes of France against
his divine love and patience. The scales
hung even till the accusing angel cast in
the fate of the king, and turned the ba-
lance at the moment when Louis ascended
the scaffold. Four spectres ascended with
him, each had a cord around his neck,
each held a dagger. The name of each
was written upon his forehead in blood,
names terrible to kings and to nature.
Damiens was one; Ankerstrom another;
Ravallac the third; the fourth hid his
name with his hand. Mr. Boyd says he
knows not who is meant, unless it be the
infamous *Egalité*. Him it cannot mean,
for he was living when the poem was
written, and these are called *quattro Larre*.
We have no doubt that the person thus
described as concealing himself, is the
executioner of Charles the First; and this
is made the more clear, as it is he who
lets the axe fall. The soul of Louis im-
mediately ascends: the army of Gallic
martyrs meet him, and Basseville presses
and beseeches his forgiveness. The king
asks who he is. He relates his offence,
and how his soul had found grace, be-
cause, hearing at the moment of death
that the Pope had taken into his protec-
tion his wife and child, he had shed tears
of remorse. Louis accepts his repentance,
and in return for his forgiveness lays his
commands upon him.

"Two kindred souls your sympathy will find.
Yet to the fate of Bourbon scarce resign'd;

With ceaseless tears they weep my mourn-
ful doom.

O hover o'er their heads with angel wing,
And (if thy guard permits) a requiem sing,
From their sad souls to chase the mental
gloom.

"Visit their slumbers, like returning light,
Give all my glories to their inward sight,
The more than regal pomp that now is
mine.

Tell them what life among the blest I lead,
Shew them the diadem that binds my head,
Which envy can't corrode, nor death re-
sign.

"Tell them that yonder in the blest abode,
 (The bosom of my father and my God)
 I had a place, and there their coming wait;
 There all past sorrows turn'd to rapt'rous
 joy
 By heaven's mysterious guidance, shall employ
 Our contemplations in th' empyreal state."

He bids him next go to Rome and bid the pope display Emanuel's standard, and unite the whole commonwealth of Christ against France; for without his help Germany and Switzerland, and Prussia and England, will combine in vain. Having given these instructions, Louis ascends to heaven. The constellations are bedimmed by the glories of his passing train, the stars put on a brighter pomp of light; and the comets display a more majestic length of hair; he reaches the throne of glory, and angels sing the triumphs of redeemed man.

Meantime a troop of demons and spectres crowd round his bleeding body to drink the blood, but an angel keeps them at bay with his fiery sword. The four regicides are at the head of the band; a troop of souls from Marseilles follow them, who have been lately killed by the royalists. Voltaire, Diderot, Helvetius, Rousseau, D'Alambert, Raynal, Bayle, and Freret, are described as conspicuous among the groups. Next come the Jansenists! Last the atheists led by the author of *La Systeme de la Nature*. All these exult round the headless corpse of the king, and boast their share in the catastrophe; but when the last leader boasts that he had done most by destroying God, a shudder ran through the whole, like the sound of a thick rain, heard in the silence of midnight. Basseville, surprized to behold the ghost of Raynal, whom he knew to be yet living, enquires of his guide the meaning of this wonder, and is told, as Dante had been before him, that while his soul is among the damned, a devil animates his body, which was the case with many other of his countrymen in the senate and the forum.

But now the gates of heaven open, and the three angels of terror, and misfortune, and death, descend and join the fourth who is guarding the body. The spectres fly at their approach. Two females come forth from the church, each* holding in each hand a cup, upon which the previous events of the revolution are sculptured.

They gather up the blood of Louis, and fill with it the four vases, and give them to the four angels, denouncing prophetic curses.

"Like four dark pillars of ascending fume,
 The giant spectres rose amid the gloom,
 And to the different quarters of the sky
 At once they point their pinions' airy sweep,
 And reach the regions where the thunders sleep,
 Till clouds dislodging, give them wings to fly.

"Then o'er the fields of fine aerial blue,
 Each from his goblet flung the gory dew
 Diffusive, like a crimson cloud, afar
 Shedding a sanguine light, that veil'd around
 The stellar fires in bloody billows drown'd;
 And all the planets look'd revenge and war.

"And, kindling in its fall, the fluid gore
 Seem'd like Gomorrah's flaming storm of yore,
 Sweeping in sulph'rous hurricane along
 The soil, conceiv'd beneath its fiery blast.
 Hell seem'd to follow whereso'er it past,
 And clouds of Erebus the welkin hung.

"To every heart the penetrating pest
 Soon found its way thro' many a mortal breast,
 And human frenzy met celestial fire;
 With blended rage, and wak'd to new alarms,
 The angry nations cry'd 'to arms! to arms!
 And kindling zones in deadly rage conspire."

All Europe flies to arms as the vases of blood are poured out. Basseville in horror asks how all this is to terminate. Come with me and thou shalt know, the guide replies; and here the original poem ends, luckily without a prophecy.

That this poem is highly original, and striking in all its parts, cannot be doubted. It is the work of a man whose mind has been deeply imbued with Dante and with the Apocalypse, but whose dreams, though blended with these impressions, have a character of their own. Was Mr. Gillray full of this poem when he designed his apotheosis of Hoche? if he were a stranger to it, there is a most remarkable similarity between the genius of the poet and the artist. But Vincenzo Monti seems to have received his visitations rather from a nightmare than a heavenly muse, the reign of chaos and old night is his native and proper sphere; "half footing and half flying," he makes his way well through the "crude consistence," but when he reaches "the

* Mr. Boyd says, "Each in her hands a mighty mazer bore," as if each held but one, so that when four cups are afterwards filled it does not appear from whence they came.

firm opacous globe of this round world," he is out of his element, his feet have neither strength for walking, nor his wings for flight. This *Cantica in Morte di Ugo Basseville* is upon a plan perfectly suited to his powers of execution, it is such a dream as laudanum would produce in a hag-ridden monk. His *Pellegrino Apostolico* is far inferior. But perhaps none of his compositions more clearly ascertain the character of his imagination than his three sonnets upon Judas Iscariot. As soon as Judas has hung himself, Justice seizes him, and dipping her finger in the blood of Christ, writes with it upon his forehead a sentence of eternal damnation, and drops him body and soul into hell! The angels hide their eyes with their wings at the sight (this is a very favourite conceit with the poet who has frequently repeated it): the sight of the sentence in red letters terrified the damned, he attempts to tear it out, but in vain, for God had fixed it there.

"Nè sillabà di Dio mai si cancella."

How much more *humanly* is the old legend of the sabbath of hell conceived, which allows Judas to come upon earth on a Sunday, and cool himself!

Mr. Boyd's supplement would have been better as a separate poem. It is indeed connected with the preceding cantos; but as soon as Napoleon comes on the stage, we lose sight of Hugo and his guide. A demon appears to the Corsican in a dream, tells him that Fate has woven his fortunes in a purple loom, that he is ordained to decide the doom of a nation, and that in Egypt the mistress of the spell shall tell him all the conditions which are required on his part. His actions on the insurrection of Vendémiaire, which may be regarded as the death-day of republicanism in France, and his first campaigns in Italy, are rapidly shown or narrated: he goes to Egypt and loses his fleet, and the angel then shows Hugo Bonaparte's dream. The Corsican is represented cursing Britannia, and invoking the aid of the infernal powers against her.

" 'There are conditions,' whispering as it past,
A voice was heard, that in the whirling blast
Struck with deep cadence on his trembling ear;
He started, where he stood, and rais'd his eyes;
A dusty column, tow'ring to the skies,
Came sweeping past, and westward seem'd to veer.

"He follow'd, half in hope, and half afraid,
As the young Dane pursu'd his father's shade,
On to a mass of monumental stone,
Where broken columns all at random lay,
O'er rifted arches there it broke away,
Like scatter'd clouds by ev'ning Zephyr blown.

"O'er many a shatter'd pile, and long Arcade,
With light and dusk altern, the moonbeams play'd,
And flung a chequer'd figure on the ground,
In mimic majesty; a sphinx before
A giant figure, rear'd in years of yore,
Time-scar'd, and huge, before the entrance frown'd.

"It strode an arch; below a dusky stair,
That seem'd a shelving passage to despair,
To the pale chief a dubious welcome show'd;
Yet fearless down the yawning vault he past,
And thro' long colonnades, and antres vast,
The spirits ey'd him onward as he trode.

"A gate disclos'd, and all was dark, but soon
Like Earth's dim shadow, moving from the moon,
Gigantic fingers seem'd to drag away
A dusky veil, that hid a mirror, bright
As Luna, when, full-orb'd, she rules the night,
And sheds o'er land and main reflected day.

"Ent'ring, the wond'ring pair the scene survey'd,
And soon beheld, what seem'd a living shade,
Seen by the fearful splendour far within,
Clad in a sable stole, an ancient crone;
He look'd as if his heart congeal'd to stone
At her long wimples weed, and rivet'd skin.

" 'Courage!' she cry'd; but 'with a baleful smile:
'Not long shall England revel in the spoil
From Gaul obtain'd. Like Sol, eclipsed and pale,
Your shadow'd glory sickens for a time;
Soon shall it brighten, like his orb sublime,
And o'er the powers of Christendom prevail.

" 'Go on—but wear the mask of Virtue still,
The fair pretext shall mount you to the hill
Of Royalty, that courts you to her arms.
Nay, falter not, but follow where it leads,
The dastard fails, the fearless man succeeds,
Whose heart is all alive to glory's charms.

"The time will come, when you may lay aside
The vizard, when Bellona for your bridle
You take, and from her hands receive the crown
Of laurel, deeply drench'd in royal gore;
Then your dread name shall ring from shore to shore,
And thrones and altars spread your long renown.

"Be bloody, bold, resolv'd, and laugh to scorn
 The men that call you cruel and forsworn,
 True to the leading of your natal star;
 The stars befriended you—we their voyage guide;
 The stellar virtues shed as we decide;
 Luxurious peace, or wide-consuming war.
 "Tell me, O mother! When shall I behold
 Britannia's flag by Fortune's power controll'd,
 And sunk in ocean?—shall it ever be?
 That light which led me on has left the sky."
 "Look," she return'd, "at that disclosing eye;
 There thy benignant star revisits thee.
 "That orb you see, with eager hand I tore
 From a live crocodile, in days of yore,
 And brought it to Dom Daniel's magic fane,
 Like the moon's disk it grew by Demon's skill;
 And now the mirror shews whate'er I will:
 Go read thy triumphs there, by land and main."

Mr. Boyd might have found a better scene for an Egyptian vision in the St. Louis of Le Moyne, a man who might have held no inconsiderable rank among poets, had he been born in Italy instead of in France.

In this magic mirror, which is better conceived than described, the mistress of the spell shows him his future fortunes: he doubts the vision, and in one of those absurd speeches which satirists so frequently introduce, describes himself as the greatest of all villains, but doubts his means of attaining to such high dignity. To assist him the witch prepares a cauldron with the help of the Vices, from whence they produce a fiend called Anan-cus, an allegorical being to represent necessity, as understood by fatalists or Dr. Priestley, we are told in a note, if the reader pleases, who with his dark apostles is to prepare all nations for his yoke. In a note we are told of writings in favour of predestination, by R. H. (Robert Hall we suppose) and others, and referred to the Anti-jacobin Review! That he may be assured all this is reality, not a mere illusion of sleep, she adds:

"Behold a sign that what I tell is true,
 The magic beam that yonder meets your view,
 Collecting to a point its orb of light,
 Shall sparkle in the gem that decks your hand,
 And point your progress to supreme command,
 Like radiant phosphor in the rear of night.

"Whene'er you touch the stone, with backward pray'r
 Which I shall teach, a servile genius near
 Your bidding shall fulfil, and ~~maze~~ the mind
 Which you resolve to taint. By dastard dread
 Some work, and some the human engine lead
 By Envy, Sloth, or Pride, with art refin'd."

Mr. Boyd should have referred again to Thalaba here, for if we mistake not, the source of this is in these lines:

"Abdaldar stood before the flame,
 And held the ring beside, and spake
 The language that the elements obey.
 The obedient flame detached a portion forth
 That in the crystal entering, was condensed,
 Gem of the gem, its living eye of fire."
 Book II. p. 87.

Napoleon after this goes on victoriously, overthrows the directory, and defeats the allied powers, and the angel has no other comfort to offer Hugo at last than that truth shall prevail through tribulation.

These supplementary cantos are worse planned than the original, and disturb its unity of subject; they have also the same fault as the original, for the poem still remains unfinished, and the question what is the end of all this, is still to be asked. Mr. Boyd discovers some powers of fancy, and his verse is full and sonorous, but it wants the force of Monti. This is partly to be attributed to the stanza which he has chosen. The main advantage of the *terza rima* is its continuousness: the poet closes his sentence when he pleases, not at stated distances, and this advantage the translator has consented to forego. Monti, by imitating the old masters, has at least kept himself free from the faults of the moderns: his style is plain, severe, forcible; the translation has none of these characteristics; it is professedly a free version, but Monti is one of those poets who requires to be translated as closely as possible; what is good is not likely to be improved by any alteration from a translator's hand. But the fault which will prevent it from becoming popular in England, is its obscurity; a fable so obscure required the most perspicuous language, and this it has not found.

A line of Virgil in the notes is thus printed:

Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mescentur.

ATRIDA.

Such is the shameful ignorance of our

printers, that we now rarely see a Latin note without some such blunder, and the errors which they make in the English text are more mischievous because they are less conspicuous. Every printer used formerly to have a competent corrector of

the press in his employ, and we shall continue to notice the incorrectness of the works which come before us, in the hope that this may again be considered as necessary.

ART. XXII.—*The Sabbath, and Sabbath Walks*; by JAMES GRAHAME. 8vo. pp. 136.

SO remarkably successful has this little poem been, that it had reached a third edition before it came to our hands. For some part of its success it has been indebted to its title, and it may also have had a sectarian circulation, but undoubtedly as much is to be attributed to the true genius which it displays.

The preface has nothing prefatory, but it is a striking chapter or chapterlet in the manner of Montesquieu.

"He who has seen threescore and ten years, has lived *ten years of Sabbaths*. The appropriation of so considerable a portion of human life to religious duties, to domestic enjoyment, and to meditative leisure, is a most merciful branch of the divine dispensation. It is the grand bulwark of *poverty* against the encroachments of *capital*. The labouring classes *sell* their time. The rich are the buyers, at least they are the *chief* buyers; for it is obvious, that more than the half of the waking hours of those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, is consumed in the manufacture of articles, that cannot be deemed either necessities or comforts. Six days of the week are thus *disposed of* already. If Sunday were in the market, it would find purchasers too. The abolition of the Sabbath would, in truth, be equivalent to a sentence, adjudging to the rich the services of the poor *for life*."

The poem begins very beautifully :

"How still the morning of the hallowed day!
Mute is the voice of rural labour, hushed
The ploughboy's whistle, and the milkmaid's song.

The scythe lies glittering in the dewy wreath
Of tedded grass, mingled with fading flowers,
That yester-morn bloomed waving in the breeze:

Sounds the most faint attract the ear,—the hum

Of early bee, the trickling of the dew,
The distant bleating, midway up the hill.

Calmness sits throned on yon unmoving cloud.
To him who wanders o'er the upland leas,
The blackbird's note comes mellower from the dale;

And sweeter from the sky the gladsome lark
Warbles his heaven-tuned song; the lulling brook

Murmurs more gently down the deep-worn glen;

While from yon lowly roof, whose curling smoke

O'er mounts the mist, is heard, at intervals,
The voice of psalms, the simple song of praise.

"With dove-like wings, Peace o'er yon village broods:

The dizzying mill-wheel rests; the anvil's din hath ceased; all, all around is quietness.
Less fearful on this day, the limping hare
Stops, and looks back, and stops, and looks on man,

Her deadliest foe. The toil-worn horse, set free,

Unheeded of the pasture, roams at large;
And, as his stiff unwieldy bulk he rolls,
His iron-armed hoofs gleam in the morning ray."

After describing the social worship of Scotland and "the loftier ritual" of England, the poet paints the solitary sabbath of the shepherd's boy, who reads of the son of Jesse keeping sheep; and then marking the place in his bible with a sprig of thyme, sings the hymns which he has been taught at home. A fine passage follows in a higher strain:

"Far other times our fathers' grandfathers knew,

A virtuous race, to godliness devote.

What though the sceptic's scorn hath dared to soil

The record of their fame! What though the men

Of worldly minds have dared to stigmatize

The sister-cause, Religion and the Law,
With Superstition's name! yet, yet their deeds,

Their constancy in torture, and in death,—
These on tradition's tongue still live, these shall

On history's honest page be pictured bright
To latest times. Perhaps some bard, whose muse

Disdains the servile strain of Fashion's quire,
May celebrate their unambitious names.

With them each day was holy, every hour
They stood prepared to die, a people doomed
To death;—old men, and youths, and simple maids.

With them each day was holy; but that morn

On which the angel said, *See where the Lord
Was laid*, joyous arose; to die that day
Was bliss. Long ere the dawn, by devious
ways,

O'er hills, thro' woods, o'er dreary wastes,
they sought

The upland moors, where rivers, there but
brooks,

Dispart to different seas: Fast by such brooks,
A little glen is sometimes scooped, a plat
With green sward gay, and flowers that stran-
gers seem

Amid the heathery wild, that all around

Fatigues the eye: in solitudes like these

Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled

A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:

There, leaning on his spear, (one of the array,

That, in the times of old, had scathed the rose

On England's banner, and had powerless
struck

The infatuate monarch and his wavering host,)

The lyart veteran heard the word of God

By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick
poured

In gentle stream: then rose the song, the
loud

Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased

Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,

And on the distant cairns, the watcher's ear

Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne
note.

But years more gloomy followed; and no
more

The assembled people dared, in face of day,

To worship God, or even at the dead

Of night, save when the wintry storm raved
fierce,

And thunder-peals compelled the men of
blood

To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly

The scattered few would meet, in some deep
dell

By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,

Their faithful pastor's voice: He by the gleam

Of sheeted lightning oped the sacred book,

And words of comfort spake: Over their souls

His accents soothing came,—as to her young

The heathfowl's plumes, when at the close of
eve

She gathers in, mournful, her brood dis-
persed

By murderous sport, and o'er the remnant
spreads

Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her
breast,

They, cherished, cower amid the purple
blooms."

Mr. Grahame himself should be the
poet who should give these excellent mar-
tyrs their fame. It is indeed to be wished
that some of the stories which he has ad-
duced in the notes had been woven into
the text, but they are told with such force
and feeling by the original writers, that
perhaps he was not unreasonably afraid of

weakening their effect. What a tale for
instance is this!

"One morning, between five and six
hours, John Brown, having performed the
worship of God in his family, was going, with
a spade in his hand, to make ready some
peat-ground. The mist being very dark, he
knew not until cruel and bloody Claverhouse
compassed him with three troops of horse,
brought him to his house, and there examined
him; who, though he was a man of stammer-
ing speech, yet answered him distinctly and
solidly; which made Claverhouse to examine
those whom he had taken to be his guide
through the mairs, if they had heard him
preach? They answered, 'No, no, he was
never a preacher.' He said, 'If he has never
preached, meikle he has prayed in his time.'
He said to John, 'Go to your prayers, for
you shall immediately die.' When he was
praying, Claverhouse interrupted him three
times: one time that he stopped him, he was
pleading that the Lord would spare a rem-
nant, and not make a full end in the day of
his anger. Claverhouse said, 'I give you
time to pray, and ye are begun to preach.'
he turned about upon his knees, and said,
'Sir, you know neither the nature of pray-
ing nor preaching, that calls this preaching';
then continued without confusion. When
ended, Claverhouse said, 'Take good night
of your wife and children.' His wife stand-
ing by with her child in her arms that she
had brought forth to him, and another child
of his first wife's, he came to her, and said,
'Now, Marion, the day is come that I told
you would come, when I spake first to you of
marrying me.' She said, 'Indeed, John, I
can willingly part with you.' Then he said,
'This is all I desire, I have no more to do
but die.' He kissed his wife and bairns, and
wished purchased and promised blessings to
be multiplied upon them, and his blessing.
Claverhouse ordered six men to shoot him:
the most part of the bullets came upon his
head, which scattered his brains upon the
ground. Claverhouse said to his wife, 'What
thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?'
She said, 'I thought ever much of him, and
now as much as ever.' He said, 'It were
justice to lay thee beside him.' She said,
'If ye were permitted, I doubt not but your
cruelty would go that length; but how will
ye in ke answer for this morning's work?'
He said, 'To man I can be answerable; and
for God, I will take him in mine own hand.'
Claverhouse mounted his horse, and march-
ed, and left her, with the corpse of her dead
husband lying there. She set the bairn on
the ground, and tied up his head, and
straightened his body, and covered him in her
plaid, and sat down, and wept over him. It
being a very desert place, where never victual
grew, and far from neighbours, it was some
time before any friends came to her; the first

that came was a very fit hand, that old singular christian woman in the Cumberhead, named Elizabeth Menzies, three miles distant, who had been tried with the violent death of her husband at Pentland, afterwards of two worthy sons, Thomas Weir, who was killed at Drumclog, and David Steel, who was suddenly shot afterwards when taken. The said Marion Weir, sitting upon her husband's grave, told me, that before that, she could see no blood but she was in danger to faint; and yet she was helped to be a witness to all this, without either fainting or confusion; except when the shots were let off, her eyes-dazzled. His corpse were buried at the end of his house, where he was slain."

PEDER'S Life.

Why is it that religious enthusiasm is fatal to genius? This very butcher who is as famous below by the name of Claverhouse as he is on earth by his title of Dundee, is the hero of Highland songs; the very cow-stealers on the border had better poets than Alexander the Great could get, and yet the wild sufferings and admirable courage of the Cameronians have not produced a single ballad. Religious enthusiasm is not merely fatal to genius by what it prevents, but it seems to debase whatever it touches, as witness all the versions of the Psalms!

An exquisite image occurs in the description of the debtor's sabbath.

"Or turn thee to that house, with studded doors,

And iron-visor'd windows;—even there
The Sabbath sheds a beam of bliss, tho' faint;

•The debtor's friends (for still he has some friends)

Have time to visit him; the blossoming pea,
That climbs the rust-worn bars, seems fresher tinged;

And on the little turf, this day renewed,
The lark, his prison mate, quivers the wing
With more than wouled joy."

Mr. Grahame inveighs against the indiscriminate cruelty of the criminal laws, but he recommends death as the punishment for blasphemy! We hope he will reflect upon the iniquity of all persecution, and omit this very exceptionable passage.

One extract more from these delightful poems: speaking of the Scotch emigrants in America, he thus describes the blind man:

"Yes, even he, round whom a night that knows

No dawn is ever spread, whose native vale
Presented to his closed eyes a blank,—

Deplores its distance now. There well he knew

Each object, though unseen; there could he wend

His way, guideless, through wilds and mazy woods;

Each aged tree, spared when the forest fell,
Was his familiar friend, from the smooth birch,

With rind of silken touch, to the rough elm:
The three gray stones, that marked where heroes lay,

Mourned by the harp, mourned by the melting voice

Of Cona, oft his resting-place had been.
Oft had they told him that his home was near—

The tinkle of the rill, the murmuring
So gentle of the brook, the torrent's rush,

The cataract's din, the ocean's distant roar,
The echo's answer to his foot or voice,

All spoke a language which he understood,
All warned him of his way. But most he feels

Upon the hallowed morn, the saddening change:

No more he hears the gladsome village bell
Ring the blest summons to the house of God:

And,—for the voice of psalms, loud, solemn, grand,

That cheered his darkling path, as, with slow step

And feeble, he toiled up the spire-topped hill,—
A few faint notes ascend among the trees."

Were we to select all the passages of striking merit, it would far exceed our limits. There is a want of method and of order in the poem, and all parts are not equally good. When the author speaks of the missionaries, he sinks into a methodist versifier. He rises again upon the subject of the slave-trade. Scotland may indeed well boast that *not a single slave-ship* sails from a Scottish port! but are not many of the planters and most of the overseers in our accursed islands Scotchmen?

The Sabbath Walks contain many beautiful lines and images caught from nature; but the connection with the Sabbath is too arbitrary. After a separate poem upon the Sunday, these walks had better have been taken upon another day. We copy a note to the last poem, because it contains a plan which ought to be adopted, and enforced by law.

"During the winter season, there are many shepherds lost in the snow. I have heard of ten being lost in one parish. When life-boats for the preservation of shipwrecked mariners, and institutions for the recovery of drowned persons, obtain so much of the public attention and patronage, it is strange that

no means are ever thought of, for the preservation of the lives of shepherds during snow-storms. I believe, that in nine instances out of ten, the death of the unhappy persons who perish in the snow is owing to their losing their way. A proof of this is, that very few are lost in the day-time. The remedy, then, is both easy and obvious. Let means be used for enabling the shepherd, in the darkest night, to know precisely the spot at which he is, and the bearings of the surrounding grounds. Snow-storms are almost always accompanied with wind. Suppose a pole, fifteen feet high, well fixed in the ground, with two cross spars placed near the bottom, to denote the airts, or points of the compass;—a bell hung at the top of this pole, with a piece of flat wood attached to it, projecting upward, would ring with the slightest breeze. For a few hundred pounds, every square mile of the southern district of

Scotland might be supplied with such bells. As they would be purposely made, to have different tones, the shepherd would soon be able to distinguish one from another. He could never be more than a mile distant from one or other of them. On coming to the spot, he would at once know the points of the compass, and of course the direction in which his home lay."

Mr. Grahame wants that correctness which can only be attained by long practice; he has however the true feeling of a poet. We have seldom seen a poem from which so many fine passages and single lines of striking excellence could be selected. Its success has not been beyond its merits; it will become permanently popular.

ART. XXIII.—*Simple Poems on Simple Subjects.* By CHRISTIAN MILN, *Wife of a Journeyman Ship-carpenter in Footdee Aberdeen.* 8vo. pp. 183.

THE contents of this volume may most favourably be characterized by negatives. The rhymes are not bad, the style is not

affected, and probably no other journeyman ship-carpenter's wife in Aberdeen can write better.

ART. XXIV.—*The Pleasures of Love, a Poem.* By JOHN STEWART, Esq. 8vo. pp. 177.

THE versification of this little poem is evidently modeled from "The Loves of the Plants" of Dr. Darwin. It displays much glitter, and some affectation, and may be read from beginning to end, or from the end to the beginning, or by alternate pages, without the least detriment to its sense or harmony, as the following specimen will evince:

"O'er every surge, through every fateful storm,
The distant sailor chaunts his fair-one's form;
And not a sun that pours the zenith ray,
And not a cloud that hides the orb of day,
Dissolves the vision, dims the radiant smile,
Or strips sweet Fancy of her magic wile.
Through plains of ice if slow his course he steer,
Per tepid waves if high his bark career;
Where Orellana spurns the ocean's bound,
Or shivering Volga chills with sullen sound;
Till undecay'd the imaged pleasures glow,
And torrid sun-beams and 'mid wastes of snow.
Pillow'd on hope, his temples Love reclines,
Straight 'mid his dreams the dear illusion shines;

Silence and sleep a mimic life renew,
With softer hours and transports ever new:
Wake the light sylphs, in Fancy's court that dwell;
And bid the airy modulations swell;
Harness in gossamer the meteor train,
And mould the tinsel coinage of the brain.
Now the fond maid attends her sailor's sigh,
Basks in his smile and revels in his eye;
In spicy fields and citron-blushing bowers
Culls the gilt fruit, or crops the purple flowers:
Plucks the ripe cocoa from the nectar'd glade,
And roams delighted in Tobasco's shade;
Or drinks the breeze that fans the cassia-wood;
Or laves her white limbs in the gelid flood.
Now, by the dimpling shore at home she stands,
Marks the white sail, and waves her lily-hands;
As, soon across the scintillating foam,
Scuds the tall bark to near the rising home!
Now jovial hands swift-ply the flying oar;
Now the gay keel divides the dancing shore:—
Ah! sweet enthusiast! soon th' ideal breast
Clings to thine own, caressing and carest!"

ART. XXV.—*The Pleasures of Love; being Amatory Poems, original and translated from the Asiatic and European Languages.* By G. W. FITZWILLIAM, Esq. pp. 188.

THIS title-page is calculated to deceive. If the greater part of the poems in this volume, Mr. Fitzwilliam cannot in any sense be called the author, not even of those which by omitting the names of the

real authors, he by implication claims for his own. It must therefore be considered for the most part as a selection of poems on amatory subjects. We have not observed in it any glaring violations of deco-

rum, but offences against good taste might easily be pointed out. It is upon the whole a dull selection, and will we appre-

hend be little in request either for the shelves of the library, or the secret cabinets of the fashionable dressing-rooms.

ART. XXVI.—*Poems. By P. L. COURTIER. Vol. 2. 12mo. pp. 154.*

THE first word in the volume is false grammar.

*Him who of solitude erewhile
Not vainly sung, now courts the smile
Of beauty:*

We notice it however only as a piece of carelessness which the author will do well to rectify in a future edition. Mr. Courtier's epigrams, epitaphs, and moral reflections, most certainly do not rise above the dead level of mediocrity; but from the kisses of his mistress he derives both spirit and elegance, of which the two following pieces are fair though favourable specimens.

Song.

"Call it truth, or call it art,
In her smile such magic lies;
With that smile I would not part,
Not for aught beneath the skies.

O! if passing false thou art,
Since I cannot but believe thee,
Playing still the guileful part,
Woman! never undeceive me."

The Kiss.

"When first the lips of lovers meet,
That kiss, of kisses, O how sweet!
Time, while it steals each featured grace,
But more endears the lov'd embrace;
For, ah! no after-kiss so sweet,
As first when lips of lovers meet!"

ART. XXVII.—*Rhymes on Art; or, the Rémonstrance of a Painter: In two Parts. With Notes, and a Preface, including Strictures on the State of the Arts, Criticism, Patronage, and Public Taste. By MARTIN ARCHER SHEE, R. A. 8vo. pp. 106.*

MR. SHEE informs us in his preface that having written a poem in four books upon the subject of painting, in which more particularly the early progress of the student is attempted to be illustrated and encouraged, he has sent the first book abroad to ascertain by its success how far such an article of his manufacture may be acceptable in the market.

"Though with respect to this general plan, it may be acting somewhat like the man who put a brick in his pocket, in order to enable a purchaser to form a judgment of his house, yet he offers the present production as a fair sample of the commodity he deals in; he sends it up as a small balloon, to ascertain the current of the air before he commits himself to the mercy of the elements in his larger and more hazardous machine."

The preface to his volume is of unusual length, and unusual interest. It is indeed like the poem which it ushers in, an appeal to the nation on the part of the fine arts for that national patronage, without which, though they may exist, they cannot flourish.

"It is a mistake unworthy of an enlightened government, to conceive that the arts, left to the influence of ordinary events, turned loose upon society, to fight and scramble, in the rude and revolting contest of coarser occupations, can ever arrive at that perfection which contributes so materially to the permanent glory of a state.

"This is the true handicraft consideration

of the subject—the warehouse wisdom of a dealer and chapman, who would make the artist a manufacturer, and measure his wares by the yard. The arts treated commercially, intrusted to that vulgar and inadequate impression of their importance, which is to be found in the mass of society, never did, and never can flourish in any country. The principle of trade, and the principle of the arts, are not only dissimilar, but incompatible. Profit is the impelling power of the one—praise, of the other. Employment is the *pabulum* rate of the first—encouragement, of the last. These terms are synonymous in the ordinary avocations of life; but in the pursuits of taste and genius, they differ as widely in meaning as coldness from kindness, as the sordid commerce of mechanics, from the liberal intercourse of gentlemen."

"Without any adequate assistance, nay, obstructed and oppressed by circumstances peculiarly hostile to their interests, the arts of England have already advanced beyond our hopes, and taken precedence of their exertions, if they shall be so fortunate to experience those inspiring proofs of public estimation, which, in all former instances have been essential to their existence?"

"Surely, in concerns of this kind, there can be no room for the considerations of pecuniary economy, for the demurrings of estimate and calculation: there is an expense which enriches and adorns a state; and an economy which impoverishes and degrades it. The error is the enlightened policy of the merchant connected with the commerce of the world; and calculating on the broad scale of profit at

Joss, comprehends remote advantages, combines complicated operations, and pours out his funds with apparent profusion, through a thousand outlets of hazardous adventure, secure in the general result of his principles, and calmly tracing the progress of his interests through all their circuitous channels of return: the other is the short-sighted solicitude of the pedlar, whose ideas are confined to his counter; who, incapable of generalized views, or extended operations, sees not beyond the first links of vulgar advantage; but casting up in his terrified imagination the paltry items of daily disbursement, suffers the apprehensions of expense to overcome the hopes of profit, till he has neither understanding to speculate nor spirit to adventure.

"It is the policy of a great nation to be liberal and magnificent; to be free of her rewards, splendid in her establishments, and gorgeous in her public works. These are not the expenses that sap and mine the foundations of public prosperity; that break in upon the capital, or lay waste the income of a state: they may be said to arise in her most enlightened views of general advantage; to be amongst her best and most profitable speculations: they produce large returns of respect and consideration from our neighbours and competitors, of patriotic exultation amongst ourselves: they make men proud of their country, and from priding in it, prompt in its defence: they play upon all the chords of generous feeling, elevate us above the animal and the machine, and make us triumph in the powers and attributes of man.

"The examples of her taste and genius, the monuments of her power and glory, all the memorials of her magnificence, are, to a great state, what his dress and equipage are to a great man: necessary to his rank, and becoming his dignity; but amongst the more trifling charges of his establishment."

The subject of the poem is thus indicated:

"What various aids the student's course requires,
Whom art allures, and love of fame inspires;
But chief, what toils demand his earlier hours,
Prepare his triumphs, and unfold his powers,
The Muse attempts—with beating bosom springs,
And dares advent'rous on didactic wings."

Ut pictura poesis. If this metaphor were to be tried by the test of painting, how would Mr. Shee represent a muse with *didactic wings*? But we will not stop to notice faults of this nature; let it be sufficient to observe that the phraseology of this poem is of that vague and inaccurate character, which has long disfigured our poetry and barbarised our language; a fault so common, it might almost be said so universal, that the present writer only fol-

lows the fashion. Nor indeed is this a work to be characterised by its faults; there is a warmth, an earnestness, a life, both in the poem and the notes, deserving of high praise.

Having explained the subject of his undertaking, the poet proceeds to notice the ridiculous notions of Du Bos and Winkelman respecting the influence of our climate upon the arts, and he mentions the great painters whom England has to boast: Mortimer; Wilson whose name is justly said to be a reproach to the age in which he lived, who was appointed librarian to the Royal Academy, that its salary of fifty pounds per year might enable him to eke out a mere subsistence, and whose works are now enriching the picture-dealers; Hogarth, Gainsborough, and Reynolds, who is addressed as roving in some Elysian grove with the sons of learning,

Where moral Johnson, bright in all her beams,
To listening angels treats celestial themes.

Mr. Shee notices with some indignation that no monument has been erected by the nation to this great artist; and adds, that his relatives, despairing of any national or public tribute to his memory, have determined to erect one themselves. Then turning to the aspirants of the art, he thus addresses them.

"Ye finer souls! in Fancy's eye who see
Whate'er young hopes, and sanguine hearts
decree;

While yet unspell'd, unplighted you remain,
Pause, ere you join the art-enamour'd train;
Consult your powers, the fancied passion
prove,

Nor transient liking take for lasting love;
The nymph once wedded, you repent too
late,

To change your fortune, or to check your
fate;

When time shall tinge her beauties in your
sight,

And all seem labour which was once delight;
From Hope's fond dreams unwillingly awake,
When slow conviction whispers your mistake;
Then, shall you wish some less advent'rous
aim

Had fix'd you safe below the cares of fame;
To some obscure mechanic toil had sway'd,
Or left you humbly diligent in trade;

While foil'd ambition weeps his wasted prime,
And disappointment drags the load of time.

To gain th' immortal wreath of art requires,
Whate'er of worth, or Muse, or Grace in-
spires;

Whatever man, of heav'n or earth, obtains,
Through mental toil, or mere mechanic
pains;

A constant heart, by Nature's charms impress'd.

An ardour, ever burning in the breast ;
A zeal for truth, a power of thought intense ;
A fancy flowering on the stems of sense ;
A memory as the grave retentive, vast ;
That holds to rise again, th' imprisoned past ;
A feeling, strong, instinctive, active, chaste ;
The thrilling electricity of taste ;
That marks the Muse on each resplendent part,

The seal of nature, on the acts of art ;
An eye, to bards alone and painters given,
A frenzied orb, reflecting earth and heaven ;
Commanding all creation at a glance,
And ranging Possibility's expanse ;
A hand, with more than magic skill endow'd
To trace Invention's visions as they crowd ;
Embody thoughts beyond the poet's skill,
And pour the eloquence of art at will ;
'Bove all, a dauntless soul to persevere,
Though mountains rise, though Alps on Alps appear ;

Though poverty present her meagre form,
Though patrons fail, and Fortune frown a storm.

"O! rare assemblage! rich amount of mind!

Collective light of intellect refin'd!

Scarce once an age from Nature's niggard hands

Bestow'd on man, yet such the Muse demands:

Such, where'er found, let grateful states hold dear,

Reward them wisdom, wealth and rank revere.

Alas! how many cast of meaner mould.

Life's common clods, we every day behold,
In evil moment to the Muse aspire,

Degrade the pencil, and abuse the lyre ;

Persisting toil, by no one talent grac'd,

And rot like fungi on the field of Taste.

What plumelless bards still pine as poetasters!

What graphic dunces drop to drawing-masters!

Blockheads pursu'd through every nobler shape,

In miniature take refuge, and escape.

But chief, all you whom vulgar thirst of gain

Degrading sways, the graphic fount refrain ;

Th' insulted spring dries up as Avarice sips,

Or turns to poison on his tainted lips ;

Each muse, the mercenary suitor spurns,

Nor fires the breast, but where ambition burns.

Ye venal herd! to Pluto's fane repair,

And breathe your souls in sordid incense there:

Pay court to power, or sooth inflated pride,

And fortune bears you buoyant on her tide:

But search of wealth is here a vain pursuit;

The groves of taste produce no golden fruit ;

They sprout in palms alone, or bloom in bays,

O'erpaid the culture, when the crop is praise."

The second part is satirical. The poet

takes for his motto a distich from old *Johannes* of Salisbury.

*Omnia si nescis, loca sunt plenissima nigris,
Quarum tota cohors est inimicis tibi.*

He says in his notes, which are so many dissertations, diatribes, and fragments, connected with the text only by a line of reference, that if the arts be in a flourishing state among us, it is neither owing to the spirit of the times nor the liberality of the state; individuals have done every thing by their persevering and unpatronised genius, the nation nothing. The Royal Academy even was formed by artists, is supported by artists, and has not for many years received the smallest assistance from the state, excepting the advantage of apartments at Somerset-house.

He complains that other subjects engross the public favour: the metaphysicians first come under his lash; the agriculturists and cattle-feeders follow in their due place; next he falls upon the chemists.

"Philosophy, no more content to dwell,
With hermit Study whispering in his cell:
Forsakes in speculative pride the sage,
And walks the wildest maniac of the age.
Spell'd by her eye where'er the spectre strays,
Insurgent shouts the maddening rabble raise;
Life raves around through each intellect
brain,

Confusion reigns and chaos comes again.
Science, that erst on eagle pinion soar'd,
Where Wisdom wonder'd, and where Faith
adord,

To regions, whence eternal truths diffus'd,
Enlighten'd man, and bless'd a world abus'd.
Now with clipp'd wing, familiar flirts away
In Fashion's cage, the parrot of the day;
The sibyl of a shrine where fops adore,
The oracle of culinary lore.

"On every side th' insatiate passion
spreads,
Subdues all hearts, and occupies all heads;
Rank, sex, and age, possess'd beyond belief,
To physics fly, and Fuscus for relief,
Who, like a nursing mother at command,
With soup, and science, suckles all the land.
Lo! e'en the fair with learned fury fraught!
On beauty's brow affect the frown of thought,
To studious seeming discipline their face,
And wear the mask of meaping in grimace."

Lastly, he complains of the politicians as indifferent or hostile to arts which they have no leisure to think of. From these, whom he considers as all the foes of painting, he turns to its more mischievous friends. Even they who love the art afford it no encouragement; they enrich the picture-dealer and not the painter. Never, he says, was there a time when there was

more disposition to traffic in the arts, and less to cultivate them; when the possession of celebrated pictures was so much contested, and the protection of native genius so little attended to. Here Mr. Shée's censure is ill founded. In his zeal for the art he forgets that the private demand for pictures must be limited; that the works of the great masters are better than those of our contemporaries; that they who really understand painting know this; and that they who do not are not to be blamed for taking their taste upon authority, as they do their faith. That there are pretended critics in painting, as well as in poetry, we well know; but it is for their pretended contempt of contemporary merit that they are censured, not for their feigned admiration of the ancients. When they echo the verdict of time they are safe; it is only when they deliver their own opinions that they expose themselves. Such a character is excellently well satirised in these lines.

"Seclude me, Heav'n; from every light of art,
Cloud every joy that Painting can impart!
All love of nature, sense of taste confound;
And wrap me in Cimmerian gloom around;
But never more, in mercy, let me view
Timander's pictures—and Timander too;
'Tis past all human patience to endure,
At once the cabinet, and connoisseur:
Behold! how pleas'd the conscious critic sneers,
While circling boobies shake their asses' ears;
Applaud his folly, and, to feed his pride,
Bray forth abuse on all the world beside;
Hear him, ye gods! harangue of schools and styles,
In pilfer'd scraps from Walpole and De Piles;
Direct the vain spectator's vacant gaze,
Drill his dull sense, and teach him where to praise;
Of every toy, some tale of wonder frame,
How this, from Heav'n, or Ottoboni came;
How that, long pendant on plebeian wall,
Or lumber'd in some filthy broker's stall,
Lay, lost to fame, till by his taste restor'd,
Behold the gem—shrin'd, -curtain'd, and ador'd!
Hear him, ye powers of ridicule, deplore,
The arts extinguish'd, and the Muse, no more;
With shrug superior now in feeling phrase,
Commiserate the darkness of our days;
Now loud against all living merit rage,
And in one sweeping censure—damn the age.

"Look round his walls—no modern masters there,
Display the patriot's zeal, or patron's care:
His Romish taste a century requires,
To sanctify the merit he admires;

His heart no love of living talent warms,
Painting must wear her antiquated charms,
In clouds of dust and varnish veil her face,
And plead her age, as passport to his grace.
To critic worship, time's a sacred claim,
That stocks, with fools, the calendar of fame.

"Shame on the man, whate'er his rank or state,
Scorn of the good, and scandal of the great;
Who callous, cold, with false fastidious eye,
The talents of his country can decry,
Can see unmov'd, her struggling genius rise,
Repress the flight, and intercept the prize,
Profuse of fame to art's past efforts roam,
And leave unhonour'd, humble worth at home.
Nor less in every liberal mind debas'd,
The servile tribe—the tadpole train of Taste,
Who crown each block, as Jove in jest decrees,
And skip, and squat around such fops as these:

Wherever power, or pride, or wealth keep court,
Behold this fulsome, fawning race resort;
A motley group—a party-colour'd pack,
Of knave, and fool—of quidnunc, and of quack,
Of critic sops insipid, cold, and vain,
Done in the drip of some poor painter's brain,
Dabblers in science—dealers in virtù,
And sycophants of every form and hue.
Low artists too, a busy, babbling fry,
That frisk and wriggle in a great man's eye,
Feed on his smiles, and simpering at his side,
Catch the cold drops that flattery thaws from pride;
A cunning kind of fetch and carry fools,
The scum of taste, that bubbles up in schools;
Savealls of art, that shed a glimmering ray,
And burn the snuffs their betters cast away;
As abject, crouching, void, and vile a train,
As wit can well deride, or worth disdain."

It is vain to expect that the higher departments of painting can ever be cultivated with success, or with ardour (without which there can be no success), in a country where no patronage is afforded either by the church or the state. The late minister—but *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, and we will therefore say nothing of him. The English government has not for many years had the leisure, even if it had had the inclination, to second and render efficient that good will to the arts which the king certainly possesses. Something might have been hoped from Mr. Addington, who during his short reign discovered every praiseworthy disposition; and something may still be hoped in better times, when the books of the custom-house will not be considered as the best records of national glory. Our religious establishment could do something; and were the

cathedrals to set the example, the wealthy towns of England might perhaps be induced to vie with each other in decorating their churches. There is the bank, the India-house: these chartered companies might even now shew government what it ought to do in the public offices whenever the treasury can afford it. And to conclude these airy speculations, what if Mr. Shee were to pen a poetical epistle to the lord-mayor of London for the time being, and convince him how much to his praise and glory it would be if, instead of giving a dinner, he gave a great picture to the mansion-house?

The concluding note to this spirited and pleasant volume examines the comparative difficulties of the poet and the painter, and their comparative merits, of course to the advantage of the latter. It is well done, but it is sophistical, and its fallacy might

easily be exposed. Let it suffice to quote what Ben Jonson says: "The pen is more noble than the pencil, for that can speak to the understanding, the other but to the sense." Every body knows Raffaello's dispute of the sacrament. "The scene (says Mr. Roscoe) comprehends both earth and heaven. The veil of the empyreum is with'drawn. The eternal Father is visible. His radiance illuminates the heavens. The cherubim and seraphim surround him at awful distance. With the one hand he sustains the earth; with the other he blesses it." The picture is confessedly one of the noblest efforts of the greatest painter; still all that Mr. Roscoe thus describes is but the picture of an old man in the clouds, with a globe in his hand. Such is the difference between language and design—between what is intellectual and what is mechanical.

ART. XXVIII.—*Hispaniola, a Poem; with appropriate Notes. To which are added, Lines on the Crucifixion: and other Poetical Pieces.* By SAMUEL WHITCHURCH. 12mo. pp. 112.

THIS little volume, though containing very unequal parts, is on the whole of far more than ordinary merit. There is much spirit in the following stanzas.

"Wafted across the billowy flood,
I hear vehement cries for blood,
And Murder's voice on Hayti's ravag'd coast
Outroar the torrent waves that sweep
Down the huge mountain's towering steep;
Whilst pass before me many an injured ghost!

The wing of Fancy bears me nigh
Somewhere beneath a happier sky,
Whither the martyred of mankind have fled;
Where pleasure walks o'er verdant plains,
Where Peace perpetual empress reigns,
And where reside the spirits of the dead.

Hark! melody's soft sounds I hear
Stral on my rapture-ravish'd ear;
Some matchless beauty beams upon my eye,
Than evening's lustrous star more bright,
Or the refulgent queen of night
When walking forth in cloudless majesty.

'Tis murder'd Anacoana's voice,
She bids thee sun-bright isle rejoice,
She bids the spirits of the murdered rest:
Ocean's proud waves forget to roar,
And silent break upon thy shore,
While her kind accents soothe the listener's breast.

Behold her angel-spirit rise—
Mark her bright mercy-beaming eyes
Weep o'er Xaragua's solitary fate;
Though thus she mourns forsaken vales
That echoed Murder's dreadful tales,
She sees far off, and hails thy happier state.

Alas! what hearts, by hardships broke,
Who bowed, who died beneath the yoke,
None of my faithful friends survive to tell;
Them bondage held 'till life's last breath,
Their toils ne'er ceased 'till sunk in death,
Their wounded spirits bade the world farewell.

But famine smote the blood-hound crew,
That from their bleeding vitals drew
The carnage banquet, and the feast of blood!
They rolled their eager eyes in vain
Around each desolated plain
Where Murder prowled, and poured life's purple flood.

And thou, stern foe! more base than brave,
Bold traveller o'er yon wide sea wave,
Though thou hast conquered, and thy millions slain,

Though Mexico's rich spoils be thine,
And Peru's far-fam'd golden mine,
Thou shalt be cursed with thy unrighteous gain.

Anon some rival will arise,
And share with thee this paradise—
When shineth here the star of liberty
Thou shalt in darkness still remain,
And hug thy own proud tyrant's chain,
Blind foe to truth, and slave of bigotry!

Then mourn not much-loved summer isle,
Again on thee shall freedom smile,
Though on thee prey the vultures of the north:
Brave sable nations shall arise,
And rout thy future enemies,
Though Europe send her hostile legions forth.

Yet ere the victor's flag be borne
Millions will from their friends be torn,
Kidnapped and bound on Afric's distant shore;

From the green banks that Niger laves,
Or realms o'erlooking ocean's caves,
Dragged forth to bondage—to return no more!

But they shall rise! the hour will come
Big with the proud oppressor's doom;
Though times and seasons slowly pass away,
That sun which saw his ruffian hand
Spread desolation o'er the land,
Will smile on retribution's holy day!"

So also in the address to Bonaparte from
the spirit of Toussaint.

"Though nerveless now I lift in vain
This arm that many a Gaul hath slain,
Yet, tyrant list! my brethren shall be free,
For though thou send forth host on host,
Vanquished on Hayti's sea-girt coast,
They shall not strike the flag of liberty.

Though by their faithless chief's command
Thine armed brigands with ruthless hand
Spurning man's rights and honor's sacred ties,
Me seized at midnight, and in chains
Dragged from war-wasted distant plains
To where pale tyrants frown, and wintry skies.

Bold trampler on all human laws!
Heaven will avenge my righteous cause;
Thou hast not sacrificed my life in vain;
E'en now the sable heroes rise;
Revenge! revenge! each warrior cries—
They charge thy hosts, and strew their route
with slain!

Rivers of blood now run around
Drenching the burnt up thirsty ground;
But thou art chief in perfidy and guilt:

The outraged children of the sun
But mimic what thy Gauls have done—
Thou must account for all the blood that's
spilt!

What though imperial robes await
To deck thy limbs in regal state;
Though servile artists carve thy kingly bust;
Thou shalt not long usurp the throne
Of princely grandeur not thine own—
Time may soon tread thy honors in the dust!

Death's shadow pointeth to the hour,
The last of all thy pomp and power—
See! that hand-writing on thy palace wall!
Its blood-red characters pourtray
Fortune's changed scenes, and tell the day
When Afric's sons will triumph at thy fall!

Vexed spirits, residents of hell—
Fallen tyrants who in darkness dwell,
Hail thy approach from thrones of misery:
Great conqueror art thou humbled thus?
Art thou become like unto us?
Enslaver of the nations!—Is it thee?"

We do not often meet with poetry of
equal animation, and certainly did not ex-
pect such from the former productions of
Mr. Whitchurch. The great superiority
of this to all his other writings is a re-
markable proof of what persevering en-
thusiasm can accomplish.

The other pieces are not so good; yet
in all of them there are passages of occa-
sional vigour, a life, and a warmth from
the heart, highly honourable to the writer.

The frontispiece is a disgrace to a book
of such sterling merit.

ART. XXIX.—*The Anti-corsican, a Poem, in three Cantoes; inscribed to the Volunteers of
Great Britain.* 4to. pp. 52.

THESE are very good verses for a
school-boy, as the following passage will
show.

"Here dwells Religion, rational and mild,
Not despot-pow'rs, but soft Persuasion's
child:

No bigot-phrenzy here, immers'd in blood,
Commands consent to faith not understood:
No inquisition here, with lawless pow'r,
Disturbs, by cruel threats, Devotion's hour,
Nor makes the wretch with studied tortures
groan

For cherishing a tenet not its own:
But pure Religion, here, with placid eye,
Regards mankind as one vast family:
With love-forbearing ev'ry sect she views,
E'en bigot-papists, and obdurate Jews:
Whilst Britain's sons in conscious virtue bold,
Explore the fierce extremes of heat and cold,
To chase the shades of Superstition's night,
To shed the gospel's vivifying light,

And guide the heathen's steps thro' fading
gloom,
To realms of endless bliss—to life beyond the
tomb.

"Here, with mild sway, impartial Justice
reigns,
Waves wide the sword, and ev'ry crime re-
strains;

Th' oppress relieves, and bows th' oppressive
great,
With high-sworn pride, and fancied worth
elate:

The bribe, the threat, the promise, all are
vain,
She hears them not, or hears them with dis-
dain:

Whilst Fraud retires, and Vice wings swift
her flight,
To lurk in regions of congenial night.
Yet mercy off, with smiles of pity, sheaths
Th' avenging sword, soft sighs of pardon
breathes,

And bids the wretch by heart-felt crimes de-
prest,
Depart, repent, be virtuous, and be blest."

The matter of the poem may be under-
stood by its title. It recapitulates some

of the real crimes of Bonaparte, and all the
false ones which have been ridiculously
laid to his charge. In spite of the old
proverb, it is still the custom in England
to paint the devil blacker than he is.

ART. XXX.—*A Poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East: which obtained Mr. Buchanan's Prize.* By CHARLES GRANT, Esq. M. A. Fellow of Magdalen College. 4to. pp. 29.

THIS is just such a poem as university
prizes usually produce; it is composed
according to the latest and most approved
receipt for writing verses. We quote the
best lines.

"Such was thy strain, Vyasa, saint and sage,
Th' immortal Berkeley of that elder age.
Like him, with flames of holiest rapture fir'd,
To thoughts sublime thy daring mind aspir'd,
And, nature opening to thy ardent glance,
Saw God alone through all the vast expanse.
Mysterious theme! Beneath the peipal shade,
His aged limbs the reverend Brahmin laid;
Full on his brow the holy ointment glow'd,
The snow-white zennar o'er his shoulder
flow'd;

The pointed cussa deck'd his green retreat,
And Ganges' billow kiss'd his sacred feet:
Serpene he view'd the laughing scenes around,
Bright Magadh's vales with floating chawla
crown'd,
The sunshine calm on Cusi's turrets shed,
And clouds reposing on Heemala's head;
Then all entranc'd, recall'd his wand'ring eye,
And fix'd the gather'd beams on Deity:
From height to height his musing spirit soar'd,
And speechless thought th' unutter'd name
ador'd:

Till words unconscious flowing from his
tongue,
He swell'd the strain, and mystic measures
sung.

"Tis all delusion: heaven and earth and
skies,
But air-wove images of lifeless dyes.

ART. XXXI.—*Miscellaneous Poetry.* By EDWARD COXE, Esq. of Hampstead-heath, Middlesex. 8vo. pp. 269.

MISCELLANEOUS poetry can only
be appreciated from samples, where it is
good for any thing. A large portion of
this volume consists of translations and
imitations. The following parodies with
some felicity the *Persicos odi* of Ho-
race.

"Friz me not—I cannot bear
Mountains of powder in my hair,
And oceans of pomatum;
Let city prigs, or courtly beaux,
Wear the scarce bag, or scarcer rose,
I will not, for I hate 'em.

He only lives—sole Being—none beside—
The self-existing, self-beatified:
All else but wakes at Maya's fairy call;
For all that is, is not; or God is all.
Stupendous essence! obvious, yet unknown;
For ever multiplied, for ever one.
I feel thee not, yet touch on every side;
See not, yet follow where thy footsteps guide;
Hear not thy voice, yet own its mystic power
In breathing silence of the midnight hour.
Oh, what art thou? since all this bursting
scene,
Unnumber'd isles, and countless waves be-
tween;
This fabric huge, on floating pillars rais'd,
With suns and nery elements emblaz'd;
And thy own pedma, roscate flower of light,
Emblem and cradle of creative might;
Live ever on thy sleepless eye reclin'd,
Embosom'd deep in the abyss of mind.
Close but th' all-seeing mind, no splendor
burns;
Unfold, and all the universe returns.
Oh, what art thou? and what this darkling
ray,
Whose sadden'd lustre mourns in shrines of
clay?
Sprung from thyself, though quench'd in hu-
man frame,
Faint emanation of th' eternal flame.
Oh, fade these scenes, where phantom beauty
glows,
And bid th' incumbent soul on thee repose;
Expanse how dread, immeasurable height,
Depth fathomless, and prospect infinite."

Thus to be feather'd as an owl,
Or larded like a Gallic fowl,
For Englishmen is horrid!
Dress me no longer like a fop,
But bring my scratch, whose Tyburn top
Lies snug upon my forehead."

Some of the original epigrams are suc-
cessful.

On the Death of an eminent Jeweller.

"Poor Will, who in jewels was never out-
vy'd,
And by precious stones liv'd—of a car-
buncle died!"

"Chloe vows that she never gave Damon a kiss:
Yet permits him to steal one, nor takes it amiss.
Thus in vain to her prud'ry she flies for relief,
And forgets "the receiver's as bad as the thief!"

"Tho' Myra's cheek love's native hue discloses,
I like her *two lips* better than her roses."

To Chloe.

"You bid me be free, and you say, we must part,
Since absence alone can regain me my heart,
Your advice, dearest Chloe, how vain to pursue!
Who that ever knew Freedom, could ever know you?"

Mr. Coxe's compliments are not always so neatly turned as the last.

Delia.

"How could my heart of Cupid's pow'r beware,
Whose bow-string is compos'd of Delia's hair?
Or when the urchin shoots, his skill defy
Whose arrows are the rays of Delia's eye?
Or how escape his fascinating wiles,
Who tunes her voice, and animates her smiles?"

This gentleman is a rival of Mr. Shufflebottom, and, which is not judicious in rivalry, had addressed the same compliment to the same lady; for thus singeth Abel to his Delia:

"Cupid has strung from you O tresses fine
The bow that in my breast impell'd his dart;
From you, sweet locks! he wove the subtle line
Wherewith the urchin angled for my heart."

Satirists have never yet said any thing so absurd in poetry, that some writer or other has not paralleled it in sober seriousness.

The following is a favourable specimen of the serious poems:

"Ye airs! that cool e'en summer's noontide glow,
With fanning pinions dipt in ocean's spray,
Breathe on my Mary, while ye gently blow,
At night sweet slumbers—spirits blythe by day..

"Ye downs! for her, your even carpet spread,
Where sheep-bells tinkle, bid the wild thyme bloom;
Bid the pale cowslip hang its gentle head,
And scatter, as she walks, a soft perfume.

"Thou dyke! yclep'd from him, whose rebel pride
Lost him that Heav'n above, man gives him here;
Slope, unobscur'd by mists, thy verdant side,
And lift thy brow abrupt from tempests clear:

"That when the sky's blue vault is all serene,
And soaring larks resume their ev'ning song,
My Mary may descry—enchanted scene!—
The vale that winds thy swelling base along.

"Sweet vale! where nature seems to court repose,
Amid sequester'd glens, and shelter'd fields;
And groves of oak, which in proud Albion rose
To be the safeguard of the wealth she yields.

"Calm, tranquil vale! that while beyond the Rhine,
And near sad Genoa, earth is bath'd in gore;
Feels not the woes that make the wretched pine
For peace, which on their hamlets beams no more.

"Now, led by Hope, near Ocean's surge we stray,
Where bright Hygeia bids her Naiad bring,
(As under ground she winds her modest way)
The healing tribute of her mineral spring.

"There, while the slothful toss in fev'rish sleep,
Dead to the freshness of the roseate dawn,
Health wing'd with pleasure may my Mary reap
From the pure stream that laves Wick's flowery lawn.

"For without health, what pleasure can be ours?
The languid pulse, nor dance nor song can raise:
How bless'd were I, to sing, amid these bowers,
My Mary's health restor'd with fervent praise!

"Then would these throbbings of my heart be still,
That Mary's drooping looks have oft renew'd;
And these sad tears, that now my eye-lids fill,
Be tears of joy! and flow from gratitude!

"Returning bliss would then our cottage greet ;

And our dear children with fond rapture see
Their mother's sweetest smiles, grown still
more sweet,

When waru'd, Hygeia, into life, by thee !

"Wake then my prayers; to highest Heav'n
ascend !

Oh, waft them, angels, to the throne
above !

That God her life in mercy may extend,
Whose life to me is happiness and love !"

ART. XXXII.—*The Woodman's Tale, after the Manner of Spenser. To which are added other Poems, chiefly narrative and lyric, and the Royal Message, a Drama. By the Rev. HENRY BOYD, A. M. translator of the Divina Comedia of Dante, Vicar of Drumgath in Ireland, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Charleville. 8vo. pp. 448.*

THIS volume may in some sort be considered as a literary curiosity. It contains more new and singular combinations of dissimilar things than any book that we have opened for a long time past ; and surely even absurdity which makes us laugh, is preferable to dullness which only makes us yawn. Far be it from us however to insinuate that Mr. Boyd is by any means deficient in the latter quality ; on the contrary, his 'Woodman's Tale,' an obscure and long-winded allegory, very little 'after the manner of Spenser,' has fatigued us as much as any piece that could be mentioned: but this, the author tells us, was a very juvenile production, and in a subjoined note he gives a precious specimen of the quality which renders some of his latter pieces so exquisitely diverting. The allegory is intended to *illustrate* (however darkly) the evil effects of drinking, and from the note alluded to we derive the following very valuable and accurate information: 'The pernicious qualities of liquids are analyzed and detected by means of other liquids, see for examples all the books of chemistry.' Some 'Milesian Tales' follow, chiefly remarkable for their prolixity, and the inextricable confusion in which they are involved. To some of these are added little notes explaining a kind of moral or allegorical meaning which the author, it seems, *intended* to give to his tales, but which without such assistance the most sagacious reader must despair of being able to discover. We meet with several highly complimentary poems to and upon sundry lords, ladies, gentlemen, and reverends, which may possibly be more successful in recommending the clergyman to preferment, than they can be in advancing the poet to fame. In the piece written 'On reading some MS. poems by Miss Stewart' we find the following stanza :

"With her I climb, aghast, the frozen wave
Where the dim pole-star views the shipman's
doom. [rave,
Whilst Zembla's tempests thro' the cordage
And each man stands his own Gorgonian
tomb."

How a man can *stand* his own tomb, how each man can be his own Gorgon, or what is meant by a 'Gorgonian tomb,' we confess ourselves unable to explain ; but in a 'primal offering from Ierne's coast,' as the author calls it, things which cannot be explained, may at least be accounted for. We extract the following lines as a fair example of Mr. Boyd's manufacture : the second note well exemplifies the absurdity resulting from the ridiculous practice of tacking together by means of some accidental coincidence of time, place, or the like, things which bear no natural relation to each other.

To Miss Bisset, on her recovery from a dangerous illness. February, 1804.

"When winter sadden'd all the sky,
And the discordant storm beat high ;
Upon the misty brows of Mourne,
In pleasing dreams by Fancy borne,
In Galla's bowers I seemed to stray ;
List'ning to thy soothing lay,
While holy Friendship hover'd nigh.
Little I thought that fell disease
Had fetter'd in tyrannic peace,
That hand, which thro' each trembling
chord

The maze of harmony explor'd.
And not thy lyre, methought, alone was
mute

Cecilia bending o'er her silver lute,
Fancy beheld, with all her choral train,
The descant falter'd in its solemn swell ;
For the sweet magic of thy potent strain,
In Cambria's deep vales she remember'd
well,

When shadowy minstrels, from the rugged
height
Of ancient Penmanmaur seem'd list'ning with
delight.

'Twas when the chafing rocks reply'd,
In cadence to the sinking blast,
The rising moon above the tide,
Afair, a crimson radiance cast ;
When half escaped the gulph of death,
Faint, and with scarce recover'd breath,
The tempest-beaten seamen moor
Their vessel to the welcome shore ;
Then haste away, the means to find
The dying spark of life to save ;
Half-scatter'd by the raging wind,

And half extinguish'd by the wave.
Then softly on the undulating air,
Soothing the rugged brow of care,
Thro' the still night thy measures stole,
And touch'd with joy each sinking soul ;
No more they found their bosoms languish,
The Muse had charm'd away their anguish.
At every cadence, care-expelling,
Every heart with rapture swelling
Found the sympathetic strain

Renew the harmony within,
New spirits danc'd in every vein,
Late deaden'd by the tempest's din.
Famine and parching toil their prey re-
sign'd,

And the charm'd sense partook the banquet
of the mind.

This the saint remember'd well,
Proud of her favourite's heaven-taught
skill,

And 'Oh!' she cry'd, 'that chorded shell
Must it forget the heart to thrill ?

No—virgins! try those magic numbers,
That call Hygeia from the fields of air,

Bid the sylph ascend her car,
And hover o'er her as she slumbers,

Infuse her balmy essence in her breast,
And from the lab'ring heart expel the lurking
pest.'

'Tis done—the kindling spark of life
Again returns the languid eye,

And, vanquish'd in th' unequal strife,
Distemper's baffled demons fly;

And Health and Harmony again,
With blended powers, resume their reign.

Thus, oh! thus may coming Peace,
Thus may heavenly Concord shine

Thro' Desolation's gloom, with ray
divine,

And bid the moral plague that sickens Na-
ture cease.

Hear thou, who to thy favour'd servant's
hand

That lamp consign'd, which thro' Crea-
tion's maze

Disclos'd the wonders of thy ways,
And shew'd, what love combin'd with wis-
dom plann'd;

But chief where man's stupendous frame,
With all its complicated powers,

The standing miracles of heaven pro-
claim.

While Nature trembles and adores.
Then, when all nature murmur'd deep
applause,

You chang'd the hymn to notes of woe,
You bade the hardy wanderer go,

Th' asserter of thy violated laws.
The burning sands display the tragic stage

Where victims of inhuman rage,
The living wonders of thy love divine,

In anguish groan, in sorrow pine!
From the regions of the north

You call'd the young undaunted spy,
At thy command he issues forth,

Patient, beneath a fiery sky;

Not with gold to crown his toils,
Not with elephantine spoils,
Nor the labours of the bee,
Nor the aromatic tree ;
But pictures of demonian wrath,
Deeds of horror, scenes of death,
The sounding scourge, the galling chain,
And all oppression's iron reign
He limns, and with a pen of light
Proclaiming Nature's injured right,
Then holds the horrid sketch on high
Till Pity's sacred fount o'erflows in each re-
lentling eye.

Be these twin pictures ne'er disjoin'd,
Be thy behest to thoughtless mortals
given;

Ye holy genii, sent from heaven,
Imprint their awful lessons on the mind.

Bid that mental music flow
That gives the sympathetic glow ;

Bid that hollow'd strain revive,
That hatred cannot hear and live;

With your choir's ecstatic swell
The demons of the soul expel ;

That last, that worst distemper chase,
Nor let th' exterminating hand

In Afric's blood our sentence trace,
Nor swell the dread account with many a
slaughter'd band."

The drama of the 'Royal Message,' is
founded on the story of David and Uriah ;

the style and diction are not amiss, nor in
general the sentiments, but the plot is en-
veloped in the same impenetrable fog

which hangs upon all the other original
productions of this writer. The four first

acts contain little but a dark tissue of
court intrigues conducted by personages

whose characters excite no interest, and
whose actions produce no effect. In the

fifth act Nathan appears, and delivers his
parable in blank verse, after which we na-
turally expected that he would have left

the king to his reflections ; but no such
thing. In order to awaken the conscience

of David, and prove the mission of the
prophet, Mr. Boyd deems the most appo-
site and pathetic of apologues, and the

prediction which followed it, insufficient,
and kindly adds to the heavenly inspira-
tion of the scene a competent skill in art

magic. Nathan summons up a train of
speaking phantoms : the first of whom re-
presents Amnon, who is naturally enough

supposed to have been led astray by the
bad example of his father ; but who should
the next be ? Sagacious reader, you would

never perhaps have divined that the next
illustrious victim of the contagious vice of

David should be Roderic the Goth, the
violin of count Julian's daughter ! As a

contrast to him, Scipio Africanus is intro-

duced performing with great parade the much-vaunted restitution of his fair Spanish captive; and it should seem as if the continence of Gentiles in future ages was to be imputed as a sin and shame to David, no less than all the incontinence of Jews and Christians, for evermore; poor David!

Mr. Boyd was educated, it appears, at Dublin university, writes himself A. M., has translated Dante, and quotes Latin; yet the first sentence of his dedication to the marchioness of Downshire, runs thus: "It might seem arrogance in me, or the result of a design, too often imputed to

dedicators, to prefix your ladyship's name, though by permission, to *those* (Anglic *these*) trifles, had not the circumstance that led to it (to what?) *gave* it a distinction from common addresses of this sort, &c." He likewise assures her ladyship that her acceptance of his dedication is a mark of condescension that *shall* ever be acknowledged with gratitude.

This volume contains a well-executed version of an Italian ode to Mr. Roscoe, by Mr. Mathias, which gives us additional cause to remark that translation appears to be the *forte* of Mr. Boyd, and original composition his *foible*.

ART. XXXIII.—*Poems and Plays.* By MRS. WEST, Author of "*A Tale of the Times*," "*A Gossip's Story*," &c. &c. 12mo. vols. 3 and 4.

THE two former volumes were published before the commencement of our work, and on looking over these which are before us, we find they contain but little which comes under our jurisdiction. The whole of the fourth volume has been before the public many years, and part of the third, which contains Mrs. West's dignified and animated elegy 'on the Death of Mr. Burke.' The rest we presume are more recent effusions, and now first presented to the world.

Any general remarks on the genius and character of an author who is so well known would surely be superfluous: whether in verse or prose the advancement of religion and morality, the inculcation of good principles, and the excitement of good feelings, are objects unceasingly pursued in all her writings. We do not mean to rank her in the highest class of poets or of novelists, but her abilities are of no inferior order, as her success in both these departments of literature attest. Those who have read "*The Infidel Father*," "*A Gossip's Story*," and "*A Tale of the Times*," will feel that Mrs. West delineates characters with correctness, and skilfully links together the incidents of a narrative. Many of her poems too evince a lively fancy and a cultivated taste. In dramatic efforts she has failed: of the imperfections which depreciate "*Edmond Ironside*," she is herself not unconscious; and "*The Minstrel*," a tragedy which opens one of these volumes, has the incorrigible fault of feebleness and insipidity. The story unfolds itself too soon: nor do any of the characters inspire us with sufficient interest for their fates; the feigned madness of Edmund, and the "interlude

at Ascalon," unluckily bring to memory the malady of Hamlet, and his project for arousing the conscience of his mother:

"Humph! I have heard
That guilty creatures, sitting at a play,
Have by the very cunning of the scene
Been struck so to the soul, that presently
They have proclaimed their malefactions."

One of the characters in "*The Minstrel*," is the subordinate one of Rodenc. Rodolph's interview with Matilda in the third act, where he displays much address in endeavouring to discover the name of his fair prisoner, is well managed. Alicia's influence over her fierce sire is very prettily described:

"He returns
Her filial truth with ardent doating passion.
And oft her soft entreaties have detain'd
His ruffian bands from purposed war. I've
seen
The proud steeds pant, and paw the earth;
while she
Unlaced her Father's beaver, and led back
The sternly smiling chieftain, who in sport
Would often hang his buckler on her arm,
And bid her wear it as his well-earn'd prize."

The language, however, of "*The Minstrel*," like the characters, is flat, and the play has not such merit as will encourage Mrs. West to cultivate the dramatic branch of poetry, while there are others in which her labours have been much more successful.

Two poems in this collection, companions to each other, rise far above the rest in elegance of conception and richness of imagery; these are "*Zephyrus and May*," and "*The Sports of Echo*." They

are in the same measure as the Allegro and Penseroso; the language of Milton too, as well as the measure, is occasionally caught. We shall present our readers with one or two specimens. Juno gives orders to celebrate the nuptials of Zephyrus and May:

"And guides her peacocks on the isles
Where eternal summer smiles:
There, where Alcides slew the dragon,
She quits her star-bestudded waggon,
And, while her birds their plumes compose,
Through pomegranate bowers she goes,
Where beneath the spiral leaves
Youthful Zephyr she perceives
Guarding Flora's tender shoots
And Pomona's ripening fruits.
His subject breezes round him play,
And cool the glowing orb of day;
Clos'd are his rainbow-painted wings,
While of his promised May he sings;
Gay Cupids bind in artful braid
The ringlets which his forehead shade,
Those perfum'd ringlets, which exhale
The sweets of Araby's blest vale!"

There is a great deal of simplicity and beauty in this picture. In the description of May's festal wreath there is an oversight which requires correction: May is represented as decking it

"With a thousand fancies,
Woodland lilies, purple pansies,
With hyacinth, Apollo's joy,
With Narcissus, self-lov'd boy, &c."

The flower and the mythological history of it are here improperly confounded: the flower Narcissus would give elegance to a wreath, but how shall we entwine in it the self-loved boy?

Juno fires the young lover with a description of his plighted fair one's beauty.

"Ah! not so the virgin smil'd
When Boreas, with hot passion wild,
Scornful of her former vows,
Claim'd the beauty for his spouse.
I threaten'd: but the rebel power
Snatch'd her from Arcadia's bower,
While mixing in its peaceful sport,
And bore her to his Scythian court.
Harness'd whirlwinds swift and strong
Drew the cloud-hung car along;
The ravisher, their speed to urge,
Shook the rein, and rais'd the scourge:
Loud shriek'd the maid, when arrowy hail
Rudely rent her gauzy veil,
When her crown, with flowers emboss'd,
Grew stiff beneath incrusting frost;
When from her ambrosial curls,
Loosely bound with orient pearls,
She felt long icicles depend
And o'er her shiv'ring bosom bend:

While thick fogs and vapour cold
Wrapp'd her in their murky fold.
O'er bare rocks and moss-grown moun-
tains,
O'er deserts void of limpid fountains,
Dark with pine and sombreous yew,
The chariot unresisted flew,
Till by Neva's sullen stream
The God restrain'd his boisterous team,
And, glorying in his brutal power,
Show'd the fair his nuptial bower:
No myrtle, eglantine, or palm,
No plant odorous dropping balm,
Not e'en the daisy's circle pale,
Blossom'd in that frigid vale,
Where cradled in eternal snow
The hardy lichens only grow.
There built of ice a palace shone,
Ice the roof, and ice the throne:
Piles of ice, in ranks display'd,
Form'd a glittering colonnade, &c."

Boreas, weary of the gloom of winter,
had seized on the lovely May,

"And borne her to his barren reign,
And offer'd her his vast domain,
In hopes her radiant smile would cheer
The horrors of his palace drear."

The virgin, however, constant to her first love, sighed after the vales of Tempe! but the tyrant is inexorable: Terra at length repairs to the throne of Jupiter, in behalf of her numerous offspring. Jove hears the prayer:

"Saturnius yields: at his command
Hyperion leads the glittering band
Of fervid hours; around his car
The radiant squadrons form for war;
From heaven's wide portals issuing forth
They seek the regions of the north.
The king of tempests sees, afraid,
Their splendor pierce his gloomy shade,
While arrowy rays of light assail
The rigours of his icy mail.
Sharp is the conflict; cold and heat
Alternate triumph and retreat;
The raging storm resistless drives,
Furious the piercing sun-beam strives;
Vanquish'd at length, a torrent falls
Profuse from the dissolving walls;
The crystal fabric melts away,
And liberates the captive May,
Who, springing to the throne of Jove,
Demands for him her promis'd love.
Heaven's monarch bends his brows divine,
And gives the nod which seals her thine.
And, lo! even now through flowery meads
Hymen the plighted virgin leads;
From impious rapine sav'd, her charms
Implore the refuge of thy arms."

"Mine, ever mine, that matchless bloom!
Hear, Nature, and record the doom,
'Th' auspicious doom!" the lover cries,
And grasps in ecstasy the prize.

The maid with looks of bashful beauty
 Vows the vow of love and duty,
 While Hymen o'er the faithful pair
 Waves his beaming torch in air;
 Then Zephyr on his chariot braces
 Harness'd kids in silken traces,
 And with pinions amply spread
 He shades his consort's beaming head—
 See the nuptial pomp ascending,
 Rural deities attending,
 Pan, Vertumnus, and the Fauns,
 Gods of mountains, gods of lawns,
 Pomona, and the nymphs who play
 In limpid streams or woodlands gay;
 Those their pipes melodious blowing,
 These with vestures loosely flowing,
 Scattering roses, sprinkling balms,
 And waving their triumphant palms.
 Nature hails the splendid throng,
 And with gratulating song
 Welcomes rustic joy and pleasure,
 Peace and plenty without measure,
 Genial years successful toil,
 Corn and honey, milk and oil;

All to these blest lovers owing,
 All from their pure union flowing:
 Since Zephyrus is bound to May,
 The earth for ever shall be gay."

From the "Sports of Echo" we could select many passages of no inferior merit, but we have already been liberal in quotation.

"The Spartan Matron," and "The British Mother," are companion-pieces, and breathe the spirit of patriotism. In the elegiac poem which closes the volume, Mrs. West has for too long a time lost sight of the object of her monody in denouncing the crimes of France, and abusing Bonaparte! This stuff is beneath her. The elegy however contains some beautiful and affecting passages: it is nevertheless spun out to a tedious length.

ART. XXXIV.—*Madoc*. By ROBERT SOUTHEY. 4to. pp. 557.

THE heroic epopeia is justly considered as the most difficult achievement of poetic art, because it requires a combination of so many excellences. The descriptive poet's plasticity of style is requisite for the delineation of the scenery; the dramatist's ethic and pathetic expression for the imitation of the manners; the ode-writer's splendid decorations are often wanted to enliven; and the pruning and branching of the story into a compact, proportioned, ascensive, and complete fable, is an art nearly peculiar to this sort of composition.

There is in the poetic character a natural antagonism to persevering effort, which has intercepted more plans of epic composition, than even a diffidence in the commensurate power. Most poets conceive vividly; they think in pictures; their ideas breathe, sound, shine; and rival, in every thing but duration, the impressions of sensation itself. During the illumination of their fancy, they apply to the task of composition with delight. But very vivid ideas are commonly transient; as if the act of animation wearied the instruments of thought. Like the hilarity after dinner, which exhales with the vapours of the wine; so the poetic orgasm, when excited, glows but for a time, and requires frequent intervals of less stimulant, less heating, less intemperate imagery. A recurrence to trains of thought repeatedly laid aside, seldom continues to interest long: they can indeed be recalled at will, but the more familiar they become, the more feebly does their presence arouse

attention. Hence the extreme difficulty of persevering through so vast an undertaking as an epopeia. Schiller observed that a drama ought to be completed in a summer. The very personages, which, while new, would excite, in the mind of their creator, the highest interest, are likely, by degrees, to come in and go out of his head without notice. When this state of indifference approaches, there is a necessary end of lively composition concerning their adventures. In the *Æneid*, the interest flags long before the work terminates, evidently because the poet has too much of his task. Dryden projected an epic poem on the restoration of Peter king of Castile, by Edward the Black Prince; and Pope, on the colonization of Albion by Brutus and Corineus. Both poets felt that they had executed single passages and scenes, in a manner to answer the highest claims of the art: but they gave up these long undertakings, as likely to outlast the spirit, the rapture, the enthusiasm, of excitement, and consequently to want the power of attaching the reader perpetually.

The rarity of that combination of intellectual aptitudes, which can produce an heroic epopeia, will be the more apparent, if one considers how few such works have yet been executed. Spreading languages, as the Hebrew, have flourished and have faded, without wording one eminent narrative poem. Whole millenniums have rolled by, as from Claudian to Ariosto, without producing a distinguished epic poet. Vast nations, as the French, have

been celebrated for their literary culture, and yet have failed to grow, among their various specimens of excellence, a truly classical epopeia. It is therefore a fit ground for national exultation, when the literature of its language is at any time enriched with so rare and colossal an effort of workmanship; which, like the coffin of Alexander, is to encroach on the very celebrity of its hero, and to be illustrated by volumes of dissertations on shores where as yet its very dialect is unknown. To complete one of those cosmopolite classics, which pass the bounds of their native language, and are recognized throughout the reading world, is of all sources of distinction the most enduring. The fame of the lawgiver and the statesman dwindles, when the institutions which they founded, or improved, are overthrown. The lasting monuments of the sculptor, or the architect, crumble into rubbish before the cannon of warfare, or the file of climate. But an *Odyssey*, or a *Lusiad*, will survive the nation which produced its hero, and the temples of the divinities which glitter as its machinery. Klopstock, in one of his odes, introduces Virgil sitting on the steps of the fane of Jupiter Feretrius, and thus addressing the Capitol: "thou wilt one day be a ruin, then dust, and then the companion of the storm-wind; but my *Æneid*"—Nor is Madoc less an heir of immortality. We shall not however affect to rank it with the *Iliad*, or the *Jerusalem Delivered*, which remain the triumphs of ancient and of modern art; but the best epic poem, which, since the *Paradise Lost*, has quitted the English press, must be entitled to comparison with the principal analogous inspirations of Calliope. Some account of its plan and contents should precede a critical appreciation.

"The historical facts on which this poem is founded may be related in few words. On the death of Owen Gwyneth, king of North Wales, A. D. 1169, his children disputed for the succession. Yorwerth, the eldest, was set aside without a struggle, as being incapacitated by a blemish in his face. Hoel, though illegitimate, and born of an Irish mother, obtained possession of the throne for a while, till he was defeated and slain by David, the eldest son of the late king by a second wife. The conqueror, who then succeeded without opposition, slew Yorwerth, imprisoned Rodri, and hunted others of his brethren into exile. But Madoc, meantime, abandoned his barbarous country, and sailed away to the west in search of some better resting place. The

land which he discovered pleased him; he left there part of his people, and went back to Wales for a fresh supply of adventurers, with whom he again set sail, and was heard of no more. There is strong evidence that he reached America, and that his posterity exists there to this day, on the southern branches of the Missouri, retaining their complexion, their language, and, in some degree their arts.

"About the same time, the Aztecs, an American tribe, in consequence of certain calamities, and of a particular omen, forsook Aztlan, their own country, under the guidance of Yuhidthiton. They became a mighty people, and founded the Mexican empire, taking the name of Mexicans, in honour of Mexitli, their tutelary god. Their emigration is here connected with the adventures of Madoc, and their superstition is represented the same which their descendants practised, when discovered by the Spaniards."

The poem is divided into forty-five short segments, which usage would denominate *cantos*, and which with our habits we might call *sittings*; for they consist of about as many lines as it is agreeable to read aloud at one sitting. The first eighteen sections correspond with the first six books of the *Æneid*, and introduce the hero narrating the circumstances which drove him from his home, and his subsequent voyages in search of a new place of settlement. The remaining twenty-seven sections narrate those conflicts with the North-American tribes, which terminate in securing to Madoc and his companions the sovereignty of an extensive district.

The introduction or annunciation of the poem is in good taste, short, natural, appropriate, and attractive, but not faultless.

"Come, listen to a tale of times of old!
Come, for ye know me! I am he who sung
The Maid of Arc: and I am he who framed
Of Thalaba the wild and wonderful song.
Come, listen to my lay, and ye shall hear
How Madoc from the shores of Britain spread
The adventurous sail, explored the ocean
ways,
And quelled barbarian power, and overthrew
The bloody altars of idolatry,
And planted in its fanes triumphantly
The cross of Christ. Come, listen to my
lay!"

The unmeaning invocation of a muse is here properly omitted; but the word *come* recurs too often for a convocation wholly imaginary; and the epithet *triumphantly*, is not strictly descriptive of the event: we should have preferred instead of the two last lines,

And planted in its fanes the cross of Christ,

Book I. Madoc's vessel reaches Aberfraw, in the isle of Anglesey. His signals had been perceived : he is met at the haven's mouth by Urien, his foster-father, and learns the dispersed state of his brethren and relations. He seeks his sister Goervyl : the meeting is described with feeling.

II. David, the Welsh usurper, is celebrating a feast on his marriage with Emma, the princess of England, when the arrival of his brother is announced. Madoc and his companions join the party ; during which the bards sing a hymn. This is too pious for the occasion, though according to the rules of bardism : it ought rather to have been a nuptial song, or a sea song, not a rhapsody of metaphysic theology, a psalm worthy of the saint of Wales.

III. On the next day at table Madoc begins the relation of his adventures. Some preliminary circumstances which determined him to leave this country are mentioned. The story of Cynetha is deeply pathetic : there is no epic poem, there are few tragedies, in which a finer or higher feeling is wrought up, than bursts upon us at the words

P. 31.—“ Despise not thou the blind man's prayer, he cried ;
It might have given thy father's dying hour
A hope that sure he needed ; for, know thou,
It is the victim of thy father's crime
Who asks a blessing on thee !”

IV. The voyage is loosely told, as if Ireland was not in being, was not the last land in view ; the impatience of the sailors, their mutiny in order to return, and at length the catastrophe of the enterprize, are well managed circumstances ; but there is rather too little of a voyage which is so much the pivot of the poem.

“ Three dreadful nights and days we drove along ;
The fourth, the welcome rain came rattling down ;
The wind had fallen, and through the broken cloud
Appeared the bright dilating blue of heaven.
Emboldened now, I called the mariners :
Vain were it, should we bend a homeward course,
Driven by the storm so far : they saw our barks,
For service of that long and perilous way,
Disabled, and our food belike to fail.
Silent they heard, reluctant in assent ;
Anon, they shouted joyfully,—I looked,
And saw a bird slow sailing overhead,
His long white pinions by the sunbeam edged,
As though with burnished silver ;—never yet
Heard I so sweet a music as his cry !

“ Yet three days more, and hope more eager now,
Sure of the signs of land,—weed-shoals, and birds
Who flocked the main, and gentle airs, that breathed,
Or seemed to breathe, fresh fragrance from the shore.

On the last evening, a long shadowy line
Skirted the sea ;—how fast the night closed in !
I stood upon the deck, and watched till dawn.
But who can tell what feelings filled my heart,
When, like a cloud, the distant land arose
Grey from the ocean,—when we left the ship,
And cleft, with rapid oars, the shallow wave,
And stood triumphant on another world !”

V. The manners of the Floridans, the wonders of the climate, are well told : the fugitive Lincoya, a savage who attaches himself with dog-like fidelity to Madoc, is rendered interesting.

VI. The mouth of the Missouri having been passed, Madoc finds the native country of Lincoya : it has been conquered by the Aztecs, and is held in feudal subjection by their king Coanocotzin, who tolerates the former queen Erillyab in a sort of vice-regal capacity. She receives Madoc with a complacency too little tinged with the natural emotions of the sex. The priests of Aztlan send for the yearly tribute of children to be sacrificed to Mexitli. The Welsh indignantly rescue the intended victims.

VII. A revolt of the Hoa-men takes place. They join Madoc and his companions against the armies of Aztlan, and are victorious. The incidents of the war are happily chosen and narrated ; but the illness of Coanocotzin is too lucky. The finger of chance should never be employed in producing a catastrophe. There is not a real miracle in all Homer. Many things are narrated as if they arose from the interposition of the Gods ; but the human effort is every where provided, which the imputed effect requires.

VIII. Madoc takes a physician to Coanocotzin, who cures him. The freedom of the Hoa-men is confirmed. A solemn talk is agreed to be held between the Indian priests and those of the whites. A conversion of the Hoa-men ensues. Madoc leaves many of his companions with this friendly nation, and returns to his country in search of further colonists.

IX. Madoc asks leave of the king of Wales to proclaim his plan of colonization, and to solicit his brothers to join the enterprize ; but the tyrant, afraid lest, under pretence of collecting recruits for

Madoc, they should levy war against his usurpation, objects.

X. Madoc goes to Mathraval, to the court of Cyveilioc, a friendly prince. The description of his seizing the harp is wonderfully fine, p. 100, line 3—10.

"Cyveilioc stood before them,—in his pride

Stood up the poet-prince of Mathraval :

His hands were on the harp, his eyes were closed,

His head, as if in reverence to receive

The inspiration, bent ; anon, he raised

His glowing countenance, and brighter eye,

And swept, with passionate hand, the ringing harp."

XI. A gorsed, or meeting of bards, takes place. Caradoc announces the enterprise of Madoc in a very fine ode, and offers himself as a colonist. This ode, like many others which occur in this poem, would have produced a better effect if drawn up in the irregular metre of Thalaba, or in some regular lyrical stanza. The concluding portion of the ode requires transposition : the list of colonists occurs in antithesis : the wretched one "to whom all change is gain" ought to be mentioned first, as of easiest acquisition ; and he "whose bones amid a land of servitude could never rest in peace," ought to be mentioned last, as having the sublimest motive of emigration. Besides, the bard is an individual instance of this class, and should therefore be named contiguously. For what reason "he who hath felt the throb of pride to hear our old illustrious annals" should emigrate at all, we perceive not : the poet would answer, "he feels his country's shame."

XII. Madoc's next visit is to Dinevawr, where the lord Rhys, a friend of his father, resides. On the road he meets his fugitive and outlawed brother Ririd. This interview, which terminates in Ririd's determining to join the colonists, is one of the fine situations in the poem. The unexpected discovery of a kinsman is as favourable a resource with this author as with the ancient tragedians.

XIII. Still superior is the meeting with Llewellyn in the next book. Llewellyn is the rightful heir of the Welsh throne, is pursued by the emissaries of the tyrant, and lives a life of disguise, danger, and concealment, in expectation of the time for asserting his rights. Madoc is ignorant of his nephew's retreat, and had wished to find him : he visits on the island Bardsey the sepulchres of his family.

"And now the porter called prince Madoc out,

To speak with one, he said, who from the land

Had sought him, and required his private ear.

Madoc in the moonlight met him : in his hand

The stripling held an oar, and on his back,

Like a broad shield, the coracle was hung.

Uncle ! he cried, and, with a gush of tears,

Sprung to the glad embrace.

O my brave boy !

Llewellyn ! my dear boy ! with stifled voice,

And interrupted utterance, Madoc cried,

Llewellyn, come with me, and share my fate !

"No ! by my God ! the high-hearted youth

exclaimed,

It never shall be said Llewellyn left

His father's murderer on his father's throne !

I am the rightful king of this poor land.

Go, thou, and wisely go ; but I must stay,

That I may save my people. Tell me,

Uncle,

The story of thy fortunes ; I can hear it

Here in this lonely isle, and at this hour,

Securely.

Nay, quoth Madoc, tell me first,

Where are thy haunts and coverts, and what hope

Thou hast to bear thee up ? Why goes thou not

To Mathraval ? there would Cyveilioc give

A kinsman's welcome ; or at Dinevawr,

The guest of honour shouldst thou be with Rhys ;

And he, belike, from David might obtain

Some recompence, though poor.

What recompence ?

Exclaimed Llewellyn ; what hath he to give

But life for life ? and what have I to claim

But vengeance, and my father Yorwerth's throne ?

If with aught short of that my soul could rest,
Would I not through the wide world follow thee,

Dear Uncle ? and fare with thee, well or ill,

And show to thine old age the tenderness

My childhood found from thee ?—What hopes I have

Let me display : Have thou no fear from me !

My bed is made within the ocean-caves,

Of sea-weeds, bleached by many a sun and shower ;

I know the mountain dens, and every hold

And fastness of the forest ; and I know, . . .

What troubles him by day and in his dreams,

There's many an honest heart in Gwyneth-yet ! . . .

But tell me thine adventure ; that will be

A joy to think of in long winter nights,

When stormy billows make my lullaby.

"So, as they walked along the moonlight shore,

Did Madoc tell him all ; and still he strove,

By dwelling on that noble end and aim,

That of his actions was the heart and life,

To win him to his wish. It touched the youth ;

And when the prince had ceased, he heaved
a sigh,
Long-drawn and deep, as if regret were there.
No, no! he cried, that must not be; lo yonder
My native mountains, and how beautiful
They rest in the moonlight! I was nursed
among them;

They saw my sports in childhood, they have
seen

My sorrows, they have saved me in the hour
Of danger;—I have vowed, that as they were
My cradle, they shall be my monument!—
But we shall meet again, and thou wilt find
me,

When next thou visitest thy native isle,
King in Aberfraw.

Never more, Llewelyn,
Madoc replied, shall I behold the shores
Of Britain, nor will ever tale of me
Reach the green isle again. With fearful
care

I chuse my little company, and leave
No traces of our path, where Violence,
And bloody Zeal, and bloodier Avarice,
Might find their blasting way.

If it be so, . . .
And so it should be, then the youth replied,
Thou wilt not know my fate;—but this be
sure,

It shall not be inglorious. I have in me
A hope from Heaven. Give me thy blessing,
uncle!

“Llewelyn knelt upon the sand, and
clasped
His knees, with lifted head and streaming eyes
Listening. He rose, and fell on Madoc’s
neck,

And clasped him, with a silent agony, . . .
Then launched his coracle, and took his way,
A lonely traveller on the moonlight sea.”

XIV. The interview with Llaian, and
the consequent discovery of his brother
Hoel’s bastard, is full of tenderness: it
constitutes another of the unforgettable
scenes of this fine poem.

XV. The displacement of the body of
Owen by the Saxon prelate, and its con-
signment to Madoc, supply striking de-
scriptions: the loftiest passages in the poem
are perhaps those in which Baldwin is in-
troduced.

XVI. and XVII. The farewell and de-
parture occupy these books.

In the XVIIIth a satisfactory effect is
produced by the visit of Llewellyn with
Rodri to the ship. It would be captious
to contend that they excite too much so-
licitude for persons who are to be dropped
in the progress of the narration.

These eighteen books comprize the first,
and in our judgement, the better portion
of the poem. We wish they had been
published separately; and that the second

part had been reserved for longer contem-
plation and severer correction. Madoc
in Wales is surrounded by men of a
more heroic mould than Madoc in Aztlan.
His struggles, his affections, his adven-
tures, are of a kind more powerfully to
engage the sympathy. We should gladly
excuse his going back to America, if he
would undertake to recover the throne
for the young Llewellyn. The narration
too has a more dramatic character through-
out this first part: it is not continually
subsiding into long description: the very
small proportion of mere chronicle in
Homer, is among the principal causes of
his perpetual animation.

The second part opens with the safe
arrival of the colony at Caer-Madoc; for
so Cadwallon, in the absence of their
chief, had named their wicker city. Cy-
netha is dead. The indigenous priests
have become hostile to the new religion,
and are inducing the successor of Coano-
cotzin to restore the antient worship. The
son of Erillyab is superseding the autho-
rity of his mother, and is taking part
against the white intruders. Neolin, a
prophet of the snake-god, encourages
their disaffection. A curious and well-
painted scene occurs.

“Each family
Bore its own head, and to the general grave,
With melancholy song and sob of woe,
The slow procession moves. The general
grave
Was delved within a deep and shady dell,
Fronting a cavern in the rock,—the scene
Of many a bloody rite, ere Madoc came,—
A temple, as they deemed, by Nature made,
Where the Snake-Idol stood. On fur and
cloth

Of woven grass, they lay their burthens
down,
Within the ample pit; their offerings range
Beside, and piously a portion take
Of that cold earth, to which, for ever now
Consigned, they leave their fathers, dust to
dust;

Sad relic that, and wise remembrancer.
But as with bark and resinous boughs they
pile

The sepulchre, suddenly Neolin
Sprung up aloft, and shrieked, as one who
treads

Upon a viper in his heedless path.
The God! the very God! he cried, and
howled

One long, shrill, piercing, modulated cry;
Whereat, from that dark temple issued forth
A Serpent, huge and hideous. On he came,
Straight to the sound, and curled around the
Priest

His mighty folds innocuous, overtopping
 His human height, and, arching down his
 head,
 Sought in the hands of Neolin for food ;
 Then quësting, reared and stretched and
 waved his neck,
 And glanced his forky tongue. Who then
 had seen
 The man, with what triumphant fearless-
 ness,
 Arms, thighs, and neck, and body, wreathed
 and ringed
 In those tremendous folds, he stood secure,
 Played with the reptile's jaws, and called for
 food,
 Food for the present God!—who then had
 seen
 The fiendish joy which fired his counte-
 nance,
 Might well have weened that he had sum-
 moned up
 The dreadful monster from its native Hell,
 By devilish power, himself a fiend inflesh-
 ed.

“ Blood for the God ! he cried ; Lincoya's
 blood,
 Friend of the Serpent's foe ! — Lincoya's
 blood !
 Cried Amalahta : and the people turned
 Their eyes to seek the victim, as if each
 Sought his own safety in that sacrifice.
 Alone Erillyab raised her voice, confused,
 But not confounded ; she alone exclaimed,
 Madoc shall answer this ! unheard her voice
 By the bewildered people, by the Priest
 Unheeded ; and Lincoya sure had fallen
 The victim of their terrors in that hour,
 Had he been found ; but when his watchful
 eye
 Beheld the monster from his den come
 forth,
 He fled to bear the tidings.—Neolin
 Repeats the accursed call, Food for the
 God !

Arayaca, his unbelieving Priest !
 At once all eager eyes were fixed on him,
 But he came forward calmly at the call.
 Lo ! here am I ! quoth he ; and from his
 head
 Plucking the thin grey hairs, he dealt them
 round—

Countrymen, kinsmen, brethren, children,
 take
 These in remembrance of me ! there will be
 No other relic of your aged Priest.
 From manhood to old age, full threescore
 years,
 Have I been your true servant : fit it is
 That I, who witnessed Aztlan's first assault,
 Should perish her last victim ! — and he
 moved

Towards the death. But then Erillyab
 Seized him, and by the garment drew him
 back ;—
 By the Great Spirit, but he shall not die,
 The Queen exclaimed ; nor shalt thou
 triumph thus,

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Liar and traitor ! Hoamen, to your homes !
 Madoc shall answer this !

“ Irresolute
 They heard, and inobedient ; to obey
 Fearing, yet fearing to remain. Anon,
 The Queen repeats her bidding, To your
 homes,
 My People !—But when Neolin perceived
 The growing stir and motion of the crowd,
 As from the outward ring they moved away,
 He uttered a new cry, and disentangling
 The passive reptile's folds, rushed out among
 them,
 With outstretched hands, like one possessed
 to seize
 His victim. Then they fled ; for who could
 tell
 On whom the madman, in that hellish fit,
 Might cast the lot ? An eight-years boy he
 seized,
 And held him by the leg, and, whirling him
 In ritual dance, till breath and sense were
 gone,
 Set up the death-song of the sacrifice.
 Amalahta, and what others rooted love
 Of evil leagued with him accomplices
 In treason, joined the death-song and the
 dance.
 Some too, there were believing what they
 feared,
 Who yielded to their old idolatry,
 And mingled in the worship. Round and
 round
 The accursed minister of murder whirled
 His senseless victim : they too, round and
 round,
 In maddening motion, and with maddening
 cries,
 Revolving, whirled and wheeled. At length,
 when now,
 According to old rites, he should have dashed
 On the stone Idol's head the wretch's brains,
 Neolin stopt, and once again began
 The long, shrill, piercing, modulated cry.
 The Serpent knew the call, and, rolling on,
 Wave above wave, his rising length, advanced
 His open jaws ; then, with the expected
 prey,
 Glides to the dark recesses of his den.”

Madoc determines to destroy this tre-
 mendous engine of fanaticism, in order to
 overawe the imagination of the savages :
 the narration is admirable, but the cha-
 racter of the incident does not aggran-
 dize the Welsh ; the effort they employ
 seems more than commensurate with the
 difficulty.

“ Far in the hill,
 Cave within cave, the ample grotto pierced,
 Three chambers in the rock. Fit vestibule
 The first to that wild temple, long and low,
 Shut out the outward day. The second
 vault

R r

Had its own daylight from a central chasm
 High in the hollow ; here the Image stood,
 Their rude idolatry, a sculptured snake,—
 If term of art may such mishapen form
 Beseeem,—around a human figure coiled,
 And all begrimmed with blood. The inmost
 cell,
 Dark : and far up within its blackest depth
 They saw the Serpent's still small eye of fire.
 Not if they thinned the forest for their pile,
 Could they, with flame or suffocating smoke,
 Destroy him there : for through the open
 roof
 The clouds would pass away. They paused
 not long.
 Drive him beneath the chasm, Cadwallon
 cried,
 And hem him in with fire, and from above
 We crush him.

“ Forth they went, and climbed the hill,
 With all their people. Their united strength
 Loosened the rocks, and ranged them round
 the brink,
 Impending. With Cadwallon, on the height,
 Ten Britons wait ; ten with the Prince de-
 scend,
 And, with a firebrand each in either hand,
 Enter the outer cave. Madoc advanced,
 And, at the entrance of the inner den,
 He took his stand alone. A bow he bore,
 And arrows, round whose heads dry tow was
 twined,
 In pine-gum dipt ; he kindled these, and
 shot
 The fiery shafts. Upon his mailed skin,
 As on a rock, the bone-tipt arrows fell ;
 But, at their bright and blazing light effrayed,
 Out rushed the reptile. Madoc from his
 path
 Retired against the side, and called his men,
 And in they came, and circled round the
 Snake,
 And, shaking all their flames, as with a wheel
 Of fire, they ringed him in. From side to
 side
 The monster turns ;—where'er he turns, the
 flame
 Flares in his nostrils and his blinking eyes ;
 Nor aught, against the dreaded element,
 Did that brute force avail, which could have
 crushed
 Milo's young limbs, or Theban Hercules,
 Or old Manoa's mightier son, ere yet
 Shorn of his strength. They press him now,
 and now
 Give back, here urging, and here yielding
 way,
 Till right beneath the chasm they centre
 him.
 At once the crags are loosed, and down they
 fall,
 Thundering. They fell like thunder, but the
 crash
 Of scale and bone was heard. In agony
 The Serpent writhed beneath the blow ; in
 vain,
 From under the incumbent load, essayed

To drag his mangled folds. One heavier
 stone
 Fastened and flattened him ; yet still, with
 tail
 Ten cubits long, he lashed the air, and foined
 From side to side, and raised his raging head
 Above the height of man, though half his
 length
 Lay mutilate. Who then had felt the force
 Of that wild fury, little had to him
 Buckler or corselet profited, or mail,
 Or might of human arm. The Britons
 shrunk
 Beyond its arc of motion ; but the Prince
 Took a long spear, and, springing on the
 stone
 Which fixed the monster down, provoked his
 rage.
 Uplifts the Snake his head retorted, high
 He lifts it over Madoc, then darts down
 To seize his prey. The Prince, with foot ad-
 vanced,
 Inclines his body back, and points the spear,
 With sure and certain aim, then drives it up,
 Into his open jaws ; two cubits deep
 It pierced, the monster forcing on the wound.
 He closed his teeth in anguish, and bit short
 The ashen hilt. But not the rage, which now
 Clangs all his scales, can from its seat dis-
 lodge
 The barbed shaft ; nor those contortions
 wild,
 Nor those convulsive shudderings, nor the
 throes
 Which shake his inmost entrails, as with the
 air,
 In suffocating gulps, the monster now
 Inhales his own life-blood. The Prince de-
 scends ;
 He lifts another lance ; and now the Snake,
 Gasping, as if exhausted, on the ground
 Reclines his head one moment. Madoc
 seized
 That moment, planted in his eye the spear,
 Then, setting foot upon his neck, drove
 down,
 Through bone and brain and throat, and to
 the earth
 Infixed the mortal weapon. Yet once more
 The Snake essayed to rise ; his dying strength
 Failed him, nor longer did those mighty folds
 Obey the moving impulse ; crushed and
 scotched,
 In every ring, through all his mangled length,
 The shrinking muscles quivered, then col-
 lapsed
 In death.

“ Cadwallon and his comrades now
 Enter the den ; they roll away the crag
 Which fixed him down, pluck out the mortal
 spear,
 Then drag him forth to day ; the force con-
 joined
 Of all the Britons difficultly drag
 His lifeless bulk. But when the Hoamea
 saw
 That form portentous trailing in its gore,

The jaws which, in the morning, they had seen
 Purpled with human blood, now in their own
 Blackening, — aknee they fell before the
 Prince,

And, in adoring admiration, raised
 Their hands with one accord, and all in fear
 Worshipped the mighty Deicide. But he,
 Recoiling from those sinful honours, cried,
 Drag out the Idol now, and heap the fire,
 That all may be consumed !”

Both these passages teem with instances of that emphatic position of words, and that impassioned character of sound, which are the joint result of feeling and of art : they are among the most euphonious and finished sweeps of composition in the poem.

After this adventure a religious war begins. Two savages seize the boy Hoel by stratagem, in order to devote him to their idols. Madoc, in the attempt to rescue his nephew, is decoyed, unarmed, into an ambush, is taken prisoner, and doomed to sacrifice. He is exposed naked to single combat with successive barbarians. During the fight, Ririd arouses the colonists and ships' crews ; they enter the city of Aztlan in the midst of the religious games of slaughter ; they go to the rescue of Madoc, and take possession of the town : Coanocotzin falls. These incidents, which employ the XIth to the XVIIIth cantoes, are conceived and narrated with a vivacity and interest seldom rivalled.

An attempt to recover his metropolis is made by the new king Yuhidthiton. He arms canoes, and makes this attack from the lake. Madoc takes his ships to pieces, rebuilds them on the lake, and wins a naval victory. The savages baffled every way, are predisposed to quit the country ; when the irruption of a volcano takes place, which they interpret as a divine imposition, to command their retreat. They agree to leave Madoc and his followers in quiet possession of their city and country, and thus the poem concludes. His after-war, being less magnificent than the preceding one, is perhaps that part of the poem which would best bear judgment : the episode of Coatel and Mcoya is finely imagined, and feelingly related : the attack on the women is ill-timed and ill managed.

The *Odyssey*, the *Æneid*, and the *Lusiad*, are those poems which bear most resemblance to Madoc for the matter of their fable. A voyage of discovery and enterprise is narrated in each by the

hero, and a subsequent conflict for settlement by the poet. The fable of the *Odyssey* is redundant : the first four books busy the reader too much with a subordinate hero : and the massacre of the wooers abounds with disgusting circumstances, such as the murder of Leirides, when he prays for mercy, beside being throughout an action of too selfish and personal a concern. The fable of the *Æneid* is more neat ; but the war in Italy excites less sympathy than the adventures of the first six books, so that the curiosity of the reader is continually decaying, and terminates in disappointment : nor are the motives of *Æneas* such as to arouse a wish for his success against *Tur-nus*. The fable of the *Lusiad* is abrupt and incomplete : the hero and his associates, who are real historical characters, are landed and left in an imaginary paradise : their return home is only prophesied : the historical episodes too are but artlessly interwoven, and excessively long. One cares for *Ulysses*, as one cares for baron Trenck : he is a man of resources, struggling with difficulty : but he succeeds by means which degrade. One never cares for *Æneas*, after he has forsaken *Dido*. One cares for *Gama*, as for *Milton's Adam*, by implication ; on account of the eventual effect of his voyage, not on account of the difficulty overcome, or the talent displayed in its conduct : as one might be taught to care for the inventor of printing. But *Madoc's* emigration from under usurpation and oppression, and his uniform effort to triumph by measures useful to those whom he subdues, lift his endeavours into a higher class of enterprize. The fable of *Madoc* has more importance, more majesty, but less wholeness than that of the *Odyssey*, the *Æneid*, or the *Lusiad*.

It is worthier of the interference of the gods. It is however without machinery. *Cicero* complains of the mythological poets : *Humana ad deos transtulerunt*, he says, *divina mallem ad nos* : and this advice *Mr. Southey* has taken. We hesitate to agree with *Cicero*. *Lucan*, with all his thoughtfulness, is flat, especially when he is not speechifying. The physical incidents, which forward or retard an event, can only be lifted by mythology into works of design : in *Madoc* they are accidents. The tempest which sweeps him along to *Florida* ; the illness which humbles *Coanocotzin* to a treaty ; the final eruption of the volcano, which secures the possession of the conquest ; are all

too providential for an unseen providence. Where a religious man would discover the hand of his god, the poet should exhibit it. To the saints of catholicism, to the divinities of the Mexicans, an equal reality might have been attributed; and that which happens without human agency might have been ascribed to their divine interposition. We do not like poetical atheism: it dwarfs the men to leave their actions unwatched and uninfluenced by superior natures. The reader should take his point of view from the gods; and be actuated in his sympathies and antipathies by those prospective views, which cannot with probability be ascribed to the mortal instruments of the plans of providence, especially in a dark unlettered age. Aristotle is for defining the *epopeia* to be tragedy in narration: we would rather it should approach the opera by the splendor of its magic and mythology: but with the countenance of Cicero and of Aristotle, Mr. Southey may well spare our suffrage. And it must be owned that an impression of reality, a degree of illusion, is attained in Madoc, which transcends that of other epic poems, and which approaches that of the very plays of Shakspeare. It has all the verisimilitude of history.

The manners, or ethic attributes, of the personages are in many respects excellent. They display a profound antiquarian knowledge of the progenitors both of the Welsh and of the Mexicans. The usages and opinions of both nations have been intimately studied, and the picturesque traits skilfully selected. The national manners are historically accurate and poetically distinct. The individual manners, or personal characters, are not always so well discriminated: there is a family-likeness in all Madoc's connections; an over-frequent recurrence to that peculiar idea of human excellence, which has already been admired in the Joan of Arc, and of which disinterest and feeling, strengthened to enthusiasm, form the ingredients. This may be the purest and highest idea of human excellence; but it is in nature one of the rarest patterns of mankind; and cannot therefore, with entire probability, be familiarly employed by the poet. In the Cynetha, the Caradoc, and the Llewellyn; in the Goërvyl, the Ilaian, and the Senena; nay, even among the savages, in Lincoya and Coatel, there is a tincture of one and the same radical cast of heroism. Why does this peculiar delineation recur so often? Is the model at hand? Is there a little of the mo-

ral Narcissus in the so frequent reflection of this image? Madoc is a well-drawn character. He has much of the Washington: that practical good sense, which, when applied to selfish purposes, is denominated prudence; a reliance on justice and mildness, as the most stable grounds of authority; courage in its manliest form; and a little Welsh warmth, which occasionally betrays him into welcome indiscretion. Lord Shaftesbury says, in the third volume of his *Characteristics*, that a perfectly virtuous character is unfit for the hero of an epic poem: here is nothing to wish away, and yet an interesting chieftain. The Welsh women are better drawn than the men, as to probability of disposition. The characters of the savages have variety, as well as truth; and yet the common features of barbarians, ardent affections, contempt of life, love of glory. Perhaps the two kings Coanocotzin and Yuhidthiton are not divergent enough. Ilalala and Ocelopan are more strictly in savage nature; they are new, discriminate, and probable delineations. Neolin is the fanatical mixture of rogue and madman to be found in all ages, but rendered formidable by a courage and presence of mind, worthy of the most celebrated impostors. Tezozomoc is an Indian saint Dunstan. Amalahta and Lincoya are the opposite extremes of untutored rudeness: the coarse sensual brute; and the enthusiast of fidelity, the self-immolating worshipper of his mistress and of his benefactor.

On the whole, we think the manners in Madoc are more successfully delineated than in the *Lusiad*, or in the *Æneid*, and are only inferior to those of the *Odyssey*. This is certainly the most difficult department of epic art.

The style of Madoc has that character which Quintilian gives of the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius, a level middle manner; it is written *æquali quædam mediocritate*; it partakes more of the easy negligence of a metrical romancer than of the stalking pomp of theatric declamation. If it be more like one specimen of English blank verse than another, that specimen is Leonidas. We prefer the incoherent diction of *Thalysa* to this uniform propriety, this classical purity, this tasteful Attic simplicity. The author has been tamed by his critics, and Pegasus now moves in harness; let them cut the traces, and show us again the wide wings of his former soarings. In mere description this style is good, and in its place; but there

are narrative passages, where it is so Homeric as to appear trailing. It is hardly condensed enough for the oratory, hardly splendid enough for the grander scenery, hardly rapid enough for the busy moments: but in passages of feeling it is completely successful, it is what Spenser and Euripides would have contrived between them.

A common reproach made in conversation, is the oddity of the names: we are told continually they are harsh and unpoetical; we do not participate this dislike. The names are selected, as they should be, from Clavigero's history of Mexico, and Owen's Cimbrian biography: they would want costume and probability, if they were arbitrary combinations of vowels and liquids. In such criticism there is much prejudice of the eye: Ayayaca has been called a cacophonous word; it consists of the same syllables as Achaia: Yuhidditon might be respect into the familiar English phrase *you hit the tone*. When it is recollected that the Greek sigma was pronounced like *sh*, how harsher far must have sounded the Homeric names of Akhillesh and Odysheysheish.

The absence of similes in this poem is to us a more sensible blemish. In rapid narrative they may best be spared: but however exhausted as a form of adornment, however digressive as a question of propriety, they often supply an agreeable variation of imagery, and serve to acuminate attention on the critical efforts of achievement.

The second or latter part of the poem has evidently been published too wet from the pen. Until a poet has forgotten the glow of composition, he is not become indifferent to his indifferent passages, he is not prepared to retouch his superfluities, he believes that to throw away is to sacrifice. The task of correction and retrenchment, requires both industry and self-denial; but it is recompensed by the duration and the intensity of praise.

All things considered, we are for placing Madoc below the *Odyssey* and above the *Lusiad*; and for conceding to the *Æneid* a precedence founded on elder rather than higher birth, and assisted by a cosmopolite, instead of a national, language.

ART. XXXV.—*English Lyrics*. Part II. By WILLIAM SMYTH, *Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge*. 8vo. pp. 85.

LIGHT is our task and pleasant our office when works like the present come under our critical inspection.

When productions of genuine poetic merit betray signs of a bad heart or corrupted principles, we praise with sullen springiness; and when lines which appear prompted by good intentions and amiable dispositions are found destitute of other claims to public favour, we blame reluctantly, and almost with remorse; but here, our taste and our feelings, our judgment and our fancy, are alike gratified, and join with one accord in prompting unqualified approbation and heartfelt praise. The first part of *English Lyrics*, consisting of pieces similar to the present in form and in merit, appeared several years ago, in a pamphlet rather larger than the one before us; and a few songs inserted in this latter, have already adorned the pages of the *Metrical Miscellany*, but we hope it will not be long before the author finds it expedient to reprint both together in a neat pocket volume. The subjects of the poems are various, but most of them are drawn rather from within than from without, and express chiefly, the feelings and reflections of a truly elegant mind, warmed with genuine benevolence,

and softened, not soured, by misfortune, in the chequered scene and progressive stages of human life. There is a good deal of originality in some of Mr. Smyth's sentiments, and others which are sufficiently familiar in prose, have seldom appeared before in the garb of poetry. His expressions, always elegant, are frequently forcible and happy; and if a little obscurity is now and then felt, and the construction of his sentences is not always easy or perfectly correct, allowance must be made for the difficulties attending the regular lyric measures, and the double rhyme which he has occasionally interspersed, and on the whole with good effect. But in this as in many other works of the day, the sense is not a little darkened by the absurd profusion of commas, which ignorant compositors scatter at random through their pages; a circumstance to which authors would do well to pay more particular attention.

To point out all the beauties of these charming little poems, would be to deprive the judicious reader of the pleasure of discovering them: but we cannot omit to remark the epithet "rosy spectre" applied to the "hectic maid" in the "Ode to Pity;" the concluding stanza of the excel-

lent "Elegy" relative to funereal honours,—

"'Tis thine own image that departing sighs,
'Tis thine own fate that glooms upon the bier,
'Tis thine own nature that for pity cries,
And bids thee in the grave thyself revere;"—

and the touching picture conveyed in the lines entitled "Laura,"—

"With languid look she faint replied,
And smiled my gaiety away:"

beauties which cannot but be felt, because they appeal to the emotions of every tender heart. We shall spare all further comments, because our extracts will speak more forcibly for themselves and their author than any praise of ours.

TO CHEERFULNESS.

"The hunter on the mountain's brow,
The rosy youth from study free,
Ne'er breath'd, O Cheerfulness! a vow
More fond, than I have breathed to thee.
Yet sometimes, if in lonely hour
I leave thy lov'd, enchanting bower,
By glooms of wayward fancy driven;
And from thee turn my languid eyes,
Nor longer deem thy pleasure wise,
Oh! be my suffering heart forgiven.

Not always can the varying mind
Bear to thy shrine an homage true;
Some chains mysterious seem to bind,
Some sullen sorcery to subdue:
Nor always can the scene be gay,
Nor blest the morrow as to-day,
And musing thoughts will sadness bring;
Can time so near me hourly fly,
Nor I his passing form descrie,
Nor ever hear his rustling wing?

'E'en now I feel with vain regret,
How soon these happy days must end;
Already seems my sun to set,
I mark the shades of eve descend;
The vizio catch, where sorrow grey
And weary pain are on their way;
Beyond, with startled glance I see
The billows dark, the fated shore,
The forms that sink and rise no more,
The ocean of eternity."

ELEGY.

"Still dark with frowns return the sullen
years,
Still move with rent and blood-stain'd robes
away;
The giant force his form terrific rears
To heaven, and bids th' astonish'd world
obey.

Yet thou, my soul, tho' wreck'd around thee
sink
All that can wake thy love, thy reverence
claim,
Lose not thy last, best hope, nor stoop to
think
Truth but a sound, and virtue but a name.

Few note the virtue that from view retires,
Few prize the worth that every moment
sees;
We mark the tempest's rage, the comet's fires,
Forget the shower, the sunshine, and the
breeze.

While one pure bosom its own bliss foregoes,
While one firm mind the wound, it felt, for-
gives,
While one kind heart is touch'd with human
woes,
All is not lost on earth, and virtue lives.

When shall the heart to virtue best disclose
Th' unaltered homage of its proud applause?
Then, when her votaries shrink, when leagu'd
her foes,
When fails her promise, and forlorn her
cause.

The eternal Being, that with parent care
Form'd and sustains the viewless insect's
frame,
Taught He in vain the heart to melt in prayer,
In vain to glow with hope, to sink with
shame?

Each motive dim is by his glance desoried,
The sleepless moan, unheard on earth, he
hears;
He marks each sacrifice to virtuous pride,
He counts affection's throbs, compassion's
tears!

Revere, thou wedded fair, thyself, thy vow,
Tho' brutal wrongs thy faith, thy fondness
wound;
The still, small voice within that whispers now,
Shall o'er thy dying pillow rapture sound.

Thou man of worth, whom want has bowed
and worn,
But bowed not to the proud oppressor's will,
Bear on undaunted—thou for bliss art born,
Eternity is thine—be virtuous still.

O! when this alter'd world is lost in gloom,
When earth to prostrate man no hope can
yield,
Beam on the soul, thou world beyond the
tomb,
By reason promis'd, and by God reveal'd."

SONG.

"Laura, thy sighs must now no more,
My faltering step detain,
Nor dare I hang thy sorrows o'er,
Nor clasp thee thus, in vain;

Yet while thy bosom heaves that sigh,
While tears thy cheek bedew,
Ah! think—tho' doom'd from thee to fly,
My heart speaks no adieu.

Thee would I bid to check those sighs,
If thine were heard alone—

Thee would I bid to dry those eyes,
But tears are in my own—
One last, long kiss—and then we part—
Another—and adieu—
I cannot aid thy breaking heart,
For mine is breaking too."

ART. XXXVI.—*Poems.* By LAURA SOPHIA TEMPLE. 12mo. pp. 192.

"LOVE in thine eyes for ever strays,
He makes thy rosy lips his care,
And walks the mazes of thy hair;
Love dwells in every outward part,
But ah, he never, never reached thy heart."

Are we, unfortunately, right in applying these lines to Miss Laura Sophia Temple? She only can decide; but they presented themselves involuntarily to us on the perusal of these poems which, with some exceptions, have a good deal of external polish, but little appearance of being unsolicited effusions from the heart. The lambent flame of love plays upon the surface of them, an idle meteor which imparts no warmth.

Several of the following lines are very melodious, and by no means unworthy a disciple of the Darwinian school. They are addressed to the ear, and not unsuccessfully:—

"Go, wanton breeze, to Cashmere's wavy
groves,
Whose wild, and tangled haunts, my fair one
loves;
There gaily kiss each soft voluptuous flow'r,
Then hasten to my Abra's secret bow'r.
But oh! forget not, as thou fly'st along,
To steal the music of each warbler's song;

Then seek the shades where weeping violets
spring,
And bear their treasures on thy downy wing.
Nor yet forget the bright and musky rose
Whose modest face with vermeil tincture
glows,

Flutt'ring around it tell thy tend'rest tale,
And win it from its mate the nightingale.
And now thy silken pinions wide expand,
For Abra's mantling bow'r is near at hand.
Oh! when thou see'st the maid my wishes
seek,

With spicy whispers fan her damask cheek,
Pant in the ringlets of her ebon hair,
And court the laughing loves that frolic there;
Breathe on those crimson lips whose honey'd
store

The wretched Amurath must taste no more;
Sport in the liquid heaven of her eye,
And o'er her neck of marble softly sigh:
Then waft, oh! waft the melody of song,
Let some sad cadence gently steal along,
Bid the lone night-bird all his griefs relate,
And tell her that he sings of Am'rath's fate;
Tell her like me he mourns a faithless love,
Like me his thoughts to vanish'd pleasures
rove,

Like me he shuns the morn's ethereal dies,
Like me to evening's tender scene he flies.
Go, lovely messenger, these words repeat
Ere this deserted heart has ceas'd to beat."

ART. XXXVII.—*The Poems of Ossian, &c. Containing the Poetical Works of James Macpherson, Esq. in Prose and Rhyme: with Notes and Illustrations.* By MALCOLM LAING, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 579 and 634.

THESE handsome and very dear volumes are misnamed. Instead of *The Poems of Ossian*, containing the Poetical Works of James Macpherson, they should have been entitled *The Poetical Works of James Macpherson, containing the Poems of Ossian*.

A more singular publication we have seldom seen. Mr. Laing has published these poems for the sole purpose of disproving their authenticity, and thereby destroying almost all their value; and he has given them this costly form, as the priests of old gilt the horns and wreathed the forehead of the beast whom they led to be sacrificed at the altar. That part of the work which relates to this controversy, will more properly be examined

when we notice the report of the committee of the Highland Society: in the present article, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to what is avowedly Macpherson's.

Some literary anecdotes of Macpherson are prefixed, from Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine, 1776. It is there stated that he was born in the latter end of the year 1738, at Ruthven, in the county of Inverness, being of one of the most ancient families in the north of Scotland, and cousin-german to the chief of the clan of the Macphersons, who deduce their origin from the ancient Catti of Germany! that, having received the rudiments of education at home, he was sent to the grammar school at Inverness, where his genius be-

came so conspicuous, that his relations, contrary to their original intention, determined to breed him to a learned profession, and that with this view they sent him successively to the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

In 1760 he published his first fragments of ancient poetry,—no notice is taken in these anecdotes of the Highlander, his earliest publication. In 1764 he went to America as president of the council of West Florida, returned after two years, and published in succession his Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland; his translation of the Iliad, which he is said to have undertaken, executed, and published, in the space of three months; and his History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover. The anecdotes conclude by saying that he was then amusing himself with less laborious studies in his villa near London, with which it was to be hoped he would some time or other gratify the world, “unless he should happen to be called forth in the political line, to which his talents are adapted as much as to letters.” This brief and unsatisfactory account, which is highly complimentary throughout, Mr. Laing suspects to have been written by Macpherson himself. It is not often that men puff themselves, and as there is nothing to prove the suspicion, its expression might well have been spared. The language of praise would come more probably, as well as more properly, from one of his friends. It is evident that the poems of Ossian are considered by the writer as Macpherson’s own. Little is added to these anecdotes. During the American war he was employed as a superintendant of the ministerial newspapers, and wrote political pamphlets, which did their share of mischief, it may be presumed, in deluding the people, and were then forgotten. As agent for the nabob of Arcot, he amassed a large fortune, and in 1780 was returned to parliament for the borough of Camelford. He returned at last to his native country, like most of his wealthy countrymen; he purchased an estate, and built a large mansion there. In 1796 he died, and was buried, according to his own direction, in poets’ corner; by which there can be no doubt that he meant to be considered as the author and not the translator of Ossian. “His private character,” says Mr. Laing, “may well be spared; and it is sufficient to observe, that his morals were not such as to refute the charge which I have made,

that, with a genius truly poetical, he was one of the first literary impostors in modern times.”

Mr. Laing intimates an apprehension that some account of Macpherson may be expected in a collection of his poetical works; but he adds, “I have no inclination to become his biographer.” We regret this disinclination; the world will be curious for a life of this extraordinary writer hereafter, and there is no place so proper for it as in such a work. Having executed the offender, Mr. Laing should have condescended to give us “a full, true, and particular account of his life, parentage, education and behaviour.” Either the accusation of his moral character should have been spared, or substantiated.

“In the course of my enquiries,” says this editor, “I have discovered above four thousand of Macpherson’s verses; written between the age of seventeen and twenty-two, while he *sacrificed, or served his apprenticeship in secret to the muses*. The chief value of these consist in the evidence which they afford, that his first and most predominating ambition was to become an heroic poet.” The two first poems, entitled Death and the Hunter, are printed from a manuscript, evidently the first draught of his compositions, which was discovered in the Highlands many years ago, and communicated for this publication by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, minister of Kingussie. The practice now so prevalent of printing the private letters of literary men, and whatever they have left unfinished, whether designed for the public or not, has been often censured, nor are we disposed to defend it. Yet in the present case we must observe, that the reputation of Macpherson cannot possibly be injured by any faults in poems written when he was a boy; that so far as any resemblance to Ossian can be traced in them they become important; and that it is neither incurious nor unimportant to trace in them the progress of a poet who certainly, whether deservedly or not, has produced a more general effect throughout Europe, than any other English poet had ever done before him.

The poem upon Death must have been written before he was eighteen. Mr. Laing considers it as an imitation of Blair’s Grave; the subject may have been copied, but the manner has not. It discovers no premature genius, neither is there any of that premature correctness which shows that nothing is to be hoped for; it contains confused images and personifica-

tions, bloated language, sometimes good conceptions ill expressed, and more rarely scattered good lines, just what is to be wished for in the poem of a boy. Here is a sample of what the author meant for sublimity.

"High from an iron car, the gloomy king
Outstretches o'er the world his haggard eye.
His jaws, wide parting, open to the ill
Of sad oblivion—sable mantled shade!
At the dark chink the undistinguish'd throng
Enter, of maids, gay youths, and tottering age.
In gloomy pomp, array'd before their king,
Fear, grisly terror, shivering dismay,
And cloud-envelop'd horror, gloomy stand.
When far before, by sable fate empowered,
With wanton glee, and fool-insnaring grace,
A soft deluding fair disarms the strong,
And throws the brave into the jaws of death.
The sons of pride, her happiness, but men
Call her intemprance, daughter of this age,
Got on prosperity, born on the banks
Of ill-used liberty, and nursed up
By plenty, indolence, and gallantry,
By looks lascivious, by luxurious ease.
Behind her comes consumption—meagre
ghost!

With slow, weak, languid pace, and self-de-
vour'd;

Born drooping on a tedious flux of time,
With pain deep loaden, sluggish flowing
down:

Then ulcers, swellings, apoplectic fits,
Convulsive trances, fever scorching hot,
The sage physician—all a gloomy train!
Their general parent follow; while grim death,
Wide-wasting terror! shuts the dismal scene."

"— her azure eyes

Like two fair fountains, watered the plain
Of roses on her cheek.

* * *

The frightful monster shakes the solid towers
Of state, and nations at one morsel churns.

* * *

Near to his father's bed Acasto stands
And drinks large draughts of virtue."

These are promising faults. The battle scene, and the shipwreck, show that his mind was full of Homer and Ovid; the reference to the earthquake, written so soon after the dreadful shock at Lisbon, proves that he wrote also from his own stores, and in these following lines it may be seen that he had an eye for natural objects.

"— no voice, no sound is heard,

But now and then the breathing breezes sigh
Thro' the half-quivering leaves, and far-re-
moved

The sea rolls feeble murmurs to the shore;
The birds hang, sleeping, on the bending
twigs."

One passage occurs of higher merit—

"with the dawning morn
The land emerges from a sea of clouds."

Mr. Laing thinks that this has been transferred to Fingal. "The high rocks of the land of Lochlin, its groves of murmuring sounds, appeared to the hero through mist." We do not recognize the image; the one is a near, the other a distant view.

The second poem, which the editor has entitled the Hunter, was written in 1756. Macpherson, like all young poets who have any ambition, aspired to be an epic writer, and this is the first attempt of which any trace remains. His hero Donald, a highlander, shoots the favourite fawn of Xanthe, daughter of the king of the fairies; she complains to her father. In the following description of his dwelling Mr. Laing traces the origin of Fingal's airy hall.

"A hill there is, whose sloping sides of
green

Are by the raptured eye at distance seen;
Rocks intersperse the variegated space:
Here columns rise; there smiles the virid
grass;

There timid deers, and shaggy goats abound;
There tripping fairies dance the fleeting
round;

Within the king of fairies makes abode,
And waves o'er prostrate crowds his regal rod:
A sea-green throne his royal limbs support,
Full in the middle of the spacious court.
His furrowed front majestic he uprears;
His waving locks are silvered o'er with years.
Upon the wall, supply the want of day,
Arranged lamps, that dart a glimmering ray.
Unhallowed viands on the table stand,
The unblest produce of the neighbouring land.
Old Murdock plow'd: an ox died in the yoke;
And here his tumid limbs in cauldrons smoke.
The maid, the youth, the matron, and the
sage,

The call of craving hunger all assuage:
While, clad in woe, the lovely Xanthe comes,
And lightens with her charms the shady rooms.
All start—The monarch tumbles from his
throne.

Why weeps my daughter? why that tender
moan?"

"A cloud hovers over Cona. Its blue
curling sides are high. The winds are be-
neath it, with their wings. Within it is the
dwelling of Fingal. There the hero sits in
darkness. His airy spear is in his hand. His
shield half covered with clouds, is like the
darkened moon; when one half still remains
in the wave, and the other looks sickly on the
field!

"His friends sit around the king, on mist!

They hear the songs of Ullin: he strikes the
half-viewless harp. He raises the feeble voice.
The lesser heroes, with a thousand meteors,
light the airy hall. Malvina rises, in the
midst; a blush is on her cheek. She beholds
the unknown faces of her fathers. She turns
aside her humid eyes. 'Art thou come so
soon?' said Fingal, 'daughter of generous
Toscar,'

The resemblance is certainly striking; both passages may be derived from the popular superstition explained with such admirable absurdity by Dr. Cririe, in a note to his Scottish scenery. (See our 2d Volume, p. 411.)

The fairy king convokes his senate to deliberate upon the best means of revenge. It is determined to take the black humour from the brain of a courtier, and infect Donald with it. Xanthe therefore goes to the capital:

"Once the proud seat of royalty and state,
Of kings, of heroes, and of all that's great,
But these are flown, and Edin's only stores
Are fops and scriveners and Englished
whores."

She makes an incision in Meno's head, takes out the humour, returns upon her zephyr, and sheds the infection over Donald, who, becoming discontented with his lot, sets out in search of better fortune. The description of the Grampians, here introduced, would have delighted Wilkes and Churchill.

"A hill there is, which forms a sable wall
Through all the north, and men it Grampus
call.

Here lean-cheek'd barrenness terrific strides;
A tattered robe waves round her iron sides;
Two bal-ful eyes roll in her iron face;
Her meagre hand supports a pile of grass;
Her bare white skull no decent covering
shews;

Eternal tempests rattle on her brows;
Lank-sided want, and pale-eyed poverty,
And sharp-tooth'd famine, still around her
fly;

Health-gotten hunger, want-descended pain,
Vein-numbing cold—are all her gloomy
train."

Here the ghost of his father Malcolm appears to him in a dream, and vainly dissuades him from his purpose. He proceeds; and arrives at Edinburgh at a time when the king, with an inferior force, is drawn up in battle-array against the English. An Englishman advances from the ranks, and challenges any Scot to single combat. Donald meets him;

"They fight, and weary, cease, and fight
again,
Their law-bake dust with blood upon the
plain."

But Donald conquers, and by his prowess the invaders are defeated.

"Fierce on the rear the hill-born hero hangs,
Lops the slow tail, and every hero bangs."

The king, rightly attributing to him the victory, invites him to the palace, where he and the princess Egadia fall in love with each other. He relates his history, by which it appears that his nurse saved him out of the slaughter of his family, and that his ambition was occasioned by a representation of his future good fortune shown him by a fairy. Macpherson had here evidently altered his plan, and would probably have adapted the commencement to this alteration, had he thought the poem worth correction. A noble at this story recognizes him for his only son, and the princess is given him to wife.

There are many expressions in both these poems which show that the language in which the author wrote had not been his mother-tongue, and that he did not understand the colloquial and current value of words. The word *bangs* in the couplet last quoted is an instance. "The pleasing phantom of *preterite joy*" is another.

"I now am dandled by the hand of fate,
And death seems knocking at the trembling
gate."

Some of the metaphors have the character of barbarous poetry; the ears are called the portals of the head, and the lips the gates of voice. The whole is full of strained thoughts and forced expressions; such faults as promise well in a youth of eighteen.

Next in the series is the Highlander, published in 1758. Alpin, immediately after the funeral of his father, joins the Scottish army then taking the field under their king Indulph, against the Danes. They march in the night—the simile of a gathering cloud has seldom been more accurately applied than in these lines.

"A rising hill, whose night-invelop'd brow
Hung o'er th' encamped squadrons of the foe,
Shoots to the deep its ooze-inmantled arm,
And steadfast struggles with the raging storm.
Here ends the moving host its winding road,
And here condenses, like a sable cloud,
Which long was gathering on the mountain's
brow,
Then broke in thunder on the vales below."

Alpin offers to explore the enemy's camp; having effected this, like Diomedes, he kills some of the sleeping. Haco, the Danish prince, awakes and attacks him; struck by his generosity in declining to wound him by advantage, he throws away his sword and embraces him. They vow friendship. Haco gives him his shield, that he may avoid him in battle, and Alpin returns to the Scots, who, in consequence of his report, wait for morning before they begin the fight. At first the Danes have the advantage. Alpin turns the scale against them, he sets fire to their fleet, kills Magnus, one of their leaders, then rescues Indulph, and slays Sueno the Danish king. Haco retreats with the remnant of his countrymen, and fortifies himself in a wood. Alpin goes to attack him in this retreat. During his absence a Scotchman, mortally wounded, crawls to the king, and confesses that he had been one of the conspirators with Dovalus who had murdered king Malcolm, his brother; but that touched with compassion he had saved his son Duffus, who still lived and was—he died before he could complete the discovery. Meantime Alpin forces the Danish intrenchments. Haco, and his wife Aurelia, who fights by his side, finding every effort ineffectual, prepare to die together; but Alpin interposes and saves them, and leading them to the shore, where a single ship lay which had escaped the conflagration, dismisses them in safety.

At this time Culena, the king's daughter, is taking a walk upon the beach with her maidens, though quieter times might have been chosen for walking. A rejected lover seizes one of her damsels and carries her off to ravish her, Alpin comes up and rescues her, and he and the princess fall in love with each other, a love which is increased on her side by the skill which afterwards displays in the games. At the evening banquet Indulph asks the young highlander who he is. He relates the story; that coming with his brother Rynold to join the king, they fell with a body of freebooters, who were ravaging the country. They defeat them and force them to fly for shelter into the ruins of a large building, but Rynold was mortally wounded in the fray, and Alpin, leaving his clan to besiege the enemy, went to bid a neighbouring hermit come to his father. The hermit, instead of coming, broke out into a prophecy of the woes of the Fergusian line, the beheading of queen Mary, and the union of the two crowns. It was night when Alpin

returned: he met a ghost who pointed to the building, and exclaimed, Revenge me, O my son! Upon this he forced the entrance, and killed the leader of the banditti, who, as he died, confessed that his name was Dovalus, and that upon that very spot he had murdered king Malcolm. Rynold immediately after this told Alpin that he was not his father, but that he had found him when an infant, on the very night of king Malcolm's murder. Upon this Indulph immediately acknowledges Alpin to be his nephew Duffus, and offers to resign the crown to him, but the young prince insists upon his continuing to govern as long as he lives. The last canto is very ill managed—a hunting party is made, a storm comes on, and Duffus and the princess take shelter in a cavern, like Dido and Æneas; but the king and an old hermit, who lived in the cave, came in and married them upon the spot. On their way home they see a fleet approaching, a fresh body of Danes land under Harold, coming to assist his brother Sueno, of whose defeat and death he is ignorant. They are repulsed, but Indulph is killed. Duffus puts to sea in a single ship after the flying enemy, completes their defeat, and then returns to the nuptial feast. Nothing can be more clumsy than this conclusion; the other parts of the story are better conceived, and not badly executed, considering the youth of the author. There are many instances of the same imperfect knowledge of the language as in his former poems, such as the *squeak* of a broken branch in the wind, and the *squeaking treble* of a dying man's voice; some also of words badly coined from the Latin, as in this couplet.

“ Silent and sad I hang the dying o'er,
And with warm tears *intenerate* his gore.”

The vile common-place phraseology of rhymed poetry repeatedly occurs: *all the man, all the woman, all the hero, &c.*; but there is an attempt at something good, a general animation, and occasional images drawn from nature. Wilkie's Epigoniad, which there was a sort of conspiracy among his countrymen to puff in every possible way, though without any of the faults of the Highlander, has far less merit. But the great merit in this early effort of Macpherson, is his desire of originality.

Among the miscellaneous poems are two poems which contain all the ingredients of Ossian, the Night Piece, and the

Cave ; this last we shall transcribe for this reason.

"The wind is up, the field is bare ;
Some hermit lead me to his cell,
Where contemplation, lonely fair,
With blessed content has chose to dwell.

Behold ! it opens to my sight,
Dark in the rock ; beside the flood ;
Dry fern around obstructs the light ;
The winds above it move the wood.

Reflected in the lake I see
The downward mountains and the skies,
The flying bird, the waving tree,
The goats that on the hills arise.

The grey-cloaked herd drives on the cow ;
The slow-paced fowler walks the heath ;
A freckled pointer scours the brow ;
A musing shepherd stands beneath.

Curve o'er the ruin of an oak,
The woodman lifts his axe on high,
The hills re-echo to the stroke ;
I see, I see the shivers fly.

Some rural maid, with apron full,
Brings fuel to the homely flame ;
I see the smoky columns roll,
And through the chinky hut the beam.

Beside a stone o'ergrown with moss,
Two well-met hunters talk at ease ;
Three panting dogs beside repose ;
One bleeding deer is stretched on grass.

A lake, at distance, spreads to sight,
Skirted with shady forests round,
In midst an island's rocky height
Sustains a ruin once renowned.

One tree bends o'er the naked walls,
Two broad-winged eagles hover nigh,
By intervals a fragrant fall,
As blows the blast along the sky.

Two rough-spun hinds the pinnace guide,
With lab'ring oars, along the flood ;
An angler, bending o'er the tide,
Hangs from the boat th' insidious wood.

Beside the flood, beneath the rocks,
On grassy bank two lovers lean ;
Bend on each other amorous looks,
And seem to laugh and kiss between.

The wind is rustling in the oak ;
They seem to hear the tread of feet ;
They start, they rise, look round the rock ;
Again they smile, again they meet.

But see ! the grey mist from the lake
Ascends upon the shady hills ;
Dark storms the murmuring forests shake,
Rain beats,—resound a hundred rills.

To Damon's homely hut I fly ;
I see it smoking o'er the plain.
When storms are past,—and fair the sky,
I'll often seek my cave again."

This is certainly a very curious and very interesting publication : as an edition of Ossian, however, it is not that which we should chuse. Mr. Laing has preserved the arrangement of the three first editions ; as the order in which the poems were written, leads occasionally to some curious detections ; it would have been better to have followed Macpherson's last arrangement, and have stated these detections in the preface, or in notes where the passages occur. He has also rejected Macpherson's historical dissertations, and many of his notes, as full of falsehood ; we are persuaded of their falsehood also, but we can consider no edition of Ossian as complete without them. False as they may be, they ought to have been retained, as parts of the fiction.

ART. XXXVIII.—*Some of Ossian's Lesser Poems rendered into Verse, with a preliminary Discourse, in answer to Mr. Laing's Critical and Historical Disquisition on the Antiquity of Ossian's Poems.* By ARCHIBALD MACDONALD. 8vo. pp. 300.

GOOD printing and fine paper wasted upon one of the most worthless books we ever perused. The only passage de-

serving notice in it will be quoted in our review of the controversy,

ART. XXXIX.—*Hours of Solitude. A Collection of Original Poems, now first published.* By CHARLOTTE DACRE, better known by the Name of ROSA MATILDA. 2 Vols. 12mo. 140 pp. each.

A CONSIDERABLE proportion of these poems were written at the ages of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen ; some in maturer years, and not a few in the season of childhood, at the early age of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen ! Some of these latter, we think, are among the best, and

give indications of a poetic genius, from the cultivation of which we should have anticipated future superiority. The few stanzas to "Indifference" are such as very few at fourteen or fifteen could have produced, and those addressed to "Love" evince rather a precocious imagination.

The productions of less "extreme youth" Some of the personifications are drawn scarcely rise above the level of the rest. with a skilful pencil.

ART. XL.—*The Chaplet, a Collection of Poems, partly Original and partly selected from the most approved Authors.* 12mo. pp. 204.

POETICAL selections are so much a matter of individual taste, accidental association, and often mere whim, that there is no arguing upon the matter. Of all the pieces contained in the present volume there are not half a dozen that we should have admitted, if we were ourselves about to make a similar selection. We do not know, however, that we have therefore a right to call it a bad one: bad in a moral

point of view it certainly is not; and all the blame which we can lay on the anonymous collector is that of having gathered daisies and crowfoot and hawthorn, when with nearly the same trouble he might have culled roses and hyacinths and myrtle. If in return he tells us that he prefers wild flowers to garden ones, all that can be said is, that we are not of the same opinion.

ART. XII.—*Elidure and Ella; a Cambrian Tale, in four Parts. To which is added, Zerobabel, or Royal Queries; a Paraphrastic Poem from the third and fourth Chapters of the first Book of Esdras.* By WILLIAM GIBSON, A. M. 8vo. pp. 41.

THE effect produced on us by these pages may be best described in a quotation from the book itself, with the alteration of a single word.

"O'ercome with what they heard
His audience yawning to their beds re-
pair'd."

ART. XLII.—*Poems to Thespia.* By H. DOWNMAN, M. D. 8vo. pp. 106.

A FEW of the poems contained in the present volume have, as the author informs us, been published before. Of the whole number there is not one that is not either addressed to or inspired by his

Thespia. Good sense, elegance, warm and refined conjugal affection, breathe in every line, and cannot fail to be duly appreciated by every well-disposed reader.

ART. XLIII.—*A Poetical Epistle to the Right Honourable William Pitt.* 4to. pp. 22.

THE quotation in the title-page from Bacon is the only passage in this rhymed political pamphlet worth remembering: "He that seeketh to be eminent amongst

able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure among cyphers is the decay of a whole age."

ART. XLIV.—*The British Martial, or an Anthology of English Epigrams, being the largest Collection ever published, with some Originals.* 2 Vols. 8vo.

ABOVE a thousand epigrams are contained in these two volumes; which therefore comprize by far the greatest part of those which have as yet appeared in print. There are many more, however, current in literary and fashionable society with which the author might have graced his pages. In an affectedly written preface we are informed that the collector "not only professes but feels a devout regard for morals and religion," and that "he has rejected many smart things which have been sanctioned by the highest names and authorities, solely because they seemed to his sober and chastised taste to border too much on forbidden ground." With this principle of selection in view, how

was it possible to admit an epigram on the awful event of the rending in twain the veil of the temple? or the following miserably profane pun?

"Our God requireth the whole heart, or none;
And yet he will accept a broken one."

or another entitled, What is the Deity?

If the editor consults his own reputation, and the bookseller his interest, the pages containing these indecorous passages will be immediately cancelled: they are the 90th, 91st, 145th, and 150th, of the first volume.

ART. XLV.—*Poems.* By ROBERTUS. 12mo. pp. 120.

THESE are for the most part Anacreontic and amatory pieces, and therefore it would be unreasonable to expect much novelty or splendid poetical fancy. Ten-

derness, spirit, and elegance, they possess, though not in so high a degree as to tempt him who has once read them to recur a second time to their perusal.

ART. XLVI.—*Maurice the Rustic; and other Poems.* By HENRY SUMMERSETT. 12mo. p. 111.

THE school of poetry in which this author has studied is that of Southey, of whom he is in many respects a successful follower. The first piece, entitled "Susan and the Gibbet," though horrible and shocking in its subject, possesses much merit of accurate delineation and perfect simplicity of style. The principal poem in the volume, entitled "Maurice the Rustic," bears an unfortunate resemblance in subject to Beattie's Minstrel, and can therefore be scarcely judged without prejudice. The smaller pieces, though somewhat carelessly written, contain passages of real genius which imprint themselves easily and forcibly on the memory. We are disposed to select the following as an agreeable but fair specimen of the whole.

THE VALE I LOVE.

"Peaceful, blooming, verdant vale!
Here I've told the merry tale;
Here have beat the tabor:
Bask'd upon the sunny grass,
Kiss'd the struggling, laughing lass;
Said to each gay neighbour,
'Tis a happy vale!"

Oh, the bliss of Summer's eve!
Glad to meet, and loath to leave,
While the moon was peeping:
Bounding sport and reeling joy
Gazing age would ne'er annoy,
But laugh to see us, leaping,
Ev'ry Summer's eve!

Ah, the dear, delightful hour,
When I sought the wild-rose bower,
Midnight haunt of fairy;
Whisper'd all my heart's true love,
E'en while I heard the amorous dove,
To it's emblem, Mary!
Dear, delightful hour!

Seasons bright, and seasons sweet,
Gay, smiling flowers beneath our feet,
Summer breezes blowing;
Birds of soft and mirthful song,
Lads and lasses in a throng,
Chanting blithe and mowing.
Seasons bright and sweet!

Ah, native valley! How I sigh'd,
When o'er yon mountain's brow I hied,
And gave my heart to anguish;
Compell'd, awhile, afar to roam,
To leave my friends, my peaceful home,
For Mary's smiles to languish;
Ah, valley, how I sigh'd!

How dreary, rude was ev'ry thought!
The lovely scenes with vision caught
Pale sorrow soon invaded:
At morn, in sad, romantic mood,
I pluck'd the flowers of grove and wood;
Like happiness they faded.
How rude was ev'ry thought!

No tranquil joy I sure had known,
Tho' fortune kindly made my own
Each dale and lofty mountain;
Still had I mourn'd for those afar,
Still, sorrowing, seen the glittering star
Embosom'd by the fountain.
No joy I sure had known.

O, gentle gales! O, sportive main,
Ye bore me to my home again,
My cot, with jasmine laden!
'He's come! He's come!' the rustics cried,
'He's come! He's come!' with joy replied
Each rosy, brisk-eyed maiden.
Thanks, gentle gales and main!

Peaceful, blooming, verdant vale!
Still I'll tell the merry tale,
Still will beat the tabor;
Bask upon the sunny grass,
Kiss the struggling, laughing lass,
Say to each gay neighbour,
'Tis a happy vale!"

ART. XLVII.—*Amatory Poems: with Translations and Imitations from Ancient and Amatory Authors.* 12mo. pp. 64.

THIS anonymous author is a worthy associate of Little Moore, and of course will be prohibited in all decent families, and freely admitted to the dressing-rooms

of women of fashion. As a decorous specimen of the poetical abilities displayed in this volume, we shall quote the following:

"Turn again those dewy eyes
To my burning kiss,
Let those jetty lashes rise,
Waking slow from bliss.

See! o'er all thy raptur'd face
Manthng blushes rise;
So the morn with gradual pace
Crimsons o'er the skies.

Let again that thrilling lip
Meet in billing night;
Panting, murmuring, as we sip
Oceans of delight.—

As 'tis sweeter far to hear
A gentle river yield
Its waters murmuring, bubbling near,
O'er the enamell'd field,

Than the bursting cataract dash,
With a deafening roar,
And with troubled waters lash
Loud the rocky shore:

So 'tis sweeter far to lie
Ling'ring on each kiss,
Than o'er each love scene to fly,
Rushing on to bliss."—

ART. XLVIII.—*The Sports of the Genii.*

By MRS. JOHN HUNTER. 4to. pp. 17.

THE object of the fair author in publishing this elegant work, can best be disclosed by a recital of the Introduction, which occupies little more than a page, and is as follows:

"The 'Sports of the Genii' were originally written for the amusement of some young people in the winter of 1797: they took their rise from the beautiful groups of winged boys which filled the port-folio of Miss Macdonald, who was in the habit of imagining and sketching them with the greatest facility: the idea of arranging and forming them into subjects for the following fables, was my own. The early death of a young woman of uncommon talents, and surrounded with every advantage this world can bestow, gives to her designs a peculiar interest: and not only those who knew and admired her, but every person of taste and feeling, must view them with sensations of tender regret.

"The little poems which accompany the following thirteen etchings, will, I hope, be read with indulgence, having been the means of preserving the original outlines, which would otherwise have been probably destroyed. For the dedication, I am obliged to the ingenious artist whose name is prefixed to the plate. And now let me add, that, in committing the 'Sports of the Genii' to the press, I am impelled alone by affection and gratitude, to a family for whom I have the highest respect, and to whom I owe the most serious obligations; and I feel gratified by offering them this mark, however inadequate it may be, of my attachment.

"A. H."

From such a statement, it is not likely that we shall bend the bow of criticism with any extraordinary tightness. Exclusively of the generous sentiments which appear to have influenced the writer, the intrinsic merit of some of these compositions is alone sufficient to avert the

"barbed steel,"—nor shall we "sport" with these effusions more severely than the Genii appear to sport with each other.

This work is a thin quarto publication of twenty pages, elegantly printed by Hamilton, and hot-pressed in the usual luxury of modern productions. It is decorated with fourteen plates, or etchings, in outline, of subjects designed by the late daughter of the lord chief baron Macdonald,* and on which the poems are professedly written. How far the author is happy in the choice of her title, may be questioned; since we are unacquainted with any principle of Rosicrucian philosophy which gives to Cupid and his comrades the appellation of "Genii"—an appellation which we believe is almost exclusively confined to those beings who inhabit the regions of Faery Land, and who serve to create and conduct the heroes and heroines of romance.

Of the poems, the first, consisting of ten verses, "To the Memory of Susan Macdonald," is written with the greatest smoothness of metre and sweetness of imagery. Perhaps the reader will not object to judge for himself.

"If Conzens from his blots could form
A landscape, cataract, or storm,
Why may not we, with equal ease,
Make forms to think just as we please?
Amongst the common sons of earth,
The passion gives the action birth;
But we, reversing nature's laws,
Make the effect precede the cause."

In the third, "Cupid's Holiday,"† among many elegant lines, we are surprised to stumble on the following uncouth stanza:

* With the exception of the first, which is by a professed artist, Mr. Masquerier.

† Written January 25, 1797, the birth-day of the princess Charlotte of Wales.

"No roses scent the chilly air,
No blushing pink, or lily fair—
And, for your hot-house plants,
Supposing one could gain admission,
'Tis only fit for a physician
To seek their sickly haunts."

The two designs that accompany this poem are extremely beautiful.

"The Triumph," along with two equally elegant designs, is among the best specimens of the author's manner. We extract it with pleasure.

"Indifference brav'd the god of love,
And proudly bid him shoot his best;
For he his keenest shaft would prove,
And turn his godship to a jest:

For, drench'd in Lethe's sullen stream,
No thought return'd, the flame to feed:
No wishes pain'd the waking dream;
No hopes are born, nor fears succeed.

'For me, thy golden shafts prepare;
'Thy fond affections grant to me;
'I wish to know thy tender care,'—
Cry'd kneeling sensibility.

Love cares not for any easy prey:
He drew his arrow to the head:
The feather'd shaft flew swift away,
And by the chance of war it sped.

Finding a vulnerable place
Close to the heart, it quickly pass'd;
Self-love had occupied the space,
But now was driven out at last.

Subdu'd indifference now no more
Shall e'er resume his careless rest;
Nor can the fates again restore
The ice that melted in his breast.

See where, on Cupid's altar, lies
Fresh buds of hope and fancy flow'rs;
A hecatomb of tender sighs,
And tears that fall in plenteous show'rs.

The laughing loves loud clap their wings;
The triumph gaily moving on.
Around the jocund chorus sings,
'Love's victory is fairly won.'

In "Love and Impatience" we are somewhat startled at meeting with a personification of a *Quarter of an Hour*. The passage is as follows:

"Passing a solitary bow'r
They spy'd a *Quarter of an Hour*
Glide lazily and slowly on.
He dragged a *sithe*—&c."

This being is painted with "infant wings scarcely grown." The idea may be ingenious; but to what unbounded licence of metaphor and simile would the sanction of such a personification give rise! Old Time is usually drawn with a *sithe* and a glass, with a flowing beard and bald forehead; but if the poet's eye can depicture "a quarter of an hour," and the painter's pencil delineate it, what shall we say to some future attempt at describing a person called a "*Minute*," or a "*Moment*?" The conclusion of this poem presents us with a very mutilated verse.

"Poor Impatience cut his fingers."

The "Epilogue," written in the measure of the song of Shakespeare's elves round their fairy queen, Titania, reproves us for our animadversions, in the following sprightly verses.

"Critics sharp, with brow severe,
Our small volume come not near:
Authors grave, and learn'd and wise,
Never this way turn your eyes."

Notwithstanding the admonition in the last verse, it will be seen, that without aspiring to any extraordinary gravity, learning, or wisdom, we have ventured to "turn our eyes" towards the Sports of those Genii which owe their creation to the pencil of Miss Macdonald, and the pen of Mrs. John Hunter. The former is no more; but her designs are now framed in measures which give pleasure to the curious, and solace to the good.

It is needless to add that what comes from the pen of the widow of the great John Hunter will always meet with a warm reception from those who know the excellences of her head and the virtues of her heart. The imperfections we have noticed are but as slight stains on delicate satin-work: the flowers will preserve their lustre, though the back-ground be partially soiled.

We have only to repeat that the designs are delicate and beautiful; and that the work is likely to become a choice *morceau* with the curious.

ART. XLIX.—*A Selection of Poems, designed chiefly for Schools and Young Persons.* By JOSEPH COTTE.

IN this selection there is far too great a proportion of Young, Cowper, Thomson, and Goldsmith, and several of the pieces

from modern writers are by no means calculated for young persons at school.

CHAPTER X.

DRAMATIC POETRY AND PLAYS.

THE only articles in this Chapter that deserve notice as works of literature, are an excellent edition of Massinger's dramas, by Mr. Gifford, and an anonymous translation of Lessing's celebrated "Nathan." The short account that we have given of last year's crop of plays for the theatres may be considered as ancient history, for the subjects of which they treat have been dead long enough to be quite forgotten.

ART. I.—*The Plays of Philip Massinger, in Four Volumes. With Notes critical and explanatory. By W. GIFFORD, Esq. 6 Vols. 8vo.*

THIS is the best edition of an English dramatist that we have ever seen: the editor has done every thing which was necessary, and nothing more.

Of the life of Massinger little is known. He was born at Salisbury in 1584, entered at St. Alban's-hall, Oxford, in 1602, and had no other means of supporting himself than by writing for the stage till 1640, when he died, after a life of uncomplaining poverty and honourable exertion. How poor a support this could have been Mr. Gifford has shown: the price paid by the theatres for the copy of a play, fluctuated between ten and twenty pounds; the other method of disposing of a new piece, by accepting a benefit in payment, was less frequent, because it very seldom produced more, and might very probably produce less. There remained the profits of publication: the customary price paid by the publisher in Shakspeare's time was twenty nobles (6l. 13s. 4d.); at a somewhat later period Mr. Gifford thinks it may have been a third more: we should rather suspect that it had not increased, on account of the spread of puritanism. It is not however possible, that Massinger could, in his most successful year, have received above fifty pounds, and in all-probability it usually fell far short of this, for many of his pieces were unsuccessful: only twelve were published in his life.

time, and two of these were not wholly his own. Indeed it appears by his dedications that he could not have subsisted but for the occasional bounty of his friends. "In this precarious state of dependance," says the editor, "passed the life of a man who is charged with no want of industry, suspected of no extravagance, and whose works were, at that very period, the boast and delight of the stage."

"It is surely somewhat singular that of a man of such eminence nothing should be known. What I have presumed to give is merely the history of the successive appearance of his works; and I am aware of no source from whence any additional information can be derived: no anecdotes are recorded of him by his contemporaries, few casual mentions of his name occur in the writings of the time, and he had not the good fortune which attended many of less eminence, to attract attention at the revival of dramatic literature from the deathlike torpor of the interregnum. But though we are ignorant of every circumstance respecting Massinger, but that he lived and died, we may yet form to ourselves some idea of his personal character from the incidental hints scattered through his works. In what light he was regarded may be collected from the recom mendatatory poems prefixed to his several plays, in which the language of his panegyrists, though warm, expresses an attachment apparently derived not so much from his talents as his virtues: he is, as Davies has observed, their beloved,

much-esteemed, dear, worthy, deserving, honoured, long-known, and long-loved friend, &c. &c. All the writers of his life unite in representing him as a man of singular modesty, gentleness, candour, and affability; nor does it appear that he ever made or found an enemy. He speaks indeed of opponents on the stage, but the contention of rival candidates for popular favour must not be confounded with personal hostility. With all this, however, he appears to have maintained a constant struggle with adversity; since not only the stage, from which, perhaps, his natural reserve prevented him from deriving the usual advantages, but even the bounty of his particular friends, on which he chiefly relied, left him in a state of absolute dependance. Jonson, Fletcher, Shirley, and others, not superior to him in abilities, had their periods of good fortune, their bright as well as their stormy hours; but Massinger seems to have enjoyed no gleam of sunshine; his life was all one wintry day, and 'shadows, clouds, and darkness,' rested upon it.

"Davies finds a servility in his dedications which I have not been able to discover; they are principally characterised by gratitude and humility, without a single trait of that gross and servile adulation which distinguishes and disgraces the addresses of some of his contemporaries. That he did not conceal his misery, his editors appear inclined to reckon among his faults; he bore it, however, without impatience, and we only hear of it when it is relieved. Poverty made him no flatterer, and, what is still more rare, no maligner of the great: nor is one symptom of envy manifested in any part of his compositions.

"His principles of patriotism appear irreprehensible: the extravagant and slavish doctrines which are found in the dramas of his great contemporaries make no part of his creed, in which the warmest loyalty is skillfully combined with just and rational ideas of political freedom. Nor is this the only instance in which the rectitude of his mind is apparent; the writers of his day abound in recommendations of suicide; he is uniform in the reprehension of it, with a single exception, to which, perhaps, he was led by the peculiar turn of his studies." Guilt of every kind is usually left to the punishment of divine justice: even the wretched Malefort excuses himself to his son on his supernatural appearance, because the latter was not marked out by heaven for his mother's avenger; and the young, the brave, the pious Charalois accounts his death fallen upon him by the will of heaven, because "he made himself a judge in his own cause."

"But the great, the glorious distinction of Massinger, is the uniform respect with which he treats religion and its ministers, in an age when it was found necessary to add regulation to regulation, to stop the growth of impiety on the stage. No priests are introduced by him, 'to set on some quantity of barren spectators' to laugh at their licentious follies;

the sacred name is not lightly invoked, nor daringly sported with; nor is scripture profaned by buffoon allusions lavishly put into the mouths of fools and women."

It might have been expected that the earl of Pembroke would have befriended Massinger, whose father had been in his service, more especially as the earl was the great patron of the drama. Mr. Gifford thinks the cause of this alienation was that the poet became a catholic at the university: that he was such is so evident from his writings, that after it has once been intimated, no reader can entertain a doubt upon the subject.

Many of Massinger's plays have been lost. Twelve are said to have been destroyed by Mr. Warburton's servant. This modern, but innocent, Erasistratus, is so often mentioned, that some of our readers may thank us for relating the fact. Mr. Warburton, who was Somerset herald, had collected a great number of manuscript plays, which he lodged in the hands of an ignorant servant; giving the servant, as it appears, no intimation whatever of their value. After several years the gentleman thought of looking at his hoards, and he found that fifty-two had been used by the cook in covering his pies, and three only were left. "These," it is said, "are now in the library of the marquis of Lansdowne, where they will probably remain in safety, till moths, or damp, or fires, mingle their 'forgotten dust' with that of their late companions." They will probably remain there till some man of letters shall think proper to apply for permission either to transcribe or publish them.

"When it is considered at how trifling an expense a manuscript play may be placed beyond the reach of accident, the withholding it from the press will be allowed to prove a strange indifference to the ancient literature of the country. The fact, however, seems to be, that these treasures are made subservient to the gratification of a spurious rage for notoriety: it is not that any benefit may accrue from them either to the proprietors or others, that manuscripts are now hoarded, but that A or B may be celebrated for possessing what no other letter of the alphabet can hope to acquire. Nor is this all. The hateful passion of literary avarice (a compound of vanity and envy) is becoming epidemic, and branching out in every direction. It has many of the worst symptoms of that madness which once raged among the Dutch for the possession of tulips:—here, as well as in Holland, an artificial rarity is first created, and then made a plea for extortion, or a ground for low-minded

d selfish exultation. I speak not of never intended for sale, and of which, are, the owner may print as few or as many as his feelings will allow, but of those which, notwithstanding, prove the editors our under this odious disease. Here, a manuscript is brought forward, and a few copies are printed, the press is set up, that there may be a pretence for them at a price which none but a collector can reach: there, explanatory plates are engraved for a work of general use, and, as twenty or thirty impressions are set off, destroyed with gratuitous malice (deserves no other name), that there be a mad competition for the favoured few; to conclude, for this is no pleasant trade, books are purchased now at extravagant rates, not because they are good, but because they are scarce, so that a fire or anprising trunk-maker that should take off the whole of a worthless work, would thereby render the small remainder inva-

lue animadversions are just as far as apply; but there is a valid reason for having few copies of an old manuscript which Mr. Gifford has overlooked. Old books as he alludes to find but readers (the *Complaynt of Scotland* & *Tristrem* are probably meant); if a portion of the ordinary number of copies struck off, not one half will sell; or two hundred only be printed, must be "at a price which none but a collector can reach;" and the folly which is thus made of some cause these collectors, who would have paid the ordinary price for the book for its intrinsic value, willingly give the sum because it is scarce. Massinger has been more unfortunate than any of his contemporary dramatists. Forty-and-thirty plays attributed to him, eighteen have been preserved! He has indeed some little hope that "the rest may be recovered;" it is quoted in the *Parnassus*, which is comparative book, and it is more likely to be quoted from a printed than from a written copy. He bore a part in Fletcher's plays, and credit has been given him for this; but the fact is proved by a letter which Mr. Massinger discovered in Dulwich college, where Massinger and Field, and Robert Davenport request that five pounds from the sale of a play, which they had written with Fletcher, might be advanced, to save them from perishing in prison! I understand our unfortunate extre-

mitie," says the writer, "and I doe not thincke you so void of cristianitie, but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you, rather than endanger so many innocent lives."

There have been three collected editions of Massinger: the first was printed from Coxeter's papers by Dell, the bookseller, in 1759. Two years afterwards this was re-edited by Davies, to whom we are beholden for editions of many old poets. In 1777, another edition was published by Monck Mason, whose manifold blunders would not have escaped reprehension from any future editor, and most unfortunately for himself, his follower has been Mr. Gifford, the most unmerciful of men. The old editions have now been consulted, and the errors of these successive editors weeded out, so that the text is correct. Of the notes Mr. Gifford thus speaks.

"I never could conceive why the readers of our old dramatists should be suspected of labouring under a greater degree of ignorance than those of any other class of writers; yet, from the trite and insignificant materials amassed for their information, it is evident that a persuasion of this nature is uncommonly prevalent. Customs which are universal, and expressions 'familiar as household words' in every mouth, are illustrated, that is to say, overlaid, by an immensity of parallel passages, with just as much wisdom and reach of thought as would be evinced by him who, to explain any simple word in this list, should empty upon the reader all the examples to be found under it in Johnson's Dictionary.

"This cheap and miserable display of minute erudition grew up, in great measure, with Warton:—peace to his manes! the cause of sound literature has been fearfully avenged upon his head: and the knight-errant who, with his attendant Bowles, the dullest of all mortal squires, sallied forth in quest of the original proprietor of every common word in Milton, has had his copulatives and disjunctives, his *buts* and his *ands*, sedulously ferretted out from all the school-books in the kingdom. As a prose writer, he will long continue to instruct and delight; but as a poet, he is buried—lost. He is not of the race of the Titans, nor does he possess sufficient vigour to shake off the weight of incumbent mountains.

"However this may be, I have proceeded on a different plan. Passages that only exercise the memory, by suggesting similar thoughts and expressions in other writers, are, if somewhat obvious, generally left to the reader's own discovery. Uncommon and obsolete words are briefly explained, and, where the phraseology was doubtful or obscure, it is illustrated and confirmed, by quo-

tations from contemporary authors. In this part of the work, no abuse has been attempted of the reader's patience: the most positive that could be found, are given, and a scrupulous attention is every where paid to brevity; as it has been always my persuasion,

'That where one's proofs are aptly chosen,
Four are as valid as four dozen.'

"I do not know whether it may be proper to add here, that the freedoms of the author (of which, as none can be more sensible than myself, so none can more lament them) have obtained little of my solicitude: those, therefore, who examine the notes with a prurient eye, will find no gratification of their licentiousness. I have called in no Amner to drivel out gratuitous obscenities in uncouth language; * no Collins (whose name should be devoted to lasting infamy) to ransack the annals of a brothel for secrets 'better hid;† where I wished not to detain the reader, I have been silent, and instead of aspiring to the fame of a licentious commentator, sought only for the quiet approbation with which the father or the husband may reward the faithful editor."

A few specimens will show the value of these annotations.

"—the Roman angel's] As angels were no part of the pagan theology, this should certainly be *angel* from the Italian *augello*, which means a bird.—M. MASON.

"It were to be wished that critics would sometimes apply to themselves the advice which Goneril gives to poor old Lear:

'I pray you, father, being weak, seem so;'
we should not then find so many of these *certainties*. The barbarous word *angel*, of which Mr. M. Mason speaks so confidently, is foreign from our language, whereas *angel*, in the sense of bird, occurs frequently. Jonson beautifully calls the nightingale, 'the dear good angel of the spring;' and if this should be thought, as it probably is, a Grecism; yet we have the same term in another passage, which will admit of no dispute:

"Not an angel of the air
Bird melodious, or bird fair, &c."

Two Noble Kinsmen.

"In Mandeville, the barbarous Herodotus of a barbarous age, there is an account of a

* "In uncouth language;] It is singular that Mr. Steevens, who was so well acquainted with the words of our ancient writers, should be so ignorant of their style. The *angel* which he has put into the mouth of Amner is a barbarous jumble of different ages, that had, and never could have, a prototype."

† "One book which (not being, perhaps, among the archives so carefully explored by the youthful readers of Shakspeare) seems to have escaped the notice of Collins, may yet be safely commended to his future researches, as not unlikely to reward his pains. He will find in it, among many other things equally valuable, that, 'The ledge of wickedness is not wisdom, neither, at any time, the counsel of sinners prudent.' Eccles. xix. 22.

people (probably the remains of the Guebres) who exposed the dead bodies of their parents to the 'fowles of the air.' The reserved, however, the skulls, of which, he, the son 'let the make a cuppe, thereof drynke the he with great devotion, remembrance of the holy man that the angels of God han eten.'

"By this expression," says Mr. Hall, "Mandeville possibly meant to insinuate that they were considered as sacred images." No, surely: 'aungles of God,' is synonymous in Mandeville's vocabulary, with 'fowles of the air.' With Greek phraseology he was, perhaps, but little acquainted, but knew his own language well.

"—for their own defence,
At court should feed in gauntlets, they have

Their fingers cut else:] Here is the basis for which Quin was so much celebrated; 'at city feasts it was neither safe nor prudent to help one's self without a basket-knife.' Massinger got it, I suppose, from Barclay's second Eclogue, which has merit for the time in which it was written.

'If the dishe be pleasunt eyther fish or fische,

Ten handes at once swarme in the dish
To put there thy handes is peril without
Without a gauntlet, or els a glove of
Among all those knives, thou one of
must have,

Or els it is harde thy fingers to save.'
Where Barclay found it, I cannot tell; there is something of the kind in Lucan's Laertius. 'There is nothing new under the sun!'"

"Mont. I required not
To be sought to this poor way:] So the copy: the modern editors, ignorant of the language of the time, arbitrarily exchange *in* for *in*, and thus pervert the sense. To *in*, is to supplicate, entreat, have recourse to, &c. which is the meaning of the text.

"There was a book, much read by our ancestors, from which, as being the parent head of English prose, they derived a number of phrases that have sorely puzzled our descendants. This book, which is still in existence, is the Bible: and I venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that those old-fashioned people who have not read it well, are as competent judges of the value of our ancient writers, as most of

vorers of black literature, from Theobald to Steevens. The expression in the text frequently occurs in it: 'And Asa was diseased in his feet—yet in his disease he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians.'"—2 Chron. xvi. 12.

"—your lord, by his patent, stands bound to take his rouse.] This word has never been properly explained. It occurs in Hamlet, where it is said by Steevens, as well as Johnson, to mean a quantity of liquor rather too large: the latter derives it from *rusch*, half-drunken, Germ. while he brings *carouse* from *gar aus*, all out! Rouse and carouse, however, like *rye* and *rebye*, are but the reciprocation of the same action, and must therefore be derived from the same source. A rouse was a large glass ('not past a pint,' as Iago says) in which a health was given, the drinking of which by the rest of the company formed a carouse. Barnaby Rutch is exceedingly angry with the inventor of this custom, which, however, with a laudable zeal for the honour of his country, he attributes to an Englishman, who, it seems, 'had his brains beat out with a pottlepot' for his ingenuity. 'In former ages,' says he, 'they had no conceit whereby to draw on drunkenness;' (Barnaby was no great historian), 'their best was, I drinke to you, and I pledge you, till at length some shallow-witted drunkard found out the carouse, an invention of that worth and worthiness as it is pitie the first founder was not hanged, that we might have found out his name in the antient record of the hangman's register.' English Hue and Cry, 1617, p. 24. It is necessary to add, that there could be no rouse or carouse, unless the glasses were emptied: 'The leader,' continues honest Barnaby, 'souples up his breath, turnes the bottom of the cuppe upward, and in ostentation of his dexteritie, gives it a phylip, to make it cry tyngle!' *id.*

"In process of time, both these words were used in a laxer sense; but I believe that what is here advanced, will serve to explain many passages of our old dramatists, in which they occur in their primal and appropriate signification:

"Nor. I've ta'en, since supper,
A rouse or two too much, and by the gods
It warms my blood." *Knight of Malta.*

This proves that Johnson and Steevens were wrong: a rouse has here a fixed and determinate sense. In the colloquial language of the present day it would be a bumper or two too much. Again:

"Duke. Come, bring some wine. Here's to my sister, gentlemen,
A health, and mirth to all!
Archas. Pray fill it full, sir;
'Tis a high health to virtue. Here, lord Burris,
A maiden health!—

Duke. Go to, no more of this.
Archas. Take the rouse freely, sir,
'Twill warm your blood, and make you fit for
jollity." *The Loyal Subject.*

"A light lavolta with her.] What the dance here alluded to is, I cannot tell, nor can I find an explanation of the word in any dictionary. COXETER and M. MASON.

"That's a pity! Dictionaries, generally speaking, are not the places to look for terms of this kind, which should be sought in the kindred writings of contemporary authors. Lavota (literally, the turn) was a dance originally imported, with many others, from Italy. It is frequently mentioned by our old writers, with whom it was a favourite; and is so graphically described by sir John Davies, in his Orchestra, that all further attempts to explain it must be superfluous:

'Yet is there one, the most delightful kind,
A lofty jumping, or a leaping round,
Where, arm in arm, two dancers are entwined,
And whirl themselves in strict embraces
ments bound.'

"Our countrymen, who seem to be lineally descended from Sisyphus, and who, at the end of every century, usually have their work to do over again, after proudly importing from Germany the long-exploded trash of their own nurseries, have just brought back from the same country, and with an equal degree of exultation, the well-known lavolta of their grandfathers, under the mellifluous name of the waltz!"

Mr. Gifford accounts for the failure of 'the Picture,' when an attempt was made to revive it, by its magic: "We tolerate," he says, "no magic now but Shakespeare's." He is right as to the cause assigned, and wrong in the general inference. The magic of the Picture is to the ear only of the audience, and must be unintelligible to that large portion of the spectators in a modern theatre who can but half-hear the actors, and half-understand what they hear. The true reason why comedy has degenerated into farce, is to be found in the monopoly of the theatres, and their consequent size. But magic would be no obstacle to success, if but made sufficiently obvious: *incredulus odi* never has been said by the people, and never will be.

"—I could wish now
I were his leaguer laundress.] Mr. M. Mason reads his leiger landress; what he understood by it, I know not, but Corisca means his camp laundress.

"—While I lay
In the leaguer at Ardenness, he corrupts
'Two mercenary slaves,' &c. *Love's Victory.*
Leaguer is the Dutch, or rather Flemish, word for a camp; and was one of the new-fangled terms introduced from the Low Countries. This innovation on the English language is excellently noticed by sir John Smythe, in Certain Discourses concerning the Forimes and Effects of divers Sorts of Wea-

pons, &c. 4to. 1590. 'These,' (the officers mentioned before) 'utterly ignorant of all our ancient discipline, and proceedings in actions of arms, have so affected the Wallons, Flemings, and base Almanes discipline, that they have procured to innovate, or rather to subvert all our ancient proceedings in matters military:—as, for example, they will not vouchsafe in their speeches or writings to use our termes belonging to matters of warre, but doo call a campe by the Dutch name of legar; nor will not aford to say that such a towne or such a fort is besieged, but that it is beleagard:—as though our English nation, which hath been so famous in all actions militarie manie hundred yeares, were now but newly crept into the world; or as though our language were so barren, that it were not able of itself, or by derivation to afford convenient words to utter, our minds in matters of that qualitie.'

"I cannot avoid adding my wishes that our officers would reflect a little on these sensible observations: there is now a greater affectation than ever, of introducing French military phrases into our army; the consequences of which may be more important than they seem to imagine."

Sir John Smythe might have added, that in the days of the Black Prince, our military phrases were the fashion wherever he carried his arms.

"Ric. Oh! no more of stones, We have been used too long like hawks already."

Ubal. We are not so high in our flesh now to need casting,

We will come to an empty fist.] To understand this, it will be necessary to have recourse to the treatises on the 'noble science of hawking.'—'When the hawk will come to the lure, then give her every night stones, till you find her stomach good: after that, profer her casting, to make her cleanse and purge her gorge.' *The Gentleman's Recreation*, p. 135.

"Humanity has seldom obtained a greater triumph than in the abolition of this most execrable pursuit, compared to which, cock-fighting and bull-baiting are innocent amusements: and this not so much on account of the game killed in the open field, as of the immense number of domestic animals sacrificed to the instruction of the hawk. The blood runs cold while we peruse the calm directions of the brutal falconer, to impale, tie down, fasten by the beak, break the legs and wings of living pigeons, hens, and sometimes herons, for the hourly exercise of the hawk, who was thus enabled to pull them to pieces without resistance."

Of all the writers, ancient or modern, who have spoken of hawking, Mr. Gifford is the only one who has noticed its

detestable barbarity! so does the very name of sport reconcile us to cruelty!

Vol. iii. 510. "An *abram-ma* was an impudent impostor, who, under the garb and appearance of a lunatic, rambled about the country, and compelled, as Decker says, the servants of small families to give him, through fear, whatever he demanded." One should imagine, by the phrase of *sham-abram*, that originally it must have meant one really lunatic: that the phrase is still common the song shows,

"*Sham-abram* you may,
But you must not sham Abraham Newland."

"—I have heard, how true
I know not, most physicians, as they grow
Greater in skill, grow less in their religion;
Attributing so much to natural causes,
That they have little faith in that they
cannot,

Deliver reason for.] The history of mankind unfortunately furnishes too many instances of this melancholy fact, to permit a doubt on the subject. Let it be added, however, that they chiefly occur among the half-informed of the profession: several of whom, as they have grown yet greater in skill, have, to their praise, renounced their scepticism with their confidence, and increased no less in piety than in knowledge. Ben Jonson observes, with his usual force and perspicuity:

"Rut is a young physician to the family,
That, letting God alone, ascribes to nature
More than her share; licentious in discourse,

And in his life a profest voluptuary;
The slave of money, a buffoon in manners,
Obscene in language, which he vents for wit,

And saucy in his logics and disputing."

Magnetic Lull.

"I have no propensity to personal satire, nor do I think it just to convert an ancient author into a libellist, by an appropriation of his descriptions to modern characters; yet I must, for once, be indulged with saying, that almost every word here delivered applies so forcibly to a late physician, that it requires some evidence to believe the lines were written nearly two centuries ago. To lessen the wonder, however, it may be observed that, from the days of Dr. Rut to those of Dr. D—n, that description of men who, letting God alone, ascribe to nature more than her share, have been commonly licentious, petulant, and obscene buffoons."

This is indeed an extraordinary note: we are assured, by Mr. Gifford himself, that he has no propensity to personal satire! If there be one man living who has indulged in it with more rancour than another, it is Mr. Gifford. Were this gentleman's character to be estimated only

from his writings, Massinger's own lines might be applied to him :

"Of a little thing

It is so full of gall! a devil of this size,
Should they run for a wager to be spiteful,
Gets not a horse-head of him."

Even in the present work this propensity is too manifest. It would have been enough to have called poor Monck Mason blockhead once for all, and simply noticed his blunders as they occurred: we have heard of crows pecking at a dead lion; but here is an eagle mangling a dead jack-ass!

Remarks upon each play are subjoined by Dr. Ireland, of whom the editor speaks in language which shows that his friendships are as warm as his hatred. They have all the foolish fault of giving you the moral of the play: we have never liked "applications" since we read Croxall's Æsop at school. Dr. Ireland might have kept his morality for his sermons. It is by the habit of mind which it induces, that poetry of any kind is morally beneficial; not by inculcating any ethic aphorism, which Epictetus or the Proverbs do to better purpose. The general summary of Massinger's merits is of more value; but to this we shall recur again.

The accuracy of this edition gives it a decided advantage over the former ones; indeed it renders them comparatively worthless. But it has another advantage over them, for it contains a play never before printed. The manuscript was communicated by Mr. Malone; several leaves were torn from the beginning, and the top and bottom of every page wasted by damp; the first two or three scenes therefore are wanting, and a few occasional lines; but the chasms are not of much importance. This play, which is entitled "the Parliament of Love," is indisputably Massinger's, and bears every mark of his style.

"With Massinger terminated the triumph of dramatic poetry; indeed, the stage itself survived him but a short time. The nation was convulsed to its centre by contending factions, and a set of austere and gloomy fanatics, enemies to every elegant amusement, and every social relaxation, rose upon the ruins of the state. Exasperated by the ridicule with which they had long been covered by the stage, they persecuted the actors with unrelenting severity, and consigned them, together with the writers, to hopeless obscurity and wretchedness. Taylor died in the extreme of poverty, Shirley opened a little

school, and Lowin, the boast of the stage, kept an alehouse at Brentford:

"*Balneolum Gabiis, furnos conducere Roma*

Tentarunt!—

Others, and those the far greater number, joined the royal standard, and exerted themselves with more gallantry than good fortune in the service of their old and indulgent master.

"We have not yet, perhaps, fully estimated, and certainly not yet fully recovered, what was lost in that unfortunate struggle. The arts were rapidly advancing to perfection under the fostering wing of a monarch who united in himself taste to feel, spirit to undertake, and munificence to reward. Architecture, painting, and poetry, were by turns the objects of his paternal care. Shakspeare was his, 'closet companion,' Jonson his poet, and in conjunction with Inigo Jones, his favoured architect, produced those magnificent entertainments which, though modern refinement may affect to despise them, modern splendour never reached even in thought.

"That the tyranny of the commonwealth should sweep all this away, was to be expected: the circumstance not less to be wondered at than regretted is, that when the revival of monarchy afforded an opportunity for restoring every thing to its pristine place, no advantage should be taken of it. Such, however, was the horror created in the general mind, by the perverse and unsocial government from which they had so fortunately escaped, that the people appear to have anxiously avoided all retrospect; and with Prynne and Vicars, to have lost sight of Shakspeare and 'his fellows.' Instead, therefore, of taking up dramatic poetry (for to this my subject confines me) where it abruptly ceased in the labours of Massinger, they elicited, as it were, a manner of their own, or fetched it from the heavy monotony of their continental neighbours. The ease, the elegance, the simplicity, the copiousness, of the former period, were as if they had never been; and jangling and blustering declamation took place of nature, truth, and sense. Even criticism, which, in the former reign, had been making no inconsiderable progress under the influence and direction of the great masters of Italy, was now diverted into a new channel, and only studied in the puny and jejune cautions of their unworthy followers, the French."

After the Restoration Massinger was neglected. The Virgin Martyr and the Renegado indeed were immediately revived; the choice, as it appears to us, must have been made to please the court, and serve the cause of catholicism. Betterton afterwards, brought forward the Bondman and the Roman Actor; the latter, the worst of all his plays in its structure; the former the most pleasing

From this time Massinger disappeared, till Rowe revised his works, designing to edit them; instead of performing this useful design, he stole from them the *Fair Penitent*, and has lost more credit by his disingenuity, than he gained by the success of the theft. At length Coxeter's edition appeared. Still Massinger's merit was not understood: we had not yet purged ourselves of the infection of French taste, with which the country had been polluted from the Restoration. As a literary curiosity, we present our readers with the review of Coxeter's edition by Goldsmith.

"Massinger was a dramatic poet, contemporary with Beaumont and Fletcher, and about twenty years later than Shakspeare; yet, if we compare the style of each, the former will seem more ancient, at least by a century. We are to regard the time in which this poet wrote, as a period when polite learning was little encouraged; for school-philosophy, the foe of common sense, was still in fashion. A few of the nobility who had travelled, and whose taste had been formed in Italy, then the centre of all politeness, gave our English writers, whom nevertheless they but slightly esteemed, some small encouragement. These patrons, however, were but few; and the rest of the audience was composed of persons who came to a play with the same taste, and the same expectations, that we see the mob now repair to a puppet-show. Those who went by the name of the learned, laymen as well as divines, were engaged in controversial divinity, neglected poetry as a trifling amusement, and regarded plays, unless they were wrote in Latin, with the utmost contempt. What, therefore, could be expected from performances calculated to amuse such an audience? Nothing less than a genius like Shakspeare's could make plays wrote to the taste of those times pleasing now; a man whose beauties seem rather the result of chance than design; who, while he laboured to satisfy his audience with monsters and mummery, seemed to throw in his inimitable beauties as trifles into the bargain. Massinger, however, was not such a man; he seldom rises to any pitch of sublimity, and yet it must be owned is never so incorrigibly absurd, as we often find his predecessor. His performances are all crowded with incident, but want character; the genuine mark of genius in a dramatic poet. In our days it is probable he might make a very judicious poet; he might preserve every unity, prepare his incidents,

work up his plot, and give us a piece as coolly correct, or as unfeelingly boisterous, as the best tragedy-maker of them all. What mighty reason our editor had to disturb his repose, we cannot see at present, especially as his best pieces have been already published in Dodsley's collection. A poet whose works have been forgotten so soon after publication, when his language was modern, and his humour new, must surely cut but an indifferent figure, brought back to light again in an age when his diction is become antiquated, and the highest sallies of his humour forced, for want of models to compare them by. There are, however, a set of readers, who, being half critics and half antiquarians, will be apt to regard what may be displeasing to others as beauties. Such will lay his antiquity against his faults, and pardon the one for sake of the other."

Such was the contemptuous opinion which Goldsmith ventured to express of a writer whose works we may be assured he did not take the trouble to read. He probably went through the *Virgin Martyr* which stands first, disliked its machinery, was disgusted at its disgusting buffoonery, and perceiving that, in its better parts, the blank verse was not to the tune of the *Fair Penitent*, and *Tancred and Sigismunda*, sat down and reviewed Massinger.

It is not difficult to assign Massinger his rank among our dramatists. In the structure of his plays he is inferior to Ben Jonson, whose better comedies may be regarded as perfect models; in poetical powers, which are quite distinct from dramatic, he is inferior to Fletcher; but, upon the average of his merits, he must be placed above both. His language—but Dr. Ireland has characterised it; and where we do not differ from him, it is neither prudent nor decorous to prefer our own language to his.

"It is truly surprising that the genius which produced these plays should have obtained so little notice from the world. It does not appear that in any age since his own Massinger has been ranked among the principal writers for the stage. Rarely have any of his pieces been acted; and dramatic criticism has been unwilling to mention his name. It has attributed variety and greatness of character to Shakspeare and Fletcher, as if Massinger had never existed, or were entitled to none of this praise. It has objected to the clenches and bombast which disfigure the scenes of our great bard, as if it were no credit to Massinger that he has little of the one and less of the

other; and it has lamented the too close and laboured language of Jonson, without observing that the language of Massinger is some of the most chaste and flowing which the English stage can boast. One of his characteristic qualities is his style; and, on this account he is entitled to a portion of the praise which has followed the names of Beaumont and Fletcher. It is obvious, that he seldom, if ever, approaches the harsh compactness of Jonson; and he is free from certain peculiarities which too often cloud the poetry of Shakspeare. The construction of his sentences is direct and uninvolved, even in the most solemn and passionate of his scenes; and rarely does he seek for uncommon meanings by forcing his words upwards to their original sources. He is content with their usual acceptation, and does not attempt to heighten poetic effect either by inversion or a strange use of current terms."

"Another of the peculiarities of Massinger arises from the management of his plot. The reader must have observed, in too many instances, with what rapidity the story is carried on, with what neglect of time and place, and, not unfrequently, of character itself. This indeed was not usual with other writers of that age. What distinguishes Massinger, is his carefulness of memory amidst his neglect of probability. He does not fall into hurry of scene through inadvertence. He draws a plan of his irregularities before he enters upon the execution of them. This appears from the caution with which they are introduced; for some of the strangest incidents which are to befall his characters are pointed out by early strokes and studied intimations."

The morals of Massinger are better than those of his contemporaries, though nothing can be more beastly than his language. Mr. Gifford has well remarked, that these vigorous powers of genius, which carry men far beyond the literary state of their age, do not enable them to outgo that of its manners. But while he inserted ribaldry for his audience, he felt no predilection for vice; no vicious character is ever his favourite; he uniformly exposes them to hatred or contempt.

He is the only dramatic poet of his age quite free from profaneuess; this must be attributed to the excellence of his nature, not to his religion: whoever is acquainted with catholicism, and with the catholic poets, will be convinced of this. But it is to his religion that that spirit of freedom is to be imputed, which is to be found in none of his contemporaries.

"The political character of Massinger is very creditable to him. His allusions to the public events of the times are not unfrequent;

and they are such as to shew him a man of honesty and spirit. He ridicules, with successful humour, the weak and licentious fops who infested the court. He indignantly exposes the system of favouritism, which was so injurious to the country in the reign of James, and lashes the easy or corrupt grant of monopolies with the honest views of a patriot. In return, he takes a pleasure in contrasting the loyalty of the true friends of the throne with the interested services of common courtiers. He also endeavours to correct the profligate facility with which a personal devotion was pledged to the sovereign, and glances at the thoughtless or fallacious offers of 'lives and fortunes.' The dreadful events which took place not long after the expression of these sentiments throw an unusual interest over them; and we are persuaded by his personal satire, as well as by the open praises which he liberally bestows on his country, how strong and sincere was the patriotism of Massinger. It is observable too, that he does not bend to the slavish doctrine which was inculcated by so many other writers of the age; but, while he preserves a firm and substantial reverence to the throne, he watches over the actions of the sovereign, and distinguishes between his just authority and the arbitrary excesses of it."

This Massinger learnt from the jesuits. Every religious sect which unites itself with the state, is favourable either to despotism or revolution, as it suits its interests. The catholics were the first moderns who justified tyrannicide, and the presbyterians brought back Charles II. The established clergy concurred with Charles I. in every act of tyranny, and they expelled his son.

In delineation of character he has not often been surpassed, but it happens unfortunately that the character which he has most forcibly delineated is so detestable, that we turn from him with loathing.

"He does not soar to the heights of fancy; he dwells among men, and describes their business and their passions with judgment, feeling, and discrimination. He has a justness of principle which is admirably fitted to the best interests of human life; and I know no writer of his class from whom more maxims of prudence, morality, or religion, may be drawn. He is eminently successful in representing the tender attachment of virtuous love, and in maintaining the true delicacy and dignity of the female character; and in general he displays a warmth of zeal on the side of goodness which at once pleases and elevates the reader."

A general collection of all our dramatists of the first age would be very acceptable

He lend? Therein his very wisdom lies,
That he lends no one.

Sittah. Formerly thou gavst
A very different picture of this Nathan.

Haji. In case of need he'll lend you merchandise,

But money, money, never. He's a jew,
There are but few such! he has understanding,
Knows life, plays chess; but is in bad notorious

Above his brethren, as he is in good.
On him rely not. To the poor indeed
He vies perhaps with Saladin in giving:
Tho' he distributes less, he gives as freely,
Assilently, as nobly, to jew, christian,
Mahometan, or parsee—'tis all one.

Sittah. And such a man should be—
Saladin. How comes it then
I never heard of him?

Sittah. Should be unwilling
To lend to Saladin, who wants for others,
Not for himself?

Haji. Aye there peeps out 'the jew,
The ordinary jew. Believe me, prince,
He's jealous, really envious of your giving.
To earn God's favour seems his very business.
He lends not, that he may always have to give.
The law commandeth mercy, not compliance:
And thus for mercy's sake he's uncomplaining.
'Tis true, I am not now on the best terms
With Nathan, but, I must intreat you, think
not

That therefore I would do injustice to him.
He's good in every thing; but not in that—
Only in that. I'll knock at other doors.
I just have recollect'd an old moor,
Who's rich and covetous—I go—I go.

Sittah. Why in such hurry, Haji?

Saladin. Let him go.

SALADIN and SITTAH.

Sittah. He hastens, like a man, who would
escape me;

Why so? Was he indeed deceiv'd in Nathan,
Or does he play upon us?

Saladin. Can I guess?

I scarcely know of whom you have been
talking.

And hear to-day, for the first time, of Nathan.

Sittah. Is't possible the man were hid from
these,

Of whom, 'tis said, he has found out the tombs
Of Solomon and David, knows the word
That lifts their marble lids, and thence obtains
The golden oil that feeds his shining pomp.

Saladin. Were this man's wealth by miracle
created,

'Tis not at David's tomb, or Solomon's,
That 'twould be wrought. Not virtuous men
lie there.

Sittah. His source of opulence is more pro-
ductive,

And more exhaustless than a cave of Mammon.

Saladin. He trades, I hear.

Sittah. His ships fill every harbour;
His caravans thro' every desert toil.
This has Al-Haji told me long ago:
With transport adding then—how nobly Na-
than

Bestows what he esteems it not a meanness
By prudent industry to have justly earn'd—
How free from prejudice his lofty soul—
His heart to every virtue how unlock'd—
With every lovely feeling how familiar."

Nathan meantime finds the Templar
walking among the palms. He accosts
him, and is at first as rudely repulsed as
Daya had often been.

Nathan. My name is Nathan, father to the
maid
Your generous courage snatch'd from circling
flames,

And hasten—

Templar. If with thanks, keep, keep them
all:

Those little things I've had to suffer much
from:

Too much already, far. And, after all,
You owe me nothing. Was I ever told
She was your daughter? 'Tis a templar's duty
To rush to the assistance of the first
Poor wight that needs him; and my life just
then

Was quite a burden. I was mighty glad
To risk it for another, tho' it were
That of a jewess.

Nathan. Noble, and yet shocking!
The turn might be expected. Modest great-
ness

Wears willingly the mask of what is shocking
To scare off admiration: but, altho'
She may disdain the tribute, admiration,
Is there no other tribute she can bear with?
Knight, were you here not foreign, not a
captive,

I would not ask so freely. Speak, command,
In what can I be useful?

Templar. You—in nothing.

Nathan. I'm rich.

Templar. To me the richer jew ne'er seem'd
The better jew.

Nathan. Is that a reason why
You should not use the better part of him,
His wealth?

Templar. Well, well, I'll not refuse it
wholly,
For my poor mantle's sake—when that is
thread-bare,

And spite of darning will not hold together,
I'll come and borrow cloth, or money of thee,
To make me up a new one. Don't look so
lemn;

The danger is not pressing; 'tis not yet
At the last gasp, but tight and strong and good,
Save this poor corner, where an ugly spot
You see is sing'd upon it. It got sing'd
As I bore off your daughter from the fire."

The jew, however, gets the better of
the christian's prejudices, and forces him
to kindlier feelings: he asks his name, and
is startled at hearing Conrade of Stauffen.
Nathan's manner and his enquiries half
offend the Templar, who leaves him,
saying,

"The searching eye
Finds often more than it desires to see.
I fear it, Nathan. Fare thee well. Let time,
Not curiosity, make us acquainted."

The sultan sends for Nathan. Hafi
comes to him, rejoicing that this is not his
fault:

"God knows I am not guilty, knows I said—
What said I not of thee—belied thee—slander'd—
To ward it off!"

He declares he will stay no longer in so
intolerable an office, but join the dervises
again, and actually departs. Nathan goes
to the palace; while the Templar, as he
had promised him, visits Recha; and be-
comes immediately and passionately ena-
mour'd of her.

The report of Nathan's wisdom has
taken more hold of Saladin's mind, than
the hope of borrowing from his riches.
He questions him which is the best faith:
it is in vain that Nathan answers, "Sultan
I am a Jew!" the question is pressed upon
him, and the Jew requests permission to
relate a tale. The hint is from Boccaccio,
though probably of eastern origin. We
give it at length, because it was to incul-
cate the purport of this apologue that the
play was written.

"Nathan. In days of yore, there dwelt in
east a man,
Who from a valued hand receiv'd a ring
Of endless worth: the stone of it an opal,
That shot an ever-changing tint: moreover,
It had the hidden virtue him to render
Of God and man belov'd, who in this view,
And this persuasion, wore it. Was it strange
The eastern man ne'er drew it off his finger,
And studiously provided to secure it
For ever to his house. Thus—He be-
queath'd it;

First, to the most beloved of his sons,
Ordin'd that he again should leave the ring
To the most dear among his children—and
That without breeding birth, the favourite son,
In virtue of the ring alone, should always
Reclaim the lord of the house—You hear me,
sultan?

Saladin. I understand thee—on.

Nathan. From son to son,
At length this ring descended to a father,
Who had three sons, alike obedient to him;
Whom therefore he could not but love alike.
At times seem'd this, now that, at times the
third,

(Accordingly as each apart receiv'd
The overflowings of his heart) most worthy
To heir the ring, which with goodnatur'd
weakness

He privately to each in turn had promis'd.
This went on for a while. But death ap-
proach'd,
And the good father grew embarrass'd. So

To disappoint two sons, who trust his pro-
mise,
He could not bear. What's to be done. He
sends

In secret to a jeweller, of whom,
Upon the model of the real ring,
He might bespeak two others, and com-
manded

To spare nor cost nor pains to make them
like,

Quite like the true one. This the artist ma-
nag'd.

The rings were brought, and e'en the father's
eye

Could not distinguish which had been the
model.

Quite overjoy'd he summons all his sons,
Takes leave of each apart, on each bestows
His blessing and his ring, and dies—Thou
hearest me?

Saladin. I hear, I hear, come finish with
thy tale;

Is it soon ended?

Nathan. It is ended, sultan,
For all that follows may be guess'd of course.
Scarce is the father dead, each with his ring
Appears, and claims to be the lord o' th'
house.

Comes question, strife, complaint—all to no
end;

For the true ring could no more be distin-
guish'd

Than now can—the true faith.

Saladin. How, how, is that
To be the answer to my query?

Nathan. No,
But it may serve as my apology:

If I can't venture to decide between
Rings, which the father got expressly made,
That they might not be known from one
another.

Saladin. The rings—don't trifle with me;
I must think

That the religions which I nam'd can be
Distinguish'd, e'en to raiment, drink and
food.

Nathan. And only not as to their grounds
of proof.

Are not all built alike on history,
Tr.ditional, or written. History
Must be received on trust—is it not so?
In whom now are we likeliest to put trust?
In our own people surely, in those men
Whose blood we are, in them, who from our
childhood

Have given us proofs of love, who ne'er de-
ceiv'd us,

Unless 'twere wholesomer to be deceiv'd.
How can I less believe in my forefathers
Than thou in thine. How can I ask of thee
To own that thy forefathers falsified
In order to yield mine the praise of truth.
The like of christians.

Saladin. By the living God
The man is in the right, I must be silent.

Nathan. Now let us to our rings return
once more.

As said, the sons complain'd. Each to the
judge

Swore from his father's hand immediately
To have receiv'd the ring, as was the case;
After he had long obtain'd the father's promise,

One day to have the ring, as also was.
The father, each asserted, could to him
Not have been false, rather than so suspect
Of such a father, willing as he might be
With charity to judge his brethren, he
Of treacherous forgery was bold to accuse them.

Saladin. Well, and the judge, I am eager
now to hear
What thou wilt make him say. Go on, go on.

Nathan. The judge said, if ye summon
not the father

Before my seat I cannot give a sentence.
Am I to guess enigmas? Or expect ye
That the true ring should here unseal its lips?
But hold—you tell me that the real ring
Injoys the hidden power to make the wearer
Of God and man lov'd; let that decide.
Which of you do two brothers love the best?
You're silent. Do these love-exciting rings
Act inward only, not without? Does each
Love but himself? Ye're all deceiv'd deceivers,

None of your rings is true. The real ring
Perhaps is gone. To hide or to supply
Its loss, your father order'd three for one.

Saladin. O charming, charming!

Nathan. And (the judge continued)
If you will take advice in lieu of sentence
This is my counsel to you, to take up
The matter where it stands. If each of you
Has had a ring presented by his father,
Let each believe his own the real ring.
'Tis possible the father chose no longer
To tolerate the one ring's tyranny;
And certainly, as he much lov'd you all,
And lov'd you all alike, it could not please him

By favouring one to be of two the oppressor.
Let each feel honour'd by this free affection
Unward'd of prejudice; let each endeavour
To vie with both his brothers in displaying
The virtue of his ring; assist its might
With gentleness, benevolence, forbearance,
With inward resignation to the godhead,
And if the virtues of the ring continue
To show themselves among your children's children,

After a thousand thousand years, appear
Before this judgment-seat—a greater one
Than I shall sit upon it and decide.
So spake the modest judge.

Saladin.

God!

Nathan.

Saladin,

Feelst thou thyself this wiser, promis'd man?

Saladin. I dust, I nothing, God!"

After this Saladin will not ask for money, but Nathan offers it. He speaks of the Templar, and of his saving Recha. Saladin, who had forgotten him, bids Nathan fetch him. He had spared him from execution for his likeness to Assad a lost brother, and wishes Sittah to see him.

When Nathan comes the Templar asks impetuously for Recha as his wife: he will not answer favourably till he knows which of the Stauffens was his father; the Templar gives no direct reply; he leaves the Jew to infer that his name was Conrad, and that he was a Templar, and is offended at supposing that his illegitimacy should weigh with him. No sooner has Nathan departed than Daya enters to impart her secret, that Recha is a christian child; and to beseech him to take her, with his wife, when he shall have married her, to Europe. In his anger at Nathan he goes immediately to the patriarch, and asks him if a Jew should have brought up the daughter of christian parents in his own religion, what ought to be done. The patriarch answers the Jew is to be burnt; and says that if it be a real case which has happened in his diocese, he will call upon Saladin to enforce the laws, as bound to do by the terms of capitulation. The Templar, shocked at this, endeavours to make him understand it was a mere question of curiosity, but the patriarch suspects the truth, and sends his friar to search it out.

The Templar waits upon Saladin; Sittah compares his features with the picture of Assad (whom she had never seen) and is as much struck with the resemblance as her brother had been; the account given of this other brother, who is lost, not dead, prepares the reader for the catastrophe. Nathan is talked of, and the Templar says he is such a thorough Jew that he kidnaps christian children to bring them up in Judaism. This leads to a confession of his own fault in going to the patriarch, and to an account of Recha, which makes Sittah send for her.

The friar comes to Nathan; tells him some-one has whispered in the patriarch's ear that a Jew is educating a christian child as his own, and that it has roused his conscience; for he, eighteen years ago, had delivered to him the daughter of Leonard of Filack, then but a few weeks old.

"I was natural

If you meant to bring up the christian child
Right well, that you should rear it as your own;

And to have done this lovingly and truly,
For such a recompence—were horrible.

It might have been more prudent to have had it

Brought up at second hand by some good christian

In her own faith. But your friend's orphan child

You would not then have lov'd. Children need love,

Were it the mute affection of a brute,
More at that age than christianity.
There's always time enough for that—and if
The maid have but grown up before your
eyes

With a sound frame and pious—she remains
Still in her maker's eye the same. For is not
Christianity all built on judaism?
O, it has often vex'd me, cost me tears,
That christians will forget so often that
Our saviour was a Jew.

Nathan. You, my good brother,
Shall be my advocate, when bigot hate
And hard hypocrisy shall rise upon me—
And for a deed—a deed—thou, thou shalt
know it—

But take it with thee to the tomb. As yet
Has vanity ne'er tempted me to tell it
To living soul—only to thee I tell it,
To simple piety alone; for it
Alone can feel what deeds the man who
trusts

In God can gain upon himself.

Friar. You seem
Affected, and your eye-balls swim in water.

Nathan. 'Twas at Darun you met me
with the child;

But you will not have known that a few days
Before, the christians murdered every Jew in
Gath,

Woman and child; that among these, my
wife

With seven hopeful sons were found, who all
Beneath my brother's roof, which they had
fled to,

Were burnt alive.

Friar. Just God!

Nathan. And when you came,
Three nights had I in dust and ashes lain
Before my God and wept—aye, and at times
Arrain'd my maker, rag'd, and curs'd myself
And the whole world, and to christianity
sworn unrelenting hate.

Friar. Ah, I believe you.

Nathan. But by degrees returning reason
came,

She spake with gentle voice—And yet God is
And this was his decree—now exercise

What thou hast long imagin'd, and what
surely

Is not more difficult to exercise

Than to imagine—if thou wilt it once.

I rose and call'd out—God, I will—I will,
So thou but aid my purpose—And behold
You was just then dismounted, and presented
To me the child wrapt in your mantle. What

You said, or I, occurs not to me now—
Thus much I recollect—I took the child,

I bore it to my couch, I kit it, flung
Myself upon my knees and sobbed—my God,
Now have I one out of the seven again!

Friar. Nathan, you are a christian! Yes,
by God

You are a christian—never was a better.

Nathan. Heaven bless us—What makes
me to you a christian
Makes you to me a Jew."

The friar recollects that he has a book

which belonged to Leonard, which he
took from his bosom, when they were
burying him at Askalon, written full, in
Arabic: this he goes for. Recha is now
sent to the palace in obedience to Sittah,
and the treasure from Egypt arrives, which
relieves all Saladin's embarrassments.

The book which the friar communi-
cates relieves Nathan from his fear, and
from the burthen of secrecy. He meets
the Templar on his way to the palace,
who honestly tells him all he had done,
scrupling as little to acknowledge the fault
as he had done to commit it; and who
urges him to give him Recha, whether
she be his daughter or no, christian or
Jewess. He seems so perfectly convinced,
that bad vows are better broken than kept,
that his own seems never to occur to his
mind. Nathan replies, that thanks to the
patriarch, he now knows who she is, and
into whose hands to deliver her, for she
has a brother, whom they shall see at the
palace.

Recha has been made miserable on the
way by Daya. The good bigot, fearing
that there is some intention of marrying
her to a Moslem, has taken her into a
ruined church, and there told her that she
has been baptized, and is not Nathan's
daughter. Saladin comforts her by say-
ing he will be her father, and hints as a
farther comfort, that he will give her to
the Templar; but when he is about to do
this Nathan forbids. The book has ex-
plained all; Leonard of Filnek was the
father both of the Templar and Recha;
Conrade of Stauffen was their mother's
brother, who adopted the boy; Leonard
was no German, the Persian was his fa-
vourite language; and the book confirms
what the reader as well as Saladin may
now suspect, that he was Assad, who had
turned christian as easily as his son is now
disposed to turn Turk.

As a story this play is exceedingly inte-
resting; as a drama it is every way faulty;
it never agitates, it rarely affects. The
gentle stimulus of curiosity is more de-
lightful than stronger emotions to us who
are "falling into the sere, the yellow
leaf;" but it is the young who are the
most frequent and most eager spectators
of the drama, and they require to be agi-
tated and affected. It would not be to-
lerated on an English stage in this age of
orthodoxy: in Germany, it is considered as
Lessing's masterpiece, and is frequently
represented as compressed by Schiller.
The dialogue needs compression, which
would give it the vigour that it wants.

The purport of the play is obvious. Lessing's writings had raised an outcry against him for infidelity, and this was written in favour of toleration. The purport was good, but the writer has too openly discovered the unfairness of a partizan. All his characters are philosophers of his own school, all indifferentists, except the old woman, and the patriarch who is made a villain: and he most unphilosophically represents the three religions as equally favourable to the happiness of mankind, in defiance of history and experience. A few Arabic words, and a few allusions to Arabic customs, give but a poor shadow of verisimilitude to a drama which represents Jews, christians, and Mamalukes, in the age of the crusades, talking like Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn.

There is a second part called the Monk of Lebanon, which we should wish to see Englished: of the present translator it is praise enough here to say, that the transla-

tion of Burger's *Ellenore* is his, the best translation in our language. The book has a singular appearance to an English eye, the lines not beginning with capitals, a peculiarity which we recollect in no other English book except the same author's version of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Goethe.

German plays have been depreciated even more absurdly than they were at one time overvalued. Pizarro, indeed, is a disgrace to the age and country which can tolerate it; but we ought not to forget that we have appropriated the folly of that most despicable of all despicable dramas, and that it is "English gilt on German gingerbread." The whole of Schiller's works, and the whole of Goethe's, deserve to be translated: but let not the translators of Nathan and of Wallenstein thus employ themselves again; they have higher calls.

ART. III.—*Sacred Dramas.* By J. COLLET. 8vo.

SACRED dramas would be more useful for the amusement of the people on the sabbath-day, than sacred music is for that of the higher classes; and if there be no objection to the one, there surely can be none to the other. In the savage state man loves total indolence; if his passions be not roused, he likes to lie in the sun and sleep like a dog: but it is the effect of civilization to make even those in the lowest ranks who feel none of its blessings, impatient of listlessness and craving after sensation. The policy of the church should be to fill up those hours of leisure which it has created, and which

are now chosen for the campaigns of its antagonists. Open a Sunday-theatre: a good Samson among the Philistines would be the best champion against the united calvinists; and the itinerants might preach about fire and brimstone to empty benches, while their former congregations crowded to see it raining down upon Sodom. But in thus recommending sacred dramas, we do not mean to recommend these of Mr. John Collett, unless it should be thought advisable to represent them as afterpieces for the sake of sending the audience home sleepy.

ART. IV.—*The Natural Son; a Tragedy.* 8vo. pp. 111.

WE cannot compliment Mr. Mason on the success of his suit to the mournfullest of the Nine; few are the chosen geniuses on whom the tragic muse sheds her propitious smiles, and Mr. Mason is not of the elected number. The story itself of this dramatic piece is not very interesting, nor is it rendered more so by the extrinsic aid of poetic ornament. The cha-

acters are feebly portrayed, although they are supported with sufficient consistency: the sentiments and the language want dignity and elevation. Horace Walpole's Countess of Narbonne seems to be shadowed in the character of the marchioness de Eboli; but we have all the bitterness of her repentance without any proportion of her guilt.

ART. V.—*The Lady of the Rock; a Melo-Drame, in two Acts, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane.* By THOMAS HOLCROFT. 8vo. pp. 31.

THE story of this afterpiece, with some slight alterations, is taken from a singular and striking occurrence related as a fact by the hon. Mrs. Murray, in her *Guide to the Western Highlands of Scotland*.

"She relates that one of the Macleans, of Duart, was married to a handsome and amiable, but, unhappily, a barren sister of Argyle; that, in those days, barrenness was a high crime in a husband's eyes; that Maclean, being determined on her destruction, ordered

ruffians to convey her secretly to a place now called the Lady's Rock, which stood nearly opposite to his castle, on a promontory in Mull; that she was seen by mariners, who saved and conveyed her to her brother at Inverary; that her husband made a grand mock funeral, wrote disconsolate letters to her relations, and went in deep mourning to Inverary, to his brother-in-law, lamenting, with every show of grief, the irreparable loss he had sustained: that Argyle said little, but sent for his sister, whose sudden appearance electrified the husband; that, being a mild and amiable man, Argyle took no revenge, except by commanding Maclean to depart instantly, humanely advising him to avoid his brother Donald; and that Sir Donald Campbell afterward stabbed Maclean, in a street at Edinburgh, when he was eighty years of age."

In our critique on Mrs. Murray's work, we hinted that this story might be dramatized with very powerful effect by a skilful writer: at this suggestion Mr. Holcroft undertook the task, and has executed it with as much success, perhaps, as the confined limits of an afterpiece would admit. The alterations made in the story are these: Dugald, a younger brother of Maclean, infuses into his mind suspicions of his wife's infidelity: barrenness being no longer considered as a crime, a modern audience would not endure to see it punished with a most frightful death. Dugald, a consummate villain, ambitious to inherit his brother's title and possessions, and enamoured of his virtuous wife, who, we must suppose, had resisted his criminal solicitations, takes this terrible revenge; he feeds the flame of jealousy with great skill and caution:

"*Lord Mac.* I would be sure. The thought is maddening—the crime infernal! But the punishment is dreadful, therefore I would be sure.

Dugald. That is what I have always said. Be sure. We should else be devils! For in this tragedy I, alas! am compelled to be an

actor. But a brother! An elder brother! The head of our house and clan! Shall I stand by and patiently see his honour violated?

Lord. She has such an angel look of innocence!

Dug. 'Tis true! Oh, she has! 'Twas that first seduced you—I mean, that so won your affections as to make you forget the everlasting hatred, and revenge, we all have vowed to absent Cambell; and which I can't avoid but feel in part to all his clan.

Lord. Dugald, I sometimes fear—

Dug. You have cause—Be careful of me. I would not too far trust myself.—My eyes and ears perhaps deceive me, and, at the times when I have told you what I heard and saw, it may have been a dream: but then observe a waking dream, and every day as 'twere repeated.

Lord. Oh!—'Tis true! Too true!

Dug. Eyes and ears? Pshaw! What are they? I think I have each proper sense, but so does every maniac. Ay, ay—Beware! Act cautiously.—Ere I would be a—Fangh!—A woman's tool—a mere convenience, spreading myself the adulterer's cloak.—Brother—These are all lies that I invent—Better a brother were suspected than a wife. Women have no passions, nor—Absurd! Nothing ever passes in their minds but innocence and chastity! Angelic creatures!—Brother, you know me; be not rash.

Lord. I am mad with doubly doubting."

Dugald, in order to complete his purposes, drugs with poison a cup of wine, which he intended for his brother, but which by mistake he drinks himself. In his last moments he confesses his complicated villainy, and does justice to the spotless purity of lady Maclean's character, who is now restored to her repentant and adoring husband. The fisherman whom Dugald applied to in order to convey the devoted lady to the rock, spurns at the bribe, and afterwards, suspecting the meditated murder, saves her life at the peril of his own; it is a well-drawn character. The piece altogether reads with interest, and acts with spirit.

ART. VI.—*To Marry or Not to Marry: a Comedy.* By MRS. INCHBALD.

WE fear that Mrs. Inchbald will not add much to her celebrity by this comedy: the *personæ dramatis* are, almost without exception, not characters but caricatures. Mr. Willowear and lady Susan Courtly have no prototype, we venture to say, in the gayest and most unthinking circles. The deadly and long-nurtured revenge of Lavensworth is hardly human. Hester, indeed, is an interesting, bewitching little

rogue, and her interview with sir Oswin Mortland in the fourth act shows that Mrs. Inchbald can delineate with skill and delicacy the budding passion. A few touches of nature are here and there discoverable, which make us the more regret that Mrs. Inchbald should have attempted a satirical representation, to which she is incompetent, of manners in fashionable life.

ART. VII.—*Too many Cooks: a Musical Farce in Two Acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.* By JAMES KENNEY, *Author of Raising the Wind, &c.*

IT must not be concealed that the gravity of our muscles, "albeit unused to the 'laughing' mood," was strangely decomposed by the dry humour of this

farce, which we recommend to the perusal of any gentleman who happens to be attacked by a fit of the spleen.

ART. VIII.—*The Blind Bargain; or Hear it Out: a Comedy in Five Acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.* By FREDERICK REYNOLDS.

AS the audience at Covent-Garden could sit to hear it out, we felt it a double

duty to read it out; but rarely has our patience been put to a severer trial.

ART. IX.—*The Honest Soldier. A Comedy.*

WORSE and worse; dullness and vulgarity interspersed with indecent allusions.

ART. X.—*The Honey Moon: a Comedy in Five Acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane.* By the Late JOHN TOBIN, Esq.

THOUGH composed of shreds and patches, this is a striking fancy-dress, put together with skill, and worked up with taste. Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, and *Much ado about Nothing*, supply the characters, and occasionally we trace the sentiments. The story is taken from the former, Catherine and Petruchio being represented in Juliana and the duke of Aranza. Rolando is another Benedick, but his tender-hearted Zamora has less of Beatrice in her disposition than the roguish volatile Volante. The story is too well known to need being related. The dialogue is animated, witty or sentimental as occasion requires; the language is pregnant with imagery, and the measure employed is the heroic. We give a specimen from the third act: Rolando, of "most rare qualities, a happy wit and independent spirit," though a settled woman-hater, has been followed to the wars by Zamora in the disguise of a page. The wars being over, he is a disbanded soldier without pay, and obliged to give his faithful follower a reluctant notice to quit his service.

"*Rolando.* 'Sdeath, that a reasonable thinking man should leave his friend and bottle for a woman!—

Here is the Count, now, who, in other matters,

Has a true judgment, only seeth his blood With a full glass beyond his usual stint; And woman, like a wildfire, runs throughout him.—

Immortal man is but a shuttlecock, And wine and women are the battledoresq

That keep him going!—What! Eugenio!
Enter EUGENIO alias ZAMORA.

Zamora. Your pleasure, sir?

Rolando. I am alone, and wish One of your songs to bear me company.

Zamora. A merry or a sad one, sir?

Rolando. No matter.

Zamora. I have but one that you have never heard.

Rolando. Let it be that.

Zamora. I shall obey you, sir.
Now, woman's wit, assist me! (*Sings.*)

SONG.—ZAMORA.

In vain the tears of anguish flow,
In vain I mourn, in vain I sigh;
For he, alas! will never know
That I must live for him, or die.

Ah! could I dare myself reveal!—
Would not my tale his pity move?—
And sighs of pity seldom fail,
In noble hearts, to waken love.

But should he view, without a tear,
My altering form, my waning bloom,
Then, what is left me but despair!
What refuge, but the silent tomb!

Rolando. It is a mournful ditty, yet 'tis pleasing!

Zamora. It was, indeed, a melancholy tale

From which I learnt it.

Rolando. Lives it with you still?

Zamora. Faintly, as would an ill-remember'd dream, sir:

Yet so far I remember—Now my heart— (*aside*)

'Twas of a gentleman—a soldier, sir,
Of a brave spirit; and his outward form
A frame to set a soul in. He had a page,
Just such a boy as I, a faithful stripling,
Who, out of pure affection, and true love,

T t

Follow'd his fortune to the wars.

Rolando. Why this
Is our own history.

Zamora. So far, indeed,
But not beyond, it bore resemblance, sir.
For in the sequel (if I well remember)
This loving boy—(so, sir, the story ran)—
Turn'd out to be a woman.

Rolando. How! a woman?

Zamora. Yes, sir, a woman.

Rolando. Live with him a twelve-
month,

And he not find the secret out!

Zamora. 'Twas strange.

Rolando. Strange! 'twas impossible! At
the first blush,

A palpable and most transparent lie!

Why, if the soldier had been such an ass,
She had herself betray'd it!

Zamora. Yet, 'tis said,
She kept it to her death;—that, oft as Love
Would heave the struggling passion to her
lips,

Shame set a seal upon them:—thus long
time

She nourish'd, in this strife of love and mo-
desty,

An inward slow-consuming martyrdom,
Till in the sight of him her soul most che-
rish'd,

Like flow'rs that on a river's margin, fading
Thro' lack of moisture, drop into the stream,
So, sinking in his arms, her parting breath
Reveal'd her story.

Rolando. You have told it well, boy!

Zamora. I feel it deeply, sir;—I knew
the lady.

Rolando. Knew her! You don't believe
it?

Zamora. What regards
Her death, I will not vouch for. But the
rest—

Her hopeless love, her silent patience,
The struggle 'twixt her passion and her
pride—

I was a witness to.—Indeed her story

Is a most true one.

Rolando. She should not have died!—
A wench like this were worth a soldier's love:
And were she living now—(Enter the Count.)

Zamora. 'Tis well! (Aside.)

Count. Strange things have happen'd, since
we parted, captain!

I must away to-night.

Rolando. To-night! and whither?

Count. 'Tis yet a secret. Thus much you
shall know:

If a short fifty miles you'll bear me company,
You shall see —

Rolando. What?

Count. A woman tam'd.

Rolando.

No more!

I'll go a hundred!—Do I know the lady?

Count. What think you of our new-made
duchess?—

Rolando. She?

What mortal man has undertaken her:—
Perhaps the keeper of the beasts, the fellow
That puts his head into the lion's mouth?
Or else some tiger-tamer to a nabob?

Count. Who, but her husband?

Rolando.

With what weapons?

Count.

Words.

Rolando. With words? why, then he must
invent a language

Which yet the learned have no glimpses of.
Fasting and fustigation may do something;
I've heard that death will quiet some of them;
But words?—mere words?—cool'd by the
breath of man!—

He may preach tame a howling wilderness;
Silence a full-mouth'd battery with snow-
balls;

Quench fire with oil; with his repelling breath
Puff back the northern blast; whistle 'gainst
thunder:

These things are feasible.—But still a woman
With the nine parts of speech!—

Count.

You know him not.

Rolando. I know the lady.—Well, it may
to him

Be easy, gentlemanly recreation!—

But, as I hope to die a bachelor,
I'd rather come within a windmill's sweep,
Or pluck the lighted fuzee from a bomb
(Which, to say truth, she mostly does re-
semble,

Being stuff'd full of all things mischievous),
Than parley with that woman.—

Could he discourse with fluent eloquence
More languages than Babel sent abroad,
The simple rhet'rick of her mother tongue
Would pose him presently; for woman's
voice

Sounds like a fiddle in a concert, always
The shrillest, if not loudest, instrument.

Count. Yet, I tell you

He has the trick to draw the serpent's fang,
And yet not spoil her beauty.

Rolando. We shall see.—

You'll follow us, Eugenio.

[Exit Count & Rolando.]

Eugenio. He was touch'd surely with the
piteous tale

Which I delivered; and, but that the count
Prevented him, would have broke freely out
Into a full confession of his feeling

Tow'rd's such a woman as I painted to him.—
Why then, my boy's habiliments, adieu!
Henceforth, my woman's tyre—I'll trust to
you!

[Exit.]

ART. XI.—*The School of Reform: or How to Rule a Husband: a Comedy, as performed
at the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.* By THOMAS MORTON, Esq.

“WELL, Ladies! say, what think you of
my plan;

Is silence the true way to conquer man?

At least 'tis new—talking we've found won't
please him;

Then follow my advice—be dumb—and tease
him.”

Epilogue.

Having been tried upon the statute 25 Edw. III. ch. 2. Mr. Morton is found *not guilty* of treason against the sovereignty of man, as no overt act is proved upon him. It appears upon evidence very clearly, that the conspiracy with which he was charged could not possibly have been carried into effect, and have accomplished its end by the measures proposed to be adopted. The jury—all married men—were unanimously of opinion in the first place, that women could never be brought to employ *silence* as an instrument to overturn the lawful authority of their husbands; and in the second place, that if a solitary and unaccountable instance of this experiment should occur, it would produce a very opposite effect.

Mr. Morton has been often before a Covent-garden audience, and knows the art of accommodating to different palates his jokes, repartees, and soft sentiments. In the *School for Reform* a character is introduced, Frederick, who is bred up at the Philanthropic School, to the patron of which the piece is dedicated. A repentant profligate, Tyke, is a prominent character in the play, and supported with great spirit. The scene between Ferment and Tyke in the second act is ludicrous enough: and considerable effect is probably produced on the stage by a scene of a very different nature, between Tyke and an old man whom he discovers to be his father. On the whole, the *School of Reform* is endurable.

ART. XII.—*The Cabinet; a Comic Opera in Three Acts. Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden. Written by THOMAS DIBDIN.*

THE songs are very good, and the singers excellent.

ART. XIII.—*Youth, Love and Folly: a Comic Opera, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane, with distinguished Success. Written by MR. DIMOND, Junr. 8vo.*

IT is cheaper to buy and read this opera than to see it acted: of two evils we choose the least.

ART. XIV.—*The Delinquent, or Seeing Company; a Comedy in Five Acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden. By FREDERICK REYNOLDS. 8vo.*

BUSTLE, bustle, bustle! Fashionable life so extravagantly caricatured, that not a feature of resemblance is to be detected.

ART. XV.—*John Bull, or the Englishman's Fireside; a Comedy in Five Acts. By GEORGE COLMAN the Younger.*

THIS comedy had a 'great run' at taste of the public as to theatrical representations. Covent-garden: a more deplorable evidence could not be given of the vitiated

CHAPTER XI.

NOVELS.

THE last year has not produced any novels of first-rate merit ; nor have any very bad ones obtained sufficient notoriety to induce us to drag them before the bar of criticism, and honour them with a public accusation. The following are the best productions of the kind that we have been able to select from last year's crop.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of Bryan Perdue, a Novel*, by THOMAS HOLCROFT. 3 Vols. 12mo.

IT was surely unnecessary for Mr. Holcroft to have deprecated, in a preface, the public contempt for so humble an employment of his pen as the composition of novels ; and to have contended, as gravely as if any body in his senses had disputed the position, that hints of great utility and of a dignified and important nature are frequently found in them ; that they are a high source of gratification to many persons ; and that when made the vehicle of moral instruction, they are deserving of general encouragement. The public are not backward in doing justice to the merit of a novel ; Mr. Holcroft knows this from personal experience. An artist might as reasonably tremble lest the dignity of his profession should be brought into jeopardy by the daubings of a sign-painter, as a novelist who delineates the manners of real life with fidelity and effect, apprehend degradation in the scale of literary rank, from the trash which is often published by writers who arrogate the same title without any pretension, and prostitute the duties of it to the most shameful purposes.

Novels may be divided and subdivided into a hundred classes, but the two principal ones are, first those which are written solely with the view of exciting the reader's feelings by an interesting tale, that is to say, for the mere purpose of amusement ; and secondly, those in which

the story is of secondary consideration, and only introduced in subordination to the higher purposes for which the novel was especially written, namely that of promoting certain virtues or satirizing certain vices. Mr. Holcroft's novels, as he seems to have thought it necessary to inform us, are of the latter kind. Now to state, *in limine*, so specifically as he has done, the object in view, argues either a diffidence as to the execution of the work, which in honest truth we do not give Mr. Holcroft the credit of feeling in the slightest degree ; or it is an affront to the sagacity of his readers, who are thus avowedly suspected of not having sufficient penetration to see the force and felicity of certain allusions, or to discover the meaning of a fable unless " the moral " is tacked to it. It must be acknowledged, however, on the other hand, that commentators have often been accused, and upon no slight grounds, of charging on their author a meaning, which in all probability their author never meant ; now when a man becomes, as it were, the commentator on his own work, there is no danger that he should be misunderstood, and that his readers should be led astray in this manner.

We must waste no more words on the preface : as to the work itself, we have already said it belongs to that class of novels where the story is subordinate to the

moral. Indeed it is the damning fault of Bryan Perdue, that it is deficient in interest: the hero takes a retrospection of his past conduct from the earliest period of life, and tells his own tale, but it is in so flippant a manner, as to destroy a large proportion of the interest which it is intrinsically calculated to inspire. The style is ill-suited to the subject: levity is not the language of contrition. The particular vice against which it is the object of this novel to warn young persons, is gaming: a more fertile theme could not have been chosen; here it is unnecessary to describe imaginary horrors, or even to give an artificial glow of colouring to the real ones which are produced by indulgence in this seducing vice. The simple narrative of distresses which in actual life may every day be witnessed, is sufficient, surely, to appal the unhardened youth who may have had the misfortune to have been betrayed into the society and ways of gamblers. "If men," says Bryan Perdue, "could but be made sensible of the mad risk they run when they encourage a spirit of gaming; if they were not blind to the narrow selfishness, the odious passions to which it gives birth, the desire of gaining that which may be, and often is, the destruction of families, the hazard of being exposed to equal destruction themselves, and the contemptible and disgusting nature of such covetousness; did they I say but consider this, there would soon be no gamblers; for they could not long exist were they deprived of the spoils of the unwary."

But the misfortune is, that gamblers are not often men of consideration; they are anxious to flee from the reflections of their own mind, and in order to render them "sensible of the mad risk they run," it is necessary to make such an appeal to their feelings as shall irresistibly enforce attention. Such appeals have been made, and with greater effect than in the history of Bryan Perdue: an anecdote is recorded in the memoirs of David Ross the actor, which we make no apology for introducing here. In the year 1732, during the Christmas holidays, he performed the part of George Barnwell, and Mrs. Pritchard that of Milwood. Soon after Dr. Barrowby, one of the physicians to St. Bartholomew's hospital, was sent for by a young gentleman in Great St. Helen's, who was apprentice to an eminent merchant. He found his patient very ill with a slow fever, and a languid pulse which no medicine could affect. The

nurse told Dr. Barrowby that the young man sighed at times so very deeply, that she was sure there was something on his mind. The doctor sent every one out of the room, and told the patient his suspicion that some secret distress lay heavy on his mind; and added, that unless he would unbosom himself, all medicine was in vain. After much solicitation, the youth confessed that he had a secret sorrow preying on his mind, but that he would rather die than divulge it, as inevitable ruin must be the consequence. The doctor assured him if he would make him his confidant, he would try every means in his power to serve him, and that the secret, if he desired it, should remain so to all the world but to those who might be necessary to relieve him. After much conversation, he told the doctor that he was the second son of a gentleman of good fortune in Hertfordshire; that he had made an improper acquaintance with the kept mistress of a captain of an Indianman then abroad; that he was within a year of being out of his time, and had been entrusted with cash, drafts, and notes, to the amount of two hundred pounds, which he had appropriated to his own use. Having been at Drury-lane a few nights before to see Ross and Mrs. Pritchard in their characters of George Barnwell and Milwood, he said that he had been so deeply impressed with the scene, that he had not enjoyed a moment's peace since, and wished to die that he might avoid the shame he saw hanging over him. Dr. Barrowby enquired where his father was; the young man replied that he expected him every minute, as he had been sent for by his master on his being taken so alarmingly ill. The doctor desired him to tranquillize his mind, as he would undertake to break the matter to his father, and if the latter made any hesitation as to advancing the money, that he would advance it himself. The father soon arrived; Dr. Barrowby took him into another room, and after explaining the whole cause of his son's illness, begged him to save the honour of his family, and the life of his son. The father with tears in his eyes gave him a thousand thanks, and said he would instantly step to his banker and bring the money: he returned to his son with peace and forgiveness, they embraced, and under an assurance on the part of the former that not the slightest reproach or even allusion to the unhappy circumstance should ever escape his lips. The young man reco-

vered, and told his friend and physician Dr. Barrowby, who never divulged his name, that the play had raised such extreme horror and contrition in his soul, that if it pleased God to raise a friend to extricate him out of his distress, he would dedicate the rest of his days to virtue and religion. This young man became an eminent merchant; Ross never knew his name or saw his person; but for nine or ten years he constantly received at his benefit an anonymous note sealed up with these words: "A tribute of gratitude from one who was highly obliged and saved from ruin by seeing Mr. Ross's performance of *Barnwell*." There are some events in the life of Bryan Perdue, which very naturally recalled this anecdote to our recollection. Bryan Perdue, the son of a professed and unprincipled gamester, who was exceedingly anxious that his boy should, like himself, be an adept in all the iniquitous mysteries of the art, had the misfortune in early life to lose an amiable and virtuous mother: whilst yet at school he had learnt to cog the dice and pack the cards. The facility with which he had oftentimes relieved himself from pecuniary embarrassment by his dexterity and skill in gaming, made it his ordinary resource in all cases of difficulty. Bryan is one of those mixed characters which prevail in real life, but which novel-writers in general—not surely for that very reason?—have declined selecting for their hero. It has been too much the custom to exhibit the prominent characters in these works of fancy as monsters of vice or paragons of virtue: the man consummately good or consummately depraved, does not fall within the usual compass of observation. Bryan Perdue is, nevertheless, not an every-day character: his intellectual powers are strong, his observation keen, and his feelings acute. The native virtues of his heart are roused into action on the slightest call, but he is the slave to passion, and an unlimited indulgence of licentiousness brings his life into imminent peril. Before we come to this part of his narrative, however, let us do Mr. Holcroft the justice to exhibit his skill in working up a scene. One night at the billiard-table Bryan Perdue won of a stranger who had in all respects the demeanor of a gentleman, two hundred and fifty pounds: when all his money was lost, the latter requested that fifteen guineas might be staked against his gold watch and seals. He lost them, and instantly hurried from the room, exclaiming

in an agony of despair, "It's done! It's over! It's past recall!" The sensibilities of Bryan Perdue were awakened in favour of the stranger, but he was gone, and it was not known where.

"It happened, about five days after this adventure, that the period, which caution and propriety had prescribed, arrived for my customary visit to Henrietta. I sat conversing with her and her friend, when Mrs. Vaughan, the lady under whose care they both were placed, entered.

"Notwithstanding her habitual equanimity and ease of behaviour, affliction was visible in her countenance: it was to fulfil a duty that she came, and sat with us: her conversation was not pleasant and unembarrassed as usual: she said but little, spoke in a tone of concealed grief, and now and then a sigh escaped her; though many deep ones were suppressed.

"Henrietta had too much sensibility for this to pass unperceived, though the same cause restrained and forbade her to notice what she saw and felt. Shortly after, the friend of Henrietta left the room, and I ventured to say to Mrs. Vaughan—'I fear, madam, you are not well.'

"She burst into a flood of tears and replied—'No, sir, I am not well, indeed; nor ever shall be again: my disease is incurable!'

"With the most tender affection, Henrietta entreated her to say if it were any way possible to give her relief, or consolation. I joined in the request, and Mrs. Vaughan at length replied—'Of relief I see not any hope; but, Mr. Perdue, for your sake, I will relate what it is that now distracts my mind. Pray pardon me, when I say it is for your sake; but I have heard your friends frequently lament that you indulged yourself in that which daily proves itself to be one of the worst of vices; I mean gaming. I hope you no longer give yourself this indulgence; but, if you do, the story which I have to tell ought to be a serious warning to you.'

"I was in the presence of Henrietta, before a matron too, whose proper conduct and excellence in life made irregularity shrink from her, abashed. Till that moment, I had never felt such trepidation! I dreaded what was to come, my conscience flushed in my face, and I almost feared that it was me, myself, of whom she was about to speak. I was not far from the truth.

"Do not blame me, I am a mother," said Mrs. Vaughan, bursting into a fresh flood of tears, "and my son is ruined!"

"Good God!" exclaimed I, "ruined! Which way, madam?"

"By gaming. The loss of money is not so great but that it might be supported; but he has lost himself, lost his character, betrayed his trust, and that he may for ever conceal himself and his disgrace from the world, if possible, he has entered on board a man of

war. I had educated him with a truly maternal care: with every good principle of morality, I had endeavoured to give him every accomplishment of a man: he was the admiration of all who knew him! What is he now? Lost! Lost to himself, lost to me, lost to society! You, Mr. Perdue, are entrusted with concerns that are not your own: so was he. His character is never more to be retrieved, and I tell this to you, and you alone, Mr. Perdue, in the affliction and dread of my heart, lest you should, some time or other, plunge into, or suffer yourself to be hurried away by, the same pernicious vortex!"

"I listened in terror, and then said—

"What was the sum that he lost, Madam?"

"Two hundred and fifty pounds!"

"I became pale as death! My whole frame shook! I could not keep myself still: I was in the awful presence of Henrietta!"

"Was not the money his own, madam?"

"No. It would then only have occasioned distress; now it has brought irretrievable ruin!"

"To whom did it belong?"

"To Mr. Fairman, who is an army agent. My son was the principal clerk in his office; the money was designed to pay up the arrears of an officer, who is aged, sick, and in distress. Every way the transaction wears the appearance of baseness! I am sure my son is not base, though inveigled by the wicked arts of a gambler to his destruction!"

"No, madam— I was about to deny a charge, as if intentionally made against myself. Every thing conspired no less against me than against the youth I had ruined. Mr. Fairman was the uncle of my young friend, Henry; and, to complete my confusion, I had the watch in my pocket, that I had won, the seals of which were remarkable; one of them especially, it was a seal ring, an antique, and had been given to her son by Mrs. Vaughan."

"These seals had caught her eye: she requested Henrietta to retire, and then addressing me in a serious tone, said—

"Pardon me, Mr. Perdue, but, if I am not exceedingly mistaken, you have my son's watch in your pocket! Pray permit me to look?"

"The sensations of the culprit, receiving sentence, scarcely could be more painful than those I felt! Every way confounded, I stood silent for a moment, then gave the watch hastily into her hand, and exclaimed—'For heaven's sake, madam, do not tell Henrietta! I am not so much to blame as I may appear: I will find your son, and save him, if it be possible!'

"So saying, I hurried to get out of the house, eager to perform what I had promised, though not yet well conceiving the means."

As Bryan is quitting the house the postman brings a letter to Mrs. Vaughan from her distracted son, expressing the

utmost bitterness of repentance, and imploring her compassion and forgiveness. He had volunteered to serve his majesty as a common sailor: Bryan flies with his mother's affecting letter of forgiveness to the tender, on board of which is the unhappy Vaughan. The sight of him who had been the immediate cause of his present distress, could not but be painful: Bryan endeavours to soothe his mind, and insists on restoring the money which he had won of him. Vaughan will not consent to this, but he allows himself to be liberated through Bryan's means, hoping in a short time to repay the expence. As soon as they are on shore, Vaughan returns to the arms of his mother; and Bryan, who had dissipated part of the money he had won, borrows the deficiency of a friend, hastens to the house of Mrs. Vaughan, and again urges, in vain, the restoration of the money. The only resource is to go directly to the counting-house of Mr. Fairman.

"I found Mr. Fairman at his office, requested to speak to him, and being admitted, related my business."

"I began with describing the maternal feelings of Mrs. Vaughan, and the penitence of Frederic. During this, I repeated the contents of the two letters, confessed my share in the gambling business, declared my grief and shame, and concluded with saying that I was now come to repay the money, and humbly to petition Mr. Fairman would consent to hear, from Frederic himself, how truly penitent he was for the fault he had committed."

"Instead of acting with the haste that my impetuosity expected, Mr. Fairman paused, considered, appeared to survey me, and at last asked—

"Do you come, Sir, on the part of Frederic Vaughan, to pay this money?"

"Yes, Sir."

"At his desire; sent and deputed by him?"

"I hesitated, 'Not, directly.'

"Does he know that you are come?"

"I—did not mention where I was going; but I have just left him, with Mrs. Vaughan."

"I wish to understand, Sir, whether this money comes from him, or you?"

"I told you, Sir, I am very sorry I ever received it, and I am now come with a desire to give it to its right owner."

"The money I confided to Frederic Vaughan was for an officer, in distress: owing to this breach of trust, the effects of the officer were seized, and he was put in prison."

"Is he there now, Sir?"

"No; but that is not to the point. I have heard much of you, Mr. Perdue, from my nephew. He is a good young man, and

apt to believe good of others. This is not the first of your gambling adventures. Excuse me, if I am too free; I fear you are a dangerous acquaintance.'

"I was not acquainted with Mr. Vaughan, Sir.'

"But you now are. You live clerk with Mr. Hazard?'

"I am in the house, Sir.'

"Not a partner?'

"No, Sir.'

"Then you are a servant. Have you considered the consequence of a breach of trust, Mr. Perdue?'

"Sir! I have not committed one.'

"You are surprised, and so am I.'

"At what, Sir?'

"Your want of reflection. Are you not aware that the receiver is as bad as—? I would neither shock nor offend, but, I am obliged to repeat, you are a dangerous acquaintance, Mr. Perdue, and I think it a duty to give my nephew this warning. He loves the virtue which you discover, occasionally, and so do I, more it may be than you suppose; yet I am led to doubt whether it does not make you the more dangerous: for, were you a confirmed vicious character, you would be excluded the society of the virtuous, whom you would have no opportunity to seduce.'

"Sir—pardon me—I did not expect—'

"A stranger to treat you with such freedom?'

"You, Sir, are the uncle of Mr. Henry Fairman, whom I esteem very highly.'

"He is highly deserving of esteem. My duty requires me to proceed. Have you considered the numerous ties of man to man, which necessarily must be observed, or the world would first become a universal scene of confusion, plunder, and assassination, and at last a desert?'

"I am young, Sir.'

"Then, being young, suffer me to call to your memory facts, that deserve your serious attention. You desire to be at all times in perfect safety: you wish to sleep, eat, walk the streets, and perform every function of life, transact every affair, of business or of pleasure, in this said perfect safety—do you not?'

"Certainly, that, Sir, is the desire of every man.'

"In this vast, multitudinous, mercantile city, where such a prodigious exchange of money and effects is daily taking place, and so many hundred thousand pounds are transmitted from hand to hand by persons intrusted, by public officers, merchants' and bankers' clerks, nay by poor and common porters, it being not possible for the owners themselves to do all this, what safety, what general sense of repose can there be, for this heterogeneous swarming multitude, but that one thing, on which we all depend, you, I, our friends, our wives, our children, what but honesty? Sir, the discovery of a dishonest man is a public misfortune; for the tendency

of his actions is a tendency to anarchy and destruction.'

"This is very true, Sir.'

"But not to the purpose, you think. With respect to the money you offer to pay, I am not authorized to receive it: you and I have had no dealings together, I have given you no value, and you, a thoughtless young man, are not aware of the responsibility of such transactions.'

"I am sorry, Sir, for my mistake.'

"And I shall be sorry, if what I have said should be productive of no good, but rather excite anger in you than serious reflection.'

"Here our conversation ended, and I endeavoured to look unembarrassed, hold myself erect, and appear a person of no less consequence than himself: but, Dignity refused her aid; I was conscious of not being one of her sincere friends; I therefore summoned Assurance, and even she came reluctantly, sneaking as it were at my heels, and half-hiding. However, a formal bow, and your servant, Sir, finished the interview.'

In the conduct of Bryan Perdue, after the chagrin, disappointment, and humiliation he had suffered from this interview, Mr. Holcroft has given a masterly stroke of character, and displayed no superficial knowledge of the human heart. Bryan Perdue returns, slowly and ruminating, again to find Frederic Vaughan, but he had gone out—perhaps to avoid him. Before his mother he dared not recur to the subject of money, but loitered in the parlour till he was ashamed, because he felt he was troublesome, in the hope again to see Henrietta. He loitered in vain, and at last took his leave: sumptuous home with a dejection of spirits, hitherto unknown to him, a distributor puts the bill of a fortune-teller into his hands: without the slightest credulity in such impostors, he repairs to him merely to divert his thoughts. Thence he wanders to a coffee-house which was frequented by his friend Henry Fairman: he was not there: business was over! Bryan would have gone home, but he had not the power—he had no disposition to read or study, and he could think of no resource but that which never failed, the billiard-table. With the two hundred and fifty pounds in his pocket he is led thither, not merely from habit, but with a hope to shake off the discontent which hung heavily on his mind, and came away, having lost every farthing! In one stroke of the pencil the character of Bryan Perdue is here drawn, and a warning given against having recourse to the indulgence of a vicious propensity as an opiate for momentary wretchedness.

To return to the story: Bryan Perdue runs on in a course of extravagance and licentiousness, writs are issued out against him for debt, and he is taken into custody. In a very few days, however, a temptation presents itself which he cannot resist for effecting his liberation. His friend and patron Mr. Saville had retired to the continent; and in consequence of some suspicion of Hazard's integrity as well as prudence, he was in the habit of sending over all money-bills addressed to Bryan Perdue, who took memorandums of their amount, and then gave them to Hazard and entered them in the books. Whilst in confinement, he receives among other bills one for five hundred pounds, drawn by a foreign merchant on a house in London, with the endorsement of Mr. Saville. Bryan appropriates this bill, endorses it himself, puts it into circulation, and obtains his freedom. Shrinking, however, at the consequences of this forgery, and perhaps at the ingratitude of his conduct, he immediately writes an account of what he had done to Mr. Saville, and acknowledges himself debtor for the sum. The forgery is soon detected, and in short Bryan Perdue takes his trial for the offence: by some flaw the jury are directed to acquit the prisoner; and Bryan, who with all his vicious propensities and habits had never been a radically bad man, is now restored to society, purified by adversity of all his immoralities.

Unable to hold up his head, a wretched object for Scorn to point his finger at, he retires to a convent in France, but the indolence and depravity of the monks soon disgust him with their society, and through the influence of his friend Henry Fairman he is sent to the superintendence of a plantation in one of the West India islands. Here he remains beloved and respected by every one, marries an amiable woman, and is the father of a flourishing and happy family.

The specific purpose of this novel is to induce "all humane and thinking men, such as legislators ought to be and often are, to consider the general and the adventitious value of human life, and the moral tendency of our penal laws;" we trust that this consideration is never absent from the mind of a legislator; nor is it possible that he should not contemplate the existence of a case where capital punishment is inflicted on an individual,

whose life, if it had been preserved, might have been honourable to himself, and beneficial to society. Such cases must occur; and even supposing them to occur but rarely, we are much disposed to accord with Mr. Holcroft, in drawing the inference that capital punishments are therefore inconsistent with policy and humanity. The most depraved and hardened reprobate, the most ferocious monster, may surely be so employed as to yield some indemnification to society for the injury it may have suffered from his outrages, and perhaps be so employed as to enforce reflection on the culprit's mind, and convert the abandoned sinner into a contrite penitent.

We have said that the prominent fault of this work is a lack of interest: the interest, however, rises as we proceed, and as the flippancy which prevails in the first volume is laid aside. Bryan Perdue gives a faithful confession of his offences; but his confessions are not accompanied with the tone and language of remorse; he generally lightens his delinquency—and in real life which of us does not?—by the relation of some exculpatory circumstances, calculated to excite commiseration, and which rendered him at the moment peculiarly susceptible of seduction.

On the whole we are far from thinking meanly of this novel, though we are persuaded that a much greater effect might have been produced out of the materials: let the gamester go to Covent-garden and see Kemble and Mrs. Siddons in the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Beverley; if he does not shudder at the scene, and feel all the anguish of remorse and apprehension, he may read the memoirs of Bryan Perdue with perfect composure.

Mr. Holcroft is too familiar with the public, and it is very true that familiarity breeds contempt: he has been so often before us in the different characters of a traveller, a dramatist, a novelist, a translator, &c. that he feels no sort of diffidence or reserve. This levity of style, this unreined prate, is indecorous: we were offended with it in perusing his travels through France; and though there is less of it here, there is too much to be passed over without censure. Mr. Holcroft has studied the human character, and it is his own fault if he does not rank among the best of our novel-writers.

ART. II.—*Fleetwood, or the New Man of Feeling*: by W. GODWIN. 3 vols. 8vo.

MR. GODWIN's novels are the reverse of trivial: his incidents, his charac-

ters, are uncommon : he often sacrifices probability to originality ; and takes care to be new at the risk of being natural. This secures attention but not interest ; the pleasures of surprise can be enjoyed but once : a second perusal of what is morally marvellous, neither excites illusion nor sympathy. Yet the beauties of detail are frequent, great, and striking : an eloquence of expression, an energy of intellect, often arouse and stimulate the reader who would feel it ungrateful, if not insincere, to withhold high commendation.

Fleetwood is not, we think, the best of these novels : the first volume is less prepossessing than the first volume of Caleb Williams, or the first volume of Saint Leon ; but in this instance, though not in the two former, the story acquires importance in its progress, and the composition continually improves.

Fleetwood's education at Oxford has little to do with the formation of his character. The episode of Withers is grossly improbable : that a mere puppet should be so manufactured by students as to pass for the master of a college ; that a ventriloquist should so supply it with voice as to make a young man believe he is formally rusticated ; and that, after the de-

tection of the trick, this mimic censure should appear so mortifying that the culprit drowns himself in the Isis ; is utter extravagance.

The story of Ruffigny is better ; but the grand portion of the book is the jealousy of the married Fleetwood, which is painted in traits worthy of a great dramatist.

Mr. Godwin will no doubt some day revise his novels for collective publication : he should omit much, and confine himself to those sweeps of narration which serve to prepare and frame the main catastrophe. Every needless character, every episodic adventure, is a blemish. A constant bearing down on the one great purpose is the most essential condition of excellence in art. To this wholeness, to this unity of design, every subordinate consideration should be sacrificed. Othello and Macbeth are therefore the best plays of Shakspeare, because of their entireness of plan. Fleetwood might easily be abridged into a complete novel : we are not, like the antients, condemned to abide by our first editions : the

“ Delere licebit
Quod non edideris : nescit vox missa reverti.”

is not true of modern publication.

ART. III.—*Herman and Dorothea : a Tale. Translated from the German of Goethe.*
12mo. pp. 142.

ONE source of pleasure in the perusal of works of art consists in comparing the peculiarities of different ages and nations ; and in observing the variety of form and fashion, the distinct costume and drapery of idea, which diversify, in the several languages, a repeated imitation of the phenomena of human nature. As the vulgar in a sea-port, when they see a foreigner land, burst out a laughing at the odd cut of his clothes, and the quaint articulation of his brogue ; so some critics revile every thing foreign, as if it were therefore ridiculous and tasteless, and point at nationalities of manner as vulgarity. This is especially the case with those whose comparison of art is narrow and confined ; whose range of reading never extended beyond their school-books, and their patial literature ; and who think that must be absurd for which there is no precedent among domestic writers. The French carry still further than ourselves this narrow bigotry of taste ; and can tolerate no attempts at poetry which are not cast in the patent moulds of their Racines and Boileaus, no prose which varies much from that of Fenelon and Voltaire.

Those who have read the *Odyssey* and Theocritus, must be aware that the Greeks have applied the picturesque circumstantiality of the Homeric style, to the description of the real manners of middle and low life ; and that this method of delineation produces a far greater and more satisfactory effect than the finical embellishment of the same manners attempted by the genteel muse of Virgil. Homer's bucolic passages describe peasantry as they were, and acquaint us with their usages, their arts, their mode of life, their degree of civilization. It is the same with Theocritus, who was formed by the study of the *Odyssey*. But Virgil's bucolic passages describe peasantry as they never can have been ; and, by an inconsistent unnatural mixture of elegant sentiment and rustic occupations, give us the idea of a gentleman-farmer tossing about his dung in white gloves, and perfuming his milk with orange-flower water lest it should taste of the turnip. During the old court of France, the royal family, tired of etiquette, would occasionally retire into the gardens of Trianon, and there act shepherd and shepherdesses, millers and

kers. Of such an Arcadia, the eclogues of Virgil contain a probable description.

Herman and Dorothea is not, like the pastorals of Pope, an imitation of Virgilian art, but of Homeric nature: it must be classed with the efforts of Theocritus,

and surpasses them as much as an entire day surpasses a single scene. Here every description is copied from extant living manners, with a likeness and a completeness for which the remotest posterity will be grateful; and which may be compared, for truth of nature and fidelity of delineation, with those paintings of the Flemish school, in which Ostade and Teniers perpetuated the Dutch fairs and merry-carousals of their time. Pope, like Watteau, habits his milk-maids in poppetticoats; Goethe, like Rembrandt, clothes even his heroes in the garb of daily life. In the English idyls of Southey, the probable, the natural, the real, is often depicted with simple exactness and selectivity: he may use *aqua tinta* where any colour would be preferable, but his method of sketching more resembles that of Goethe than any other English artist's.

It may be critical heterodoxy, as yet, to admire either; but we prefer their eclogues far to those of Philips, of Pope, and even of Gay. Goethe has, in his own country, a competitor, and we think surpasser, in this plan of composition; and, as the author of *Luise*.

Mr. Holcroft some time ago undertook a translation of Herman and Dorothea in blank verse: it was not close enough, and not elegant enough, to render a new style of composition characteristically and attractively. The same task has here been undertaken in prose with severer fidelity, but with diligent feebleness. The abrupt beginning of the picturesque description of the original instantly excites curiosity: here an introduction is prefixed, beginning, like a fairy tale of Perrault's, with a "there lived a happy couple," every part of which introduction is shortly after retold by imitation. The beginning of the poet attracts attention necessary; the beginning of the translator intercepts all occasion for it, and of course defers the interest, beside compelling the subsequent translation of the Homeric close. It was fault so completely to spoil a first page: the second line of the original, "the land looks swept, dead; not fifty of all inhabitants are left:" the translator turns it a "methinks," as if that was beautiful which a man sees, as if the hypothesis of agitated impression ought to be toned down by qualifying expressions.

This habitual loss of minute beauties makes in the course of a rhapsody a great deduction.

The third chapter is a good picture of the progress of subordinate luxury in Germany.

"After the respectful son had retired, and his mother had wiped away the tear that stole down her cheek, that she might not reproach the husband she loved; the host, addressing himself to his guests, continued thus to express his dissatisfaction, but with less violence. 'It is in vain,' said he, 'to attempt to make a man that which he is not; and I dare not flatter myself that our son will be more than merely satisfied with being equal to his father, or will endeavour to surpass him. This, from his birth, has been my firm and ardent hope: for we should never have arrived at civilization, if every man had trod in the steps of his predecessor: and the progress of the arts and sciences, under such limitations, would have been tardy. If we had rebuilt our cities and houses, from age to age, in the grotesque taste and inconvenient manner in which they had been first erected, we should be now in a state little short of barbarism. You may judge of a man's understanding when you enter his house; as you may form an opinion of its magistrates when you come into a city. If the walls are tottering, the streets dirty, the stones loose, and the houses untiled, you may be sure it is ill governed. When the city magistrates do not inspect the general habits of cleanliness, the citizens degenerate into the most disgusting negligence; and this gradually becomes a fixed and incurable disease. I, therefore, am desirous that Herman should travel without delay; and visit at least Strasburg, Frankfort, and the agreeable Manheim. For the man, who has seen large and well-regulated cities, will spare no pains to embellish and improve his native town, however small it may be. Are not our newly-repaired gates, our tower which we have whitened, and our church that looks as if it were built but yesterday, the admiration of every stranger who beholds them? Does he not praise our well-paved streets, and our aqueducts, which are so admirably contrived for the general safety, in case of fire? All this has been done since the great conflagration. I have been chosen, six times, inspector of the public buildings, in our council; and, by my exertions in completing the useful works which had been undertaken by worthy patriots and left unfinished, as well as beginning others on my own plans, I have justly obtained the esteem and gratitude of my fellow-citizens. My example excited the emulation of the other members of the council; and now every one takes a pride and pleasure in making improvements in the town: and the new-paved broad-way, which leads to the high road, is nearly finished. But I fear our young men will not employ their talents so beneficially; for some appear to have no other concern than that of adorning

their persons, and cajoling the ladies; while others vegetate in their houses, plodding over mean occupations; and I fear Herman will be of this class.'

"Dear husband," interrupted the mother, anxious to defend her son, 'indeed you are unjust to the poor youth, and too often reprove him. This is not the way to make him what you wish him to be. We cannot exact that our children should in every respect answer our expectations: we must accept and love them such as they are; it is our duty to give them a good education, and direct their talents to the benefit of society; but we have no right to force their inclinations. Some have one talent, some another; each is useful in its way, and makes its possessor happy. I cannot hear our Herman undervalued, and be silent: I know he is worthy of the fortune which he will inherit: he is active and indefatigable in the regulation of the affairs intrusted to his care; his conduct is in every respect a model to our young citizens; and I feel certain that he will not sit the lowest in the council: but, if the poor boy is continually reprov'd and mortified, he will lose all courage and emulation.' With these words she left the room, and went in search of Herman, that she might console and restore him to cheerfulness; and this excellent son well deserved to be consoled.

"When she was gone, the host, turning to his guests, good-humouredly said, 'Wives and children are unmanageable beings: they will have their own way; and always expect to be indulged and flattered. Once for all, I maintain that he who does not advance goes back.'

"I am of your opinion, my worthy neighbour," answered the apothecary, with thoughtful gravity; 'and I am continually looking round me to seek for what may improve the comforts of life, provided these improvements are not expensive. But if the man who wishes to embellish his house, both within and without, has a small income, the greatest activity and zeal are insufficient. The middle class, we must acknowledge, in general are not rich: they see the judicious improvements of their neighbours, who have the power to make them. The expence is greater than others can afford; and they are every moment stopped, and disappointed in the execution of their plans and proceedings. What would not I have done? But who is not afraid to enter into great expence, in these dear and dangerous times? I would long ago have given my house a modern and smiling appearance; the glass panes of the casements should have been large and handsome: but where is the man that can follow the improvements of the wealthy trader, who can procure the best of every thing at prime cost? Look at the house over the way, it has the appearance of being new. The white stucco is beautifully re-

lieved by the green window-pannels; and the large crystal panes, which they enclose, give it a cheerful splendor. All the other houses are thrown in the shade; yet, soon after the fire, my shop of the Angel, and the hotel of the Golden Lion, were the handsomest in the market-place. My garden too was famous through the country; and every passenger stopped to peep over the red palisades at the statues of the beggar, in stone, and the dwarf in a yellow coat. Every body who took coffee with me in the superb grotto, which I own is now almost in ruins, praised the symmetry of the workmanship, and the beautiful contrast of the shells; and the connoisseur examined the various fossils, and corals, with admiration. The paintings of the saloon, in which ladies and gentlemen were seen walking full dressed in a garden, presenting nosegays with the delicate tips of their fingers, were no less admired. But who, now-a-days, would condescend to once glance at these ornaments? I, for my part, am vexed at my inability to follow the present taste, and seldom go into my garden; for its decorations are out of date. The palisades, and garden chairs, must now either be white or green; every thing must be plain and neat: carving and gilding are prohibited. Your furniture must be light and elegant, and it rises in price as it rises in elegance. I would, like my neighbours, if I could afford it, gladly make alterations, follow the fashion, and renew my furniture from time to time; but a man is afraid now to move the least out of his usual track; the wages of labour are now too heavy to pay. I have long wished to have the angel Michael, and the terrible dragon that rolls under his feet, which you know is the sign of my shop, fresh gilt; but the expence was so great that I thought it prudent to leave them as they are.'"

We much wish that an artist-translator had undertaken this volume, and had given in the hexametrical versification of the original, a faithful copy of all its peculiarities. The didactic passages are full of good sense and of natural morality; the manners and customs are painted with liveliness and nationality: there is much dramatic management, much humour, and much feeling, displayed: it is some such a poem as the Vicar of Wakefield would be in verse, a drawing from nature, and resembling nature. It is one of those books which, if a man does not like, he should learn to like. They have made some progress in taste, who enjoy Herman and Dorothea: they take their own feeling, not the opinion of the multitude, for their guide.

ART. IV.—*Adeline Mowbray; or the Mother and Daughter: a Tale. In Three Volumes.*
By Mrs. OPIE. 8vo.

NOVELS in former days were nothing but love stories, or works professing, often indeed falsely enough, to exhibit pictures of real life and manners. The importance that they have lately been allowed to usurp in the republic of letters, is at once a curious and an alarming symptom of the frivolity of the age. There was a time when a person wishing to inform himself in the higher branches of literature or philosophy, would have been obliged to undergo the labour of perusing dry crabbed treatises, written professedly on serious and important subjects. Now, happy revolution! he may luxuriantly imbibe, in the tempting form of a novel, the beauties of history embellished with all the eloquence of fiction, encumbered by no dates, and perplexed with no documents. Through the same medium he may see the happy effects of a new scheme of education, illustrated by the example of children who were never born; or the advantages of a new system of morals displayed, or its evil consequences exposed, on the unexceptionable authority of characters that have never existed. The work before us undertakes to shew, from the example of miss Adeline Mowbray, that a young lady who ventures to ridicule and condemn the marriage-tie, will expose herself to insult; that if she consents, though from the purest motives imaginable, to live with a man as his mistress, she will assuredly be driven out of decent company; that her children, being illegitimate, will be destitute of the right of inheritance, and subject to a thousand affronts; and that she cannot do better, if deprived of her lover by death, than to accept the first legal protector that offers. From the adventures of the mother is taught, the folly of neglecting all the duties of life for the study of metaphysics and politics; the ill consequences attendant on a complete ignorance of the world in the mother of a grown up daughter; and the madness of a rich widow's falling in love with and marrying a profligate young Irishman overwhelmed with debt, from whom she forgets to demand a settle-

ment. It must be confessed that these great truths are sufficiently familiar; and in spite of the rage for experiment in moral conduct, which some years ago prevailed to a considerable extent, we hope there are few ladies "so to seek in virtue's lore," as to be inclined to put in practice the extravagances of poor Adeline. As for the faults and follies of her mother, we fear the causes of most of them are too deeply wrought into the constitution of the human race, to be removed by the united eloquence of all the moralists, novelists, and divines, who have ever written, preached, or taught. If, therefore, it was Mrs. Opie's wish, by the present work, to establish her name among the great guides of female conduct and promoters of practical wisdom, she has assuredly failed of her object; but if she has adopted the vehicle of system only for the sake of placing interesting characters in new and striking situations, contenting herself with the more appropriate task of amusing the fancy and touching the heart, she may certainly lay claim to a pretty large portion of applause. In drawing characters indeed we do not think she has been very successful, for both Adeline and her mother appear to us considerably out of nature; but there are situations and incidents of great effect. Glenmurray, the hero, is a most interesting being; and several well-imagined circumstances serve to set in a strong light the native benevolence and sensibility of his mind, triumphing first over the stoical pride of system, and afterwards over the fretful selfishness produced by lengthened sickness. The account of Adeline's meeting with the illegitimate child at Richmond is natural and striking, and the speech of the quaker over the body of the misguided Glenmurray is quite in character. There are other passages of considerable merit interspersed throughout, and some of deep pathos; but we should have been better pleased if the tale had ended with the death of the hero, before the odious Berrendale had appeared to put us out of love with husbands.

ART. V.—*The Life of a Lover, in a Series of Letters.* By SOPHIA LEE. 6 vols. 12mo.

ENGLISH novels of respectability are usually advantageously distinguished from those of a neighbouring country, by the chaste and innocent nature of the passion which it is their chief business to display.

This passion is indeed frequently painted in colours somewhat warm: it is represented as inevitable, invincible, and forming not only the dearest charm, but the grand business of life. Whilst no legal

impediment, however, is supposed to exist to the union of the parties, it is only in degree, not in kind, that such representations can be deemed improper; for an affection which, rightly placed and favoured by circumstances, has conducted thousands to happiness the most pure and exalted, can have nothing in its nature essentially vicious. It is therefore with great concern that we observe the name of a lady, well known in the literary world, appended to a tale, the theme of which is the loves of a virtuous young lady, and a married man.

The interesting Cecilia only once meets at a theatre, and exchanges a few words with, the handsome lord Westbury, under the mistaken idea of his being a bachelor: yet, by this one interview, the foundation is laid of an attachment which neither reason, prudence, nor duty, have power to overcome. She refuses, but pardons, dishonourable offers from the man of her heart; and they mutually enter into promises of marriage in the event of the death of lady Westbury, who, though faithful to her husband, had caused and justified his alienation of affection, by her vanity, levity, selfishness and extravagance. When her death happens, however, his lordship, falsely suspecting the virtue of Cecilia, abandons her; and, in a fit of despair, she consents to become the wife, or rather nurse, of a sickly veteran. She soon becomes a widow, of course; an explanation ensues of course, and of course too, a marriage is the consequence. With these nuptials the novel ought naturally to have ended; but two or three volumes still remain behind, occupied chiefly with the intrigues—some not very decorous to relate—of a profligate woman, and the artifices of a designing man, by whose machinations the happiness of the tender pair is continually mingled with jealousy and alarm. The constitution of the heroine gradually sinks under the effects of per-

turbation and inquietude; and, by a needless cruelty of the author, her death wraps in gloom the conclusion of the tale. It is difficult to perceive any moral end to be answered, by showing a lovely and amiable young creature rashly climbing along the brink of a precipice, and eventually arriving at the summit of felicity by a path so dangerous and irregular. The idea of requiring a novel to be an ethical treatise illustrated by examples, may not however pass current with the younger and gayer part of our readers, who will probably be more inclined to ask, "is it interesting?" than, "is it edifying?" To such we answer, that part of the first volume, which feelingly sets forth the hardships and insults endured, and the dangers incurred, by a beautiful and well-educated young female, unfortunately doomed to a dependant situation, powerfully excited our sympathy; that some of the subsequent scenes of tenderness are not destitute of pathos; that original and judicious reflections are sometimes interspersed; but that the incidents are frequently improbable, and still more confused than in our author's comedy, "the Chapter of Accidents;" that the story is tediously told in letters; and that the style, evidently borrowed from Richardson, is often quaint, and never graceful; that the character of the hero exhibits a strange mixture of the Lovelace and the Grandison, and that the attempts at humour are little successful. Finally, we cannot in conscience advise any of our gentle readers to proceed farther in their perusal than the death of the first lady Westbury; after which they may, in their own minds, bring the lovers together in a much more simple, concise, and satisfactory manner, than has seemed good to miss Sophia Lee, whose fancy seems to have been not a little captivated by the imposing majesty of "a novel in six volumes."

ART. VI.—*The Mysterious Freebooter: a Romance.* By FRANCIS LATHOM, *Author of Men and Manners*, &c. 4 vols. 8vo.

THE author of *Men and Manners* is no inferior novelist: nothing ought more to surprise than his unrivalled fertility: few authors have written so much, who repeat themselves so little: this is the privilege of those who draw less from precedent than from imagination, who study books little and nature much.

Of the plan of a romance full of incident, it would be laborious to give the story in epitome; and would increase the

reviewer's trouble only to diminish the reader's gratification. Suffice it to say, that terrorism is the dominant impression; that this is a production of the Radcliffe school, and perhaps the best domestic imitation which has yet appeared; and that it is full of interest, of invention, and of eloquence.

The part least skilfully executed is the narrative of Elizabeth de Valois, which, if it does not contain particulars that she

could not know, at least tells them as she would not relate. An useless machine is queen Elizabeth: the involution and evo-

lution of the whole might as easily, and more neatly, have been accomplished without as with her interposition.

ART. VII.—*The Duellists; or Men of Honour. A Story; calculated to shew the Folly, Extravagance, and Sin of Duelling.* By WILLIAM LUCAS. 12mo. pp. 182.

THE author has our best wishes that his arguments against duelling may operate efficaciously on those for whose benefit they were intended. Mr. Lucas would have done better to have translated the

eloquent and impressive letter, in which Julie dissuades St. Preux from a rencontre with lord Edward Bomston. This is a master-piece—not so the story of “the Duellists.”

ART. VIII.—*Canterbury Tales.* Vol. 5. By HARRIET LEE. 8vo.

ON the appearance of a fifth and final volume, it is rather too late to commence the criticism of a work: the public has had abundant time to appreciate the merits of miss Lee's *Canterbury Tales*; and the encouragement which has induced her to bring them to a close, testifies that the verdict has been in her favour. The pre-

sent volume will not be read with less interest than the preceding ones; the fertile imagination of the fair author gives no symptom of exhaustion: her pictures, if not taken from life, are such as life might possibly have presented; the drawing is free, and the colouring good.

ART. IX.—*The Pilgrim of the Cross; or Chronicles of Christabelle de Mowbray: an ancient Legend.* By ELIZABETH HELME. 12mo. 4 vols.

NOTWITHSTANDING the plentiful improbabilities which occur in this novel, a considerable interest is excited, and what is more, preserved to the last. The period of time in which the events are supposed to take place is that of the holy wars, and the scene is laid partly in Palestine, partly in England. To pourtray the manners and the costume of those remote times was a most hazardous undertaking: great allowances for this difficulty must be made on the part of the reader. He is not called upon, however, to grant a similar indulgence towards the numerous grammatical inaccuracies which disgrace these pages. We have given Mrs. Helme a

hint on this subject before: we now give her a second and more serious caution, as we find that she has announced for publication a History of Scotland designed for the use of young persons. Mrs. Helme probably writes with a very rapid, as she certainly does with a very careless, pen. It is of the utmost importance to correct this negligence, if she undertakes to prepare books for the perusal of young persons.

The *Pilgrim of the Cross*, like every other production of this lady, is strictly moral: it enforces good precepts by example, punishing profligacy and rewarding virtue.

ART. X.—*Mental Recreations. Four Danish and German Tales: entitled Henry and Amclia; The Noble Suitor; Paladin; and the Young Dane.* By the Author of a Tour in Zealand, &c. 12mo. pp. 158.

THE last of the four was the only one we could read without yawning.

ART. XI.—*Belville House.* 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 606.

IF any unlucky wight should, by misfortune, take up these volumes and read half a dozen pages, he will commiserate our

misfortune in being compelled to read the whole of them.

ART. XII.—*The Adventures of Cooroo, a Native of the Pellew Islands.* By C. D. L. LAMBERT. 8vo.

IT would be difficult to guess, and is not worth while to conjecture, why the hero of this piece is a “Pellew” (Pelew) islander; he might as well have come from the Atlantic as the Pacific Ocean.

When captain Wilson quitted the hospitable territories of Abba Thule, one of his crew, named Blanchard, remained behind, and from recent accounts we know that he perished in battle. Mr. Lambert finds

it convenient to suppose that, after the departure of the Oroolong, Blanchard attached himself to a young man of the name of Cooroo, who, at the death of his patron, attaches himself also to another youth of the name of Boolom. Venturing too far at sea, they are tossed about "three stormy days and stormy nights;" and, after a hundred hair-breadth 'capes, Cooroo is thrown on the coast of Spain. His simplicity and ignorance expose him to innumerable disasters; he comes to England, returns to Spain, is wrecked four or five times, tumbles down stairs four or five times to the great mirth of the reader, is seduced into brothels, but afterwards marries, and without doubt lived very happily afterwards. There is some low humour in this novel, which is an exhilarating change from the nauseous sentimental slang with which we have long been disgusted. Occasional satire on our manners, and our penal laws, is intermingled with the narrative. We suspect that, in the character of sir Warner Walsingham, Mr. Lambert has taken great freedom with some of the peculiarities of a respectable and well-educated gentleman, who died about a year and a half back at his seat at Walsingham-abbey, in Norfolk.

Mr. Henry Lee Warner, the gentleman here alluded to, was a very humane and generous man, but of very singular cha-

acter: night he systematically converted into day, and day into night. He always rose in the evening, breakfasted at midnight, and dined at five or six in the morning: he dressed like an English gentleman of the century before the last; a gold-laced coat and waistcoat with deep slash-worked sleeves, and richly embossed buttons; a deep chitterlin of rich yellow lace, curve-toed shoes, and oblong buckles. The story here related of his having helped the fellow whom he caught lopping his tree, to lay the wood on his back, is in all probability true, as Mr. Warner permitted the most impudent and injurious depredations imaginable of this sort. Being on a visit in Norfolk about three years ago, we passed by the seat of this gentleman, and saw timbers stripped of their branches within two hundred yards of his mansion. His extensive old woods and young plantations were alike undefended; and it was truly melancholy to behold a devastation thus detrimental to the community, as well as to the individual, committed with impunity from a false principle of humanity. It has been stated that, by these depredations, Mr. Warner sustained a loss of not less than twenty thousand pounds!

Mr. Lambert would have made a more interesting character of sir Warner Walsingham, if he had drawn a true copy of the original, from which he took a few particular features.

ART. XIII.—*Memoirs of M. de Brimboc: containing some Views of English and Foreign Society.* 3 vols. 12mo.

A SHOT that is fired when the battle is over is waste of ammunition: the crimes and follies which are here satirized have, in a great measure we trust, passed away. History has presented us with revolutionary characters and incidents more striking than any here imagined; and the

philosophy which assumes the omnipotence of mind over matter, and the perfectibility of man, as the basis of its dogmas, has been often ridiculed with more success than in the *Memoirs of M. de Brimboc*,

CHAPTER XII.

METAPHYSICS, PHILOLOGY,

AND

CRITICISM.

THE only introductory observation that the present chapter admits of, relates to a mere matter of arrangement. It has appeared upon the whole to be most convenient to separate the metaphysical from the theological articles, and to form them into a distinct chapter, together with the most important of those which we have been accustomed to place among the miscellanies; by which our chapter of confusion will be diminished without, as we hope, perplexing the reader by adding one more to the subdivisions of the volume.

ART. I.—*An Essay on the Principles of human Action: being an Argument in favour of the natural Disinterestedness of the human Mind: to which are added some Remarks on the Systems of Hartley and Helvetius.* pp. 263.

A PROPENSITY to push inquiry into the hidden causes of things, and to discover the most simple forms of being, is the leading characteristic of a philosophical mind: nor will the most profound learning or extensive information avail, to confer the title of philosopher upon any man, in whom this propensity is not found to exist. It may indeed be acquired by an early and close application to scientific subjects in general, more especially to the investigation of abstract principles. To reap any lasting benefit however from pursuits of this nature, much laborious and painful study is necessary. It is not very one who can converse fluently about cause and effect, matter and spirit, identity, the foundation of morals, and so forth, that merits the dignified appellation of philosopher. On the contrary, the most superficial sciolists, who never arrive at any thing like the comprehension of an abstract idea, or generic term, are observed to be most familiar in their allusions to these and similar questions; of the import of which they understand nothing: and surely of all canting, the cant of such philosophy is the most disgusting.

Neither is there any royal road, or

secret bye-way, to the knowledge of first principles. What have the French gained by attempting to popularize metaphysics? or what advantage have the youth of this country derived from reading systems formed upon the same plan, to the neglecting of Locke, Hartley, Tucker, and Reid? What has resulted from this compendious method of studying the most difficult subjects, but the puerile and absurd ambition to model governments and social institutions after schemes which can only be thought worthy of professors educated in the academy of Lagado?

“Here shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking deeply sobers us again.”

We are not sorry that metaphysics are become unfashionable; that they are again accounted a dry study. For we shall now hope to see the ancient landmarks restored, and the line of demarcation strongly drawn, between such opinions as are purely speculative, and such as have a direct influence upon the business of real life.

Then may we discuss the nature of cause and effect, without fear of disturbing

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religious institutions; then may we demonstrate, that no two cases or situations are precisely similar, without injury to the useful practice of connecting past history and experience. We may then look into the foundation of moral obligation, and never dream of encouraging men to violate the sanctity of promise, or stifle the natural feelings of gratitude. We may shew man to be capable of reasoning, and of yielding on all occasions to the strongest motive, and yet preserve inviolate a regard to general rules. Finally, we may then speculate upon the natural disinterestedness of the human mind, without giving countenance to those who would weaken the wholesome restraints which law has imposed upon human actions.

The publication before us is strictly metaphysical, and preserves with great distinctness the boundaries between speculative truth, and the actuating principles of conduct. We mean to bestow a considerable degree of attention upon its contents. For, though we may not coincide in all, or perhaps in the most important conclusions, which the author has endeavoured to substantiate, we are nevertheless perfectly ready to bear our testimony to the acuteness, discrimination, and analytical talent, which are stamped upon every page of his work.

The subject is thus introduced.

"It is the design of the following essay to shew that the human mind is naturally disinterested, or that it is naturally interested in the welfare of others in the same way, and from the same direct motives, by which we are impelled to the pursuit of our own interest."

This is attempted by proving, first, that all voluntary action must have for its object something future; secondly, that whatever relates to the future can influence the mind only by means of the imagination; thirdly, that we can have no direct or selfish interest in what impresses us only through the imagination; fourthly, that the good of others affects us through the same medium as our own future good; and fifthly, as a necessary consequence from the foregoing premises, that the good of others and our own future good naturally affect us in the same manner. This appears to be the full extent of the argument, which is conducted with unusual subtlety, and is stated in a variety of ways, according to the different views that may be taken of the subject.

"All voluntary action," observes this reasoner, "that is, all action proceeding from a will or effort of the mind to produce a certain event, must relate to the future, or to those things the existence of which is problematical, undetermined, and therefore capable of being affected by the means made use of with a view to their production, or the contrary? But that which is future, which does not yet exist, can excite no interest in itself, nor act upon the mind in any way but by means of the imagination. The direct primary motive or impulse which determines the mind to the volition of any thing, must therefore in all cases depend on the *idea* of that thing as conceived by the imagination, and on the *idea* solely; for the thing itself is a non-entity. By the very act of its being *willed*, it is supposed not to exist: it neither is any thing, nor can be the cause of any thing. We are never interested in the things themselves which are the real, ultimate, practical objects of volition: the feelings of desire, aversion, &c. connected with voluntary action are always excited by the ideas of those things before they exist. The true impulse to voluntary action can only exist in the mind of a being capable of foreseeing the consequences of things, of being interested in them from the imaginary impression they make upon his mind, and of making choice of the means necessary to produce or prevent what he desires or dreads. This distinction must be absolute and universally applicable, if it is so at all. The motive by which I am impelled to the pursuit of my own welfare, can no more be the result of a direct impression of the thing which is the object of desire or aversion, of any positive communication between my present and future feelings, or of a sort of hypostatical union between the interest of the being acting and the being acted upon, than the motives by which I am interested in the welfare of others can be so. It is true I have a real positive interest in my actual feelings, which I have not in those of others: but actual pleasure and pain are not the objects of voluntary action. It can be to no purpose, it is downright nonsense, to will that which actually exists, which is impressed on my senses to exist, or not to exist (can any thing which does not exist impress the senses?), since it will exist neither more nor less for my willing it, or not willing it. Our shrinking from that which gives us pain could not in any respect be considered as an act of volition or reason, if we did not know that the same object which gives us pain will continue to give us pain while we remain in contact with it. The mere mechanical movement, which generally accompanies much pain, does not appear to me to have any thing more to do with self-love, properly so called, than the convulsive motions or distortions of the muscles caused by bodily pain. In other words, the object of volition is never the cause of volition. The motive or internal impression impelling me to the pursuit of any object, is by the supposition incompatible

with any such interest as belongs to the actual enjoyment of any good, or to the idea of *possession*. The real object of any particular volition is always a mere physical consequence of that volition, since it is willed for that very reason that otherwise it would not exist at all, and since the effect which the mind desires to produce by any voluntary action must be subsequent to that action. It cannot therefore exert any power over my present volitions and actions, unless we suppose it to act before it exists, which is absurd; for there is no faculty in the mind by which future impressions can excite in it a presentiment of themselves, in the same way that past impressions act upon it by means of memory. When we say that future objects act upon the mind by means of the imagination, it is not meant that such objects exercise a real power over the imagination, but merely that it is by means of this faculty that we can foresee the probable or necessary consequences of things, and are interested in them.

Then follow a few remarks not essential to the argument, which however is soon resumed thus:

"The reality of my future interest in any object cannot give me a real interest in that object at present, unless it could be shewn that in consequence of my being the same individual I have a necessary sympathy with my future sensations of pleasure or pain, by which means they produce in me the same mechanical impulses as if their objects were really present. The puncture of a pin, causing an irritation in the extremity of one of the nerves, is sensibly felt along the whole extent of that nerve; a violent pain in any of the limbs disorders the whole frame; I feel at the same moment the impressions made on opposite parts of my body: the same conscious principle pervades every part of me; it is in my hands, my feet, my eyes, my ears, at the same time, or at any rate is immediately affected by whatever is impressed on all these; it is not confined to this or that organ for a certain time; it has an equal interest in the whole sentient system; nothing that passes in any part of it can be indifferent to me. Here we have a distinct idea of a real individuality of person, and a consequent identity of interests. Till some such diffusive conscious principle can be shewn to exist, producing a real connexion between my future sensations and present impulses, collecting and uniting the different successive moments of my being in one general representative feeling of self-interest, as the impressions made on different parts of my body are all conveyed to one common principle of thought, it is in vain to tell me that I have the same interest in my future sensations as if they were present, because I am the same individual. However nearly allied, however similar I may be to my future self, whatever other relation I may bear to that self, so long as there is an

absolute separation, an insurmountable barrier fixed between the present and the future, so that I neither am, nor can possibly be, affected at present by what I am to feel hereafter, I am not to any moral or practical purpose the *same* being. Natural impossibilities cannot be made to give way to a mere courtesy of expression. 'But I know that I shall become that being.' Then my interest in it is founded on that knowledge, and not on an event which not only is not felt by my mind, but is itself yet to come, viz. the transition of my present into my future being. How does it signify to me what I shall hereafter feel, or how can it influence my present conduct, or how ought to do so, but because, and in as far as, I have some idea of it beforehand? The injury that I may do to my future interest will not certainly, by any kind of re-act-ion, return to punish me for my neglect of my own happiness. In this sense I am always free from the consequences of my actions. The interests of the being who acts, and of the being who suffers are never one: they are not swayed by the influence of the same causes, either directly, or by mechanical sympathy; the good which is the object of pursuit can never co-exist with the motives which make it an object of pursuit. The good which any being pursues is always at a distance from him. His wishes, his exertions, are always excited by 'an airy, notional good,' by the idea of good, not the reality. But for this there could be no desire, no pursuit of any thing. * * * * * My real interest is not therefore something which I can handle, which is to be felt, or seen; it is not lodged in the organs of hearing, or taste, or smell, it is not the subject of any of the senses, it is not in any respect what is commonly understood by a real substantial interest. On the contrary, it is fundamentally, and in its origin, and by its very nature, the creature of reflection and imagination; and whatever can be made the subject of these, whether relating to ourselves or others, may also be the object of an interest powerful enough to become the motive of volition and action. If it should be asked then, what difference it can make to me whether I pursue my own welfare, or entirely neglect it, what reason I can have to be at all interested in it? I answer that, according to the selfish hypothesis, I do not see any. But if we admit that there is something in the very idea of good or evil, which naturally excites desire or aversion, which is in itself the proper motive of action, which impels the mind to pursue the one and to avoid the other, by a true moral necessity; then it cannot be indifferent to me whether I believe that any being will be made happy or miserable in consequence of my actions, whether this be myself or another. I naturally desire and pursue my own good (in whatever this consist) simply from my having an idea of it sufficiently warm and vivid to excite in me an emotion of interest or passion; and I love and pursue the good of others, of a re-

lative, of a friend, of a family, a community, or of mankind, for just the same reason."

Upon this theory, of which we have given the outline above, and confirmed it in part by the preceding extracts, we shall offer a few remarks. There can be no difficulty in assenting to the first and second positions, viz. that all voluntary actions refer to the future; and that the future affects us by the power of imagination. But it seems to us to be begging the question, to assume that we can have no selfish interest in what impresses the mind through the imagination (see page 116). The author indeed would limit the use of the term selfish to our physical sensations only; and then no doubt every voluntary action, by its nature, is exempt from the charge of selfishness. But this is reducing the question to a dispute about words; that is, whether we shall denominate an action, that has for its object the exclusive advantage of the individual acting, selfish or disinterested. Now the selfish hypothesis we conceive to be this, viz. that man is naturally impelled to the performance of those actions which will promote his own advantage, in preference to such as would promote the advantage of others. And it looks very like confounding the question, to call all voluntary actions disinterested, regardless of the object which they have in view.

To the last position, viz. that our own future good, and the good of others, impress the mind through the same medium, and in the same manner, we have nothing to object. But the point is, do they impress the mind with an equal degree of force? of this objection our author is perfectly aware, (see page 121,) though we do not perceive that he has done any thing to remove it. Now, whatever be the reason, why our own particular future good excites in us a stronger degree of interest than the good of others, as long as this effect arises from the constitution of the human mind, so long must man prefer his private interest to that of others; that is, so long must he be accounted naturally more selfish than benevolent.

If we have been successful in conveying to our readers a just representation of our author's argument; a task we can assure them by no means easy to perform, in consequence of the total absence of the *lucidus ordo*; and the perpetual interruption of the reasoning by digressive matter; they will perceive it to be materially defective as to the main design. The subordinate figures are executed with admirable

force and strength of colouring, and have indeed a relief somewhat injurious to the effect of the piece. From these we have derived our opinion of the author's talents, which we are inclined to estimate at no ordinary value. But we certainly think his performance falls short of fulfilling its declared object.

Admitting the full extent of the argument exhibited in the work before us, what does it prove more than that there is a natural propensity in the human mind to the love of good, or a capability of being benevolent or selfish according to circumstances? But is not the existence of such a propensity perfectly valueless and nugatory, independantly of the other properties of the mind in which it resides? and is not the mind of man placed by nature in such circumstances; as unavoidably to find its earliest gratifications in sensation, and thereby to contract a selfish tinge? Something more then should have been demonstrated, than a natural disposition to the love of good, in order to establish the doctrine contended for in this treatise. For while the human soul is enshrined in this fleshly tabernacle, and can only receive notices, of what is good by means of the senses; and while, from whatever cause, we have a more lively feeling of what concerns our future selves than what concerns other beings; there is a fundamental reason in the nature and constitution of man why he should be more selfish than benevolent, in other words, why he should not be *naturally* disinterested, or as much concerned for another's welfare as for his own.

Before we dismiss the first division of this work, we must refer our readers to the author's observations on similarity and identity, for a specimen of profound investigation. Nor must we forget to mention an excellent note on the French character, which we had intended to insert as an entertaining extract; but this our limits prohibit. As critics, we have to object to the frequent and needless repetition of the same ideas, which rather tend to weaken than enforce the argument. And we are inclined to suspect that there are very few persons, who will not, in perusing his book, have a perfect fellow-feeling with the author, when he declares with the utmost sincerity, "But I am tired of repeating the same thing so often," &c. (page 89).

The second part of the volume is employed in repelling the objections to our author's theory, deducible from the doc-

trine of association as explained by Hartley, and the system of self-love maintained by Helvetius, Mandeville, Rochefoucault, and others. This we think is the best-argued and most valuable portion of the book. The strictures upon the hypothesis of vibrations are acute and decisive against its probability; and as they are both original and more philosophical than any remarks we have before seen on the subject, we shall present our readers with a considerable extract. Having objected to this system, that it is inconsistent with the notion (here assumed as evident) that the whole train or sentient principle is affected by every impression made upon it; and farther, that it is irreconcilable with the nature of consciousness, or the perception of different impressions at the same time, and of their relations to each other; he proceeds thus:

"From all these considerations taken together, I cannot help inferring the fallacy of the Hartleian doctrine of vibrations, which all along goes upon the supposition of the most exact distinction and regular arrangement of the *places* of our ideas, and which therefore cannot be effectually reconciled with any reasoning, that excludes all local distinction from having a share in the mechanical operations of the human mind. For if we suppose the succession of our ideas to be carried on by the communication of the impulse belonging to one idea, to the contiguous cell or dormitory of another idea, formally associated with it, and if we at the same time suppose each idea to occupy a separate cell which is inviolable, and which it has entirely to itself, then undoubtedly the ideas thus called up will follow one another in the same order in which they were originally excited. But if we take away this imaginary allotment of separate parcels of the brain to different ideas, and suppose the same substance or principle to be constantly impressed with a succession of different ideas, then there seems to be no assignable reason why a vibratory notion accompanied with thought, in passing from one part of the thinking substance to the next, should not excite any other idea which had been impressed there, as well as the one with which that particular vibration had been originally associated; or why it should not by the general impulse equally excite them all. It is like supposing that you might tread on a nest of adders twined together, and provoke only one of them to sting you. * * * * * And farther, even if it could be shewn that the doctrine of vibrations accounts satisfactorily for the association of the ideas of any one sense, (as those of the sight, for example) yet merely the very nature of that principle must take off every sort of communication between the ideas of different senses, (as those of sight and hearing) which may have been associated

in the order of time, but which, with respect to actual situation, must be farther removed from one another than any ideas of the same sense, at whatever distance of time they may have been severally impressed. If from the top of a long cold barren hill I hear the distant whistle of a thrush, which seems to come up from some warm woody shelter beyond the edge of the hill; this sound coming faint over the rocks with a mingled feeling of strangeness and joy, the idea of the place about me, and the imaginary one beyond, will all be combined together in such a manner in my mind as to become inseparable. Now the doctrine of vibrations appears absolutely to exclude the possibility of the union of all those into one associated idea; because as the whole of that principle is founded on the greater ease and certainty with which one local impression is supposed to pass into the seat of the next, and the greater force with which it acts there than it can do further off, the idea of a visible object can never run into the notion of a sound, nor *vice versa*; these impressions being of course conveyed along different nerves to different and very remote parts of the brain."

The ideas in this passage are afterwards expanded, and brought to bear with great force against Hartley's metaphysical map of the brain. He sums up this part of his subject in these words:

"I have endeavoured to shew not only that there is no regular local arrangement of our ideas to correspond exactly with the order in which they cohere together in the mind; but that there appears to be no distinction whatever in this respect; that they all belong absolutely to the same place or internal seat of consciousness; that this want of distinction is an evident fact with respect to the successive impressions which are made on the same parts of the body, and consequently on the same parts of the thinking substance; and that it may be deduced generally from the nature of thought itself, and the associations which arise from it, &c.; that this principle must be entirely nugatory with respect to the associations of the ideas of different senses, even though it should hold true with respect to those of any one sense; lastly, that all ideas impressed at the same time acquire a power of exciting one another ever after, without any regard to the coincidence of their imaginary seats in the brain (according to the material hypothesis); and that therefore the true account of the principle of association must be derived from the first cause, viz. the coincidence of time, and not from the latter, which bears no manner of proportion to the effects produced."

There are not many admirers of Hartley's metaphysics who will feel very anxious as to the fate of his ingenious but unsolid theory of vibrations. The wonder is not that this physiological explanation of

mental phenomena should prove defective and inadequate to its purpose; but that it should have been contrived to account, with so much plausibility, for the variety of cases of association to which it is applicable. This hypothesis, like that of the sensorial powers and others of a similar nature, may be considered as a sort of allegory, invented for the sake of elucidating an abstruse and difficult subject. It serves well enough to assist the imagination in conceiving of the operations of an invisible power, but merits no regard when advanced as the real exponent of intellectual processes.

Whether the Hartleians, however, will or will not easily abandon the doctrine of vibrations, they are certainly bound to take cognizance of the attacks which this philosopher has made upon their grand principle of association. We can assure them that he is a formidable opponent; and though we do not say he is unconquerable, we must apprise them that a strong arm will be required to vanquish him.

"It has been said that the principle of association is sufficient to account for all the phenomena of the human mind, and is the foundation of every rule of morality. My design (says this writer) is to shew that both these assertions are absolutely false; or that it is an absurdity, and an express contradiction, to suppose that association is either the only mode of operation of the human mind, or that it is the primary and most general principle of thought and action."

He thus throws down the gauntlet; where is the champion both willing and able to take it up? But leaving this to those whom it may concern, we return to our proper calling.

Similarity, one of the general sources of connection between our ideas, has been resolved by the Hartleians into a case of association, by calling it partial sameness. This notion our author combats with uncommon force and subtlety of reasoning:—but we have not room to give his argument at length, and to abridge would be to weaken it. We prefer quoting his commentary upon Mr. Macintosh's explanation of this principle.

"Mr. Macintosh, I remember, explained this principle in his lectures in the following manner: If, says he, any gentleman, who has heard me in this place to-day, should by chance pass by this way to-morrow, the sight of Lincoln's-inn-hall will, upon the principle we are now examining, bring along with it the recollection of some of the persons he has met with the day before, perhaps of some of

the reasonings which I have the honour to deliver to this audience, or in short any of those concomitant circumstances with which the sight of Lincoln's-inn-hall has been previously associated in his mind. This is a correct verbal statement, but it is liable to be misunderstood. Mr. Macintosh is no doubt a man of a very clear understanding, of an imposing elocution, a very able disputant, and a very metaphysical lawyer, but by no means a profound metaphysician, not quite a Berkeley in subtlety of distinction. I will try as well as I am able to help him out in his explanation. It is clear that the visible image of Lincoln's-inn-hall, which any one has presented to his senses at any given moment of time, cannot have been previously associated with other images and perceptions. Neither is a renewed sensible impression of a particular object the same with, or in any manner related to, a former recollected impression of the same object, except from the resemblance of the one to the other. There can be no doubt then of the connection between my idea or recollection of Lincoln's-inn-hall yesterday, and the associated ideas of the persons whom I saw there, or the things which I heard: the question is, how do I get this idea of yesterday's impression from seeing Lincoln's-inn-hall to-day? The difficulty, I say, is not in connecting the links in the chain of previously associated ideas, but in arriving at the first link—in passing from a present sensation to the recollection of a past object. Now this can never be by an act of association, because it is self-evident that the present can never have been previously associated with the past. Every beginning of a series of associations, that is, every departure from the continued beaten track of old impressions, or ideas remembered in regular succession, therefore, implies and must be accounted for from some act of the mind, which does not depend on association."

We must request such of our readers as may not lately have habituated themselves to metaphysical discussion to re-peruse the foregoing passage, before they pronounce the distinction it labours to establish to be frivolous or sophistical. They will observe that instead of accounting for the revival of the ideas of Mr. Macintosh and his lectures from the sight of Lincoln's-inn-hall the following day, by the power of association only, there are two principles here employed of totally different natures, similarity and association. Similarity is the cause of the new sensation *A* exciting the old idea *a*. Association is the cause of *a* exciting *b* *c*. This subtle distinction, however, will not alter the established language upon such occasions, as it is sufficiently correct for popular usage, but it will prevent the use of common terms from imposing on the understanding of the

philosopher. We are by no means equally satisfied with the explanation afterwards given of the supposed case, that A excites b c without the intervention of a, by means of the similarity of the general state of mind; as this seems to be rather the stating of an appearance than the explaining of a fact.

The next objection which is taken to association as the all-sufficient expounder of mental operations, arises from its inadequacy to account for the faculty of judgment. Here again we must refer our readers to the work itself.

It is probable that neither Hartley himself, nor any of his followers, ever attained to a tolerably distinct notion of the way in which the will results from the association of ideas. The observations on this head are entitled to much attention.

"I conceive first that volition necessarily implies thought or foresight, that is, that it is not accounted for from mere association. All voluntary action implies a view to consequences; a perception of the analogy between certain actions already given, and the particular action then to be employed; also a knowledge of the connection between certain actions and the effects to be produced by them; and lastly, a faculty of combining all these with particular circumstances so as to be able to judge how far they are likely to impede or assist the accomplishment of our purposes, in what manner it may be necessary to vary our exertions according to the nature of the case, whether a greater or less degree of force is required to produce the effect, &c. Without this 'discourse of reason,' this circumspection and comparison, it seems to be as impossible for the human mind to pursue any regular object, as it would be for a man, hemmed in on all sides by the walls of houses and blind alleys, to see his way clearly before him from one end of London to the other, or to go in a straight line from Westminster to Wapping. One would think it would be sufficient to state the question, in order to shew that mere association, or the mechanical recurrence of any old impressions in a certain order, which can never exactly correspond with the given circumstances, would never satisfactorily account (without the aid of some other faculty) for the complexity and subtle windings and perpetual changes in the motives of human action. On the hypothesis here spoken of, I could have no comprehensive idea of things to check any immediate passing impulse, nor should I be able to make any inference with respect to the consequences of my actions, whenever there was the least alteration in the circumstances in which I must act."

The discussion of this difficult point is very loosely conducted, and is grievously

interrupted by incidental remarks; especially by a refutation of a certain whim of Mr. Macintosh's respecting general benevolence. Mr. Macintosh, indeed, however unmetaphysical and destitute of subtlety his lectures may have been, seems to have succeeded in making a pretty strong impression upon our author's imagination, who goes out of his way more than once to have a rencontre with him, and treats him with a degree of contempt bordering upon the abusive. We mention this as an exception to the calm and dispassionate temper that in general pervades the work.

We have already extended this article to a length that precludes our controverting the forcible objections which are here opposed to the Hartleian theory of the will. We shall only remark, *en passant*, as a hint to those who may wish to engage in the controversy, that this objector has not quite satisfied us that the 21st and 77th propositions in the Observations on Man are altogether nonsensical. We still think that "voluntary powers may result from association." We do not pretend to see clearly the manner how. But since the voluntary motions are acquired, and since their strength corresponds to the number and force of the associations that have been formed, we think there is some share of reason for supposing it probable that the will may depend upon, or consist in, a certain state of association; meaning however association in the extended sense understood by Hartley, and not as limited by this writer. We forbear saying more, as we are not prepared to push the discussion to the point requisite for determining the question.

After having accumulated difficulties upon the doctrine of association generally, the essayist proceeds to its supposed application against the disinterested hypothesis, and finds that it avails nothing. For, granting all the force to association which the Hartleians contend for, he observes,

"That the same kind of association must apply to the interest we take in the feelings of others, though perfect strangers to us, as well as to the interest we feel for ourselves. All that can ever take place, in the imaginary anticipation either of our own feelings or those of others, can be nothing more than some sort of transposition and modification of the old ideas of memory; or if there is any thing peculiar to this act of the mind, it is equally necessary to our feeling any interest in our own future impressions, or those of others."

This indeed is sufficiently obvious; and

had our author convinced us of the truth of his doctrine in the first part of the treatise, we should have found little difficulty in removing objections to it taken from the power of association.

The remarks on Helvetius and others are acute and pertinent. But we have already run ourselves out of breath, and are quite unable to hunt down the fresh game which this indefatigable sportsman has started.

We have no intention to criticise the style of a work of this nature. Perspicuity is all that is expected. Our extracts however will prove that the composition possesses other merits. But we are compelled to say that the punctuation is miserably imperfect; and we must farther censure a peculiar mode of expression, repeatedly used, which is by no means elegant, and has therefore nothing to atone for its want of correctness, page 169.

"If a person should see the picture of *their* dead father, &c."

ART. II.—*The Principles of Moral Science.* By ROBERT FORSYTH, Esq. Advocate.
vol. 1. 8vo. pp. 520.

SCOTLAND owes her literary distinction, rather to the power of her intellect, than to the delicacy of her taste, or the fruitfulness of her imagination. She has contributed little to the enrichment of poetry, painting, sculpture, and music; while metaphysics, politics, chemistry, and those departments of knowledge which are extended by the efforts of the reasoning faculty, have been cultivated and enlarged by the assiduity of her philosophers. To no subject has she applied her intellect with more industry and success, than to the philosophy of mind. The writings of the Scotch metaphysicians are numerous and valuable; and the labours of Baxter, Hume, Smith, Beattie, Campbell, Kaimes, and Reid, are contemplated with exultation by their country, and perused with instruction by the world.

In the philosophy of morals, a very considerable portion of the most valuable reasoning we possess is the produce of Scotland. The *Moral Philosophy of Hutcheson*, a work elaborate and instructive, may be reckoned among the productions of that nation, as the author, although an Irishman by birth, received his education, and enjoyed his celebrity, in Scotland. Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* is among the most valuable works

Upon taking leave of this philosophical incognito, while we thank him for assisting us to examine the foundation of opinions long since formed, as well as for the perspicuous, neat, and satisfactory elucidation of some obscure points in ontology, we cannot forbear advising him in the next edition of his essay, to supply us not only with a recapitulation of the heads of his argument, but likewise with an outline of his intended theory of human nature. This exercise would be of material service to himself. For he appears to have dwelt so long upon the minute and fractional parts of ideas—to have divided and subdivided down to so low a point—to have been contemplating with such intensity of thought the infinity of aspects in which the ultimate speck of division may be placed, that there is some danger of his eye becoming too microscopic to take in the several bearings of an extensive system, or to survey with a steady and comprehensive glance the scope, proportions, and effect, of a finished whole.

on the subject. It displays penetrating observation, and amusing ingenuity; and although we may not agree with the fundamental principles of the book, yet it contains numerous remarks on the operations of mind, profound and valuable. But Mr. Hume's *Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Distinctions*, is the most satisfactory solution of this interesting subject that is to be found among our ethical treatises. The reasoning is luminous and natural; the author seems to have followed the straight and obvious path, and to have arrived with facility at the truth. The explanation is at once clear, ingenious, and convincing. The work which we are about to examine is the production of a Scotch advocate. It is one volume of a work which may possibly be extended to a second, or a third. It is divided into three parts. The first treats of the ultimate object of human pursuit, of the moral qualities, of former systems of morality, and moral duties. The second, of the qualities of the mind, its powers and passions. The third, of religion. The book commences with an attempt to distinguish the moral from every other science. According to Mr. Forsyth, all sciences treat of what has been, except moral science; whose subject is not what has been, but what ought to be. This

distinction is inaccurate. The moralist must learn what has been, before he can know what ought to be. The chemist investigates the products of his compositions, and the results of his analyses: he searches for the particular effects which follow particular chemical changes. The moralist searches for the particular consequences which follow particular actions. The chemist assumes that the same change, which now produces a given effect, will always continue to produce it. The moralist assumes that the same actions will generally be followed by the same consequences. The chemist shows how his knowledge may be made subservient to the conveniences of life; and the moralist points out those actions which will lead to happiness, and those which will lead to misery. Both enquire what has been, and what is, that they may know what ought to be. This attempted distinction therefore has failed.

The author next proceeds to state his opinion of the ultimate object of human pursuit: on this subject all men have agreed, both in doctrine and in conduct. The attainment of happiness, in some state of existence, has formed the basis of all systems of morality, and the object of all human pursuit. The author has evolved a doctrine, of which no one will dispute the originality, but many we believe will question the accuracy. From the diffuse and declamatory manner in which it is stated, we should have attempted an abridgement, had not the doctrine been so singular, (we had almost said so ridiculous,) that we might have been suspected of mistaking the meaning of the author. We shall endeavour to pick out those paragraphs which contain the most condensed statement.

"It appears to me then, that the great object which the human race ought to pursue, and the attainment of which they ought to regard as the business of their lives, is not to produce happiness, pleasure, or felicity, in themselves or others; but that, on the contrary, the end for which they were formed, and which alone they can pursue with success, is the improvement of their whole intellectual faculties, whether speculative or active. In one word, it is the business of man in this world to endeavour to become an excellent being, possessing high powers of energy and intelligence. This is his chief good; and ought to be the great and ultimate object of his pursuit, to which every other consideration ought to be sacrificed.

"If this principle, that intellectual excellence or the perfection of the mind and of its

rational powers, is the most important and valuable object of human pursuit, can be clearly established, it will follow, that those actions are good, and right, and best, which produce, not happiness or pleasure, but the greatest portion of knowledge, ability, and intellectual perfection in the world; and that those actions are the worst, which produce, or have a tendency to produce, not suffering, but the greatest degree of ignorance, of stupidity and of intellectual weakness and degradation. It will even follow, that the rulers of nations (though they are seldom so well employed) do actually misapply their labour, and mistake their duty, when they imagine that their proper business consists in conferring felicity upon their fellow-creatures.

"I shall here endeavour to prove, that the great task, to the performance of which the existence of every man ought to be devoted, consists of two branches: first, to produce the intellectual improvement of his own individual mind and character; and, secondly, to produce the improvement of the minds of other rational beings.

"I. 1st. In all undertakings, the first question among rational men is uniformly this: Supposing us to engage in a particular pursuit, what prospect have we of success? The object of the undertaking may be great and valuable; but if there is no reason to expect that the pursuit of it can prosper, it is justly disregarded as an idle project that will never afford any reward for our efforts. This is precisely the case with regard to happiness. It is no doubt a fine thing if it could be attained; but none ever pursued it with success. It is like the country in the romance, in which the stores of the field are all gems and gold, and in which overflowing plenty abounds: it is a fine country, but nobody can go there.

"It is scarcely necessary to attempt to prove, by arguments, that a state of happiness cannot be attained in this world. The history of mankind, both in ancient and modern times, sufficiently establishes the fact. Some have expected to find felicity in riches; others have sought it from power, from pleasure, and even from fair and upright conduct: but they have all been unsuccessful. Disappointments have awaited them; and bad health, or other unforeseen calamities, have rendered their efforts fruitless. Even when no visible cause of infelicity existed, it has been found impossible to enjoy a high degree of happiness for any long period, merely because all human pleasure diminishes by a repetition of enjoyment.

"Good health, and a natural cheerfulness of temper, produce as high a degree of happiness as we are capable of enjoying for any length of time. But these we cannot bestow upon ourselves; although we may no doubt throw them away. The true state of the case seems to be this: A certain limited degree or portion of pleasure is enjoyed by man in this world; but this portion or degree is not pro-

duced by human labour or industry. It is a gift bestowed by the Author of our existence, and arises not from any contrivance on our part. It is even given with little appearance of discrimination. The young and the old, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the wise and the foolish, are all nearly upon a level with regard to it. Like the rain, or the light of heaven, it comes freely, or not at all; inasmuch, that those men who have seriously engaged in the pursuit of happiness have uniformly confessed, that all anxiety and labour concerning it are absurd, as they enjoy it most who court it least."

"The contrary of all this takes place with regard to the perfection of our intellectual character. It is not bestowed, but may be gradually acquired. We are all born equally ignorant, and equally feeble. Some do indeed appear to possess more quickness of apprehension than others; but this inequality is easily rectified by superior industry: and those men never fail to attain to the highest degrees of intellectual excellence, who pursue it steadily, and make it most completely the business of their lives. An infant has none of it. A man always has a portion of it; and he is always capable of acquiring more of it than he actually possesses; for there is no end of the degrees in which it may be attained.

"This being the true state of things, it is evident that happiness cannot, in this world, be justly regarded as a rational object of pursuit, as it must always be pursued in vain. The great error with regard to it consists in supposing that it can be attained, or that it can be increased, by our efforts, and in forgetting that it cannot be purchased by a price; that wherever it comes, it comes as a gift from heaven; and that our nature cannot rise by industry to the possession of higher degrees of it. But an excellent or improved mind is never given: it is always purchased; and the progress we are capable of making in it is unbounded."

In the most important parts of this extract the author declaims rather than argues; he dogmatizes rather than proves: that an equal portion of happiness is enjoyed by every individual, and that this happiness is independent of his exertion, he certainly states; but he leaves his reader to guess by what process of reasoning he came to these conclusions. Surely Mr. Forsyth will not deny that a man perfect in body, and cultivated in mind, raised by fortune above the fear of poverty, preserved by judgment from inaccuracy of conduct, and blest in his pursuits with universal success; a being enjoying all the pleasures of sense, possessing the gratifications of prosperity, and commanding the delights of intellectual culture; surely such a being as this enjoys a portion of happiness far greater than the man un-

healthy, stupid, poor, and unfortunate; deprived of the pleasures of sense by disease, and of the pleasures of intellect by mental imbecility; who suffers under the inconveniences and trembles at the terrors of poverty, whose every action is a blunder, and every pursuit a failure. These are not imaginary characters only; they are frequently to be found in the world. The happiness enjoyed by different individuals, although seldom existing in such different proportions, is very unequally distributed. Again, can we doubt for a moment that much of the happiness of life depends on a skilful government of our actions, *i. e.* on human exertion? Does it not make us temperate, and thus produce the ease of health? Does it not make our conduct accurate, and thus afford us the cheerfulness of prosperity? Does it not enrich our minds, and thus open to us the pleasures of intellectual culture? There can be little doubt therefore that happiness is considerably the fruit of human exertion, and consequently a fit object of pursuit. We would examine Mr. Forsyth's arguments against this opinion, but he has given us no arguments for refutation. But even granting that we are wrong in the foregoing reasoning; and supposing with him that human happiness is equally distributed among mankind, and cannot be increased by them; and supposing also that intellect is as attainable as he is determined to think; we still deny that such a being as man should endeavour to attain it, unless as a means of procuring happiness. Such is the nature of man that happiness alone is adapted to his appetites. It is the essence of value; it is the principle of good, and every thing which is desirable is desirable for producing it. This is an ultimate fact which we cannot pass, in our speculations on the comparative value of human possessions. If intellect may be acquired at will, (a doctrine extremely consolatory to the student ardent with the love of fame) it does not follow that it ought to be pursued for its own sake. The possibility does not prove the value or the propriety of an acquisition. Intellect is valuable not for itself, but as it multiplies the sources of our pleasure.

The chapter on the human understanding, and its subordinate faculties, is executed in many parts with inexcusable slovenliness, and incomprehensible obscurity. It contains nothing new, and the reader will frequently be offended by a want of clearness or accuracy.

"The voluntary power of the mind or the will is exerted in three ways: in commanding those muscles of the body by which its various movements are performed; in directing the senses towards particular objects; and in performing the office of recollection or voluntary memory. This last office, the voluntary power or will accomplishes thus: it arrests the train of our ideas or remembrances, till a particular idea can be deliberately perceived, and its difference from every other idea felt or known; or the will alters the current of our present ideas, that others, to which we wish to attend, may have an opportunity of presenting themselves.

"These two qualities or faculties of perception, and voluntary power or will, constitute the understanding or intellect; and with the aid of the subordinate faculties of sensation and involuntary memory, they form what is called the mind of man.

"The perfection of the perceptive power is wisdom. It is capable of unlimited improvement; because there is no end of the degrees of acuteness and accuracy of discrimination which it may acquire: and the number of objects upon which it may be exerted is unbounded. The perfection of the will or voluntary power constitutes attention in speculation; and self-command, fortitude or intrepidity in action and in suffering. Its possible improvement is also unlimited; although it is easier to conceive its arrival at complete perfection, than the arrival of the perceptive faculty at the same point, inasmuch as it seems more practicable to attain to complete self-command, than to attain to a perfect perception or knowledge of the boundless works of nature."

In the three modes in which volition is said to be exercised, the first and second are identical. We direct our senses to particular objects, by muscular exertion. It is by certain muscles that the eyes are turned to visible objects, that the tongue is applied to distinguish tastes, that odoriferous substances are drawn into the nostrils, in short that our several senses are directed to their appropriate objects. If by "directing the senses to particular objects" the author means the attention of the mind to impressions made on the senses, the statement is obscure.

The definition of wisdom is new. Perception is the act of the mind in perceiving ideas, and it perceives well when it perceives vividly. According to the author, therefore, wisdom consists in the vividness of the ideas of sense and memory; and a wise man is he who smells, tastes, feels, hears, and sees, with uncommon acuteness, and who remembers with the distinctness of reality. But wisdom commonly means the perfection of reason;

and reason consists in being able to call up, to compare, and otherwise to act upon our ideas at will. Wisdom therefore consists in the complete subordination of ideas to volition; and a wise man is he, who with a slight exertion of will, is able to move or fix, or otherwise act upon, his ideas.

"II. Memory is almost entirely the creature of the understanding, or is produced by the joint efforts of the perceptive and voluntary powers. That a sensation may be remembered, it is necessary that an exertion of the will, or, as it is called, an act of attention, should be exerted. By this exertion of the will, two things are performed: the object of sense is distinctly exhibited, or, as it were, forced upon the notice of the perceptive faculty; and at the same time the perception is noted down in the memory as in a book or record.

"Where no attention is exerted, no impression appears to be made upon the memory. Hence, when occupied about an interesting affair, a clock may strike beside us, and an instant thereafter we shall forget that we heard it. Accordingly, in common life, the reason most frequently assigned for forgetting an occurrence is, that we gave no attention to it."

Nothing can be more obscure and unprecise than these observations on memory. In voluntary remembrance, a train of ideas is certainly forced upon the perceptive faculty. At that time we perceive the ideas distinctly, and are able by this exertion of volition to perform the same action with more facility in future. The links which bind the ideas together become strengthened, and they follow each other with more readiness. We suppose this to be the meaning of the author, when he says that "by remembering, the perception is noted down in the memory as in a book or record," but the illustration rather tended to darken than to illuminate the idea. The paragraph immediately following it is equally open to criticism. When the mind is fixed by some interesting object, and a clock strikes near, it makes no impression upon the perceptive faculty. The motion of the clock produces the accustomed vibration in the air, this vibration produces a tremulous motion in the drum of the ear, and the motion extends along the nerve to the brain, but the mind does not receive any impression: a few minutes after the mind does not remember that the clock struck because it cannot remember what it has not previously perceived by sense. But the author when he says, that "where no

attention is excited no impression appears to be made on the memory," seems to think that the sound of the clock was heard, but is forgotten. If it be forgotten what evidence has he of its having been perceived?

The chapter on the imagination contains little either new or interesting. We insert that part which is most worthy of attention.

"The mind or perceptive faculty distinguishes the arrangements or objects which nature exhibits, from those which itself has formed, by recollecting at pleasure, that these last were of its own production: but among the other calamities to which mankind are exposed, this is one, and surely the most dreadful, that the perceptive faculty sometimes loses a portion of its voluntary power, and ceases to be able to command the memory or train of ideas, or to be able to call up, arrest, or dismiss ideas by an effort of its will. This constitutes mania or madness.

"Under such a disease, the train of ideas, or involuntary memory, proceeds as usual, and presents to the mind all the objects of its former knowledge, and all the arrangements or imaginations that were ever formed by itself: but as the voluntary power over the memory is partially lost, the mind cannot arrest the course of its ideas, to recollect or distinguish which of them were originally of its own formation, and which of them arose from actual observation; neither has it the power of dismissing at pleasure any image that memory may chance to present to it. In such a situation, therefore, it believes as realities all its notions, and all the remembrances that happen to present themselves; and acts accordingly.

"Sleep differs from madness in this, that the madman usually possesses full power over the muscles of voluntary motion, and can fully exert all his limbs; whereas in sleep, all voluntary power is lost over the body, as well as over the memory. The train of ideas goes on, and produces what are called dreams. While the sleep remains, these dreams are believed to be true, or the ideas presented by the memory are regarded as realities; because there is no power of dismissing them, or of recollecting their origin; but as the voluntary power over the body has ceased, as well as the power over the memory, the sleeper remains quiet, and does not disturb the world.

"Here, then, is the difference between a state of sound intellect, a state of madness, and a state of sleep. A man of sound mind can arrange his ideas so as to imagine himself created emperor of China; but he can also recollect that this is a fancy of his own forming, and he can dismiss it from his thoughts. If a madman chance to form the same notion, he will believe it to be true, and will assume the state of a monarch; for he can command his body and even his memory in a partial degree:

but he cannot dismiss an idea that presents itself strongly to his mind, nor so far exert recollection as to perceive its origin. If the same fancy occur to a man asleep, he will believe its truth like the madman: but he will lie still, and do nothing; for he has no power over his body."

A distinction exists much more strongly marked between sleep and madness than this which the author draws. During sleep ideas of memory are mistaken for ideas of sense. The sonorous, visual, and other ideas which form the materials of dreams, are mistaken for realities: it is not so in madness; the madman hears, sees, smells, like a sane person. It is in delirium only that the senses are thus diseased. A delirious person sees objects which no one else can see, and is so insensible to outward impressions that common noises are not perceived, and present objects not attended to. It is a curious question to solve, why in dreams, ideas of memory are mistaken for ideas of sense. Mr. Hobbes thought that the scenes which arise in the mind during sleep, are as vivid and complete in all their parts as realities, and hence no difference is distinguishable. But when we wake in the morning, and compare the occurrences of sleep with the sensations of a waking state, the difference in vividness is immediately evident. It is the want of this comparison in sleep which gives rise to the mistake. In the day, when ideas pass through the mind, and objects strike upon the senses, the impressions of the latter are felt to be so much more vivid than the former, that no mistake can take place. The constant comparison prevents any illusion: but during sleep, external objects cease to make impressions upon the mind; ideas cannot be compared with sensations, and are therefore mistaken for them.

The chapter on taste is executed in a much more ingenious and perspicuous manner, than the preceding part of this volume. If we have not been convinced, at least we have been amused, by the author's speculations. The theory of the beautiful and sublime, as connected with the moral doctrine which commences the volume, must engage our attention and exercise our criticism.

"On examining the various objects of taste, it will be found, that what is called their beauty is only another name for their perfection. It consists of the skill and energy, or of the degree of intellectual excellence, that

appears displayed on any occasion, or in the formation of any object. An object is called beautiful when it is excellent of its kind, or when a high degree of wisdom appears to have been exerted in its production. The pleasure with which it is regarded, is nothing else than the satisfaction which attends the contemplation of perfection, or of the valuable qualities of mind which the object has afforded an opportunity of displaying. If the excellence of an object is uncommonly great, so as to require a considerable effort to discern its whole worth, and all the skill and power which are manifested by means of it, such an object is said to be more than beautiful,—it is sublime. The opposite of beauty is deformity or imperfection; the opposite of sublimity is meanness, or extraordinary defectiveness."

To judge of the truth or falsehood of this theory, we must have recourse to experiment. If any objects can be found beautiful or sublime, which display no exertion of intellect, the theory must be confessedly inaccurate. A beautiful landscape pleases the beholder, without casting his look beyond the scene before him, to the mind which produced it. The winding rivulet which nourishes the vegetation of the place, may exhibit the intelligence of him who placed it there; and to the eye of the scientific observer, every part of the scene may be stamped with intellect; but the perception of skill is denied to the generality of observers, who would be insensible to the beauty of the prospect if beauty consisted in intellect. Many objects may be found which arrange themselves under the sublime, and which display not the slightest traces of intellectual exertion. The sea during a storm, and the volcano during its eruptions, are undeniably sublime objects; but we cannot discern any skill in mountain billows, in showers of clunder, or rivers of lava.

About a third of the volume embraces the different disquisitions connected with religion. It is executed with ability and will be read with gratification. Our author, very consistently with his leading tenet, thus vindicates belief in Deity.

"It is a fact little attended to, but not the less true, that the existence of intelligent beings is all times merely a matter of supposition. Every man knows his own existence by immediate perception; but he knows the existence of other men, as rational beings, only in consequence of their actions. How do I know, for example, that any one rational mind exists in the world excepting my own? I answer, thus: I perceive with my eyes a form resembling my own: It eats, drinks, and sleeps, as I do: it utters language: it expresses sentiments of pain and pleasure, and makes interesting and ingenious remarks: it

fashions curious machines; and all its actions are regular, and have a tendency to produce some effect. From all these circumstances, I find myself under the necessity of supposing that this form is inhabited by a mind similar to my own, that thinks, and feels, and chooses, and rejects, as I do. Still this is only an inference, or a supposition, invented to account for appearances; for in no case can mind itself either be seen or touched.

"But we discover the existence of an intelligent Contriver of the universe precisely in the way that we discover the existence of each other. We find ourselves placed amidst a vast scene of revolving worlds. That on which we live is well adapted to the accommodation and subsistence of various animals. These animals possess the most curious bodily structure, and the greatest variety of intellectual character. They are all suited, however, to the state in which they are placed; and were one circumstance of their form or situation changed they could not exist. A fish perishes on land; the land animals perish in the water; and if the carnivorous animals had been formed without weapons to destroy their prey, they must have perished by famine. From this suitableness and accommodation of all the parts of nature to each other, we conclude that it is the work of a mind that discerns, at least as well as we do, what is fit and convenient, and what means are necessary for the accomplishment of any purpose. As we conclude from the productions and actions of a man, that a rational mind inhabits his form; so, from the skillful contrivance of all the parts of nature, we conclude that it is inhabited and animated by a powerful mind. This great mind is invisible; but the mind of man is invisible also. This great mind is only known from its operations; but it is also in this way only that the existence of the mind of man is known. Hence it follows, that we have precisely the same evidence of the existence of the Deity, or of a mind that arranged the universe, that we have of the existence of a living and thinking mind in any man or woman with whom we are acquainted."

Having thus examined the present portion of the metaphysical labours of Mr. Forsyth, we take leave of him for a time. The volume, although it contains much refutable matter, displays a respectable portion of ingenuity, clearness, arrangement, consistency, and comprehension. These qualities will be increased by exercise. The powers of the mind, like the muscles of the body, grow stronger by labour.

This volume will, we fear, add little that is valuable to our previous stock of metaphysical knowledge; but it may be the forerunner to something of greater value. It may be only the gleaming of twilight, which will be followed by the radiance of day.

ART. III.—*Academical Questions.* By the Right Hon WILLIAM DRUMMOND, K. C. F. R. S. E. Author of a Translation of *Perseus*. 4to. Vol. I. pp. 420.

METAPHYSICS, or the science of intellectual nature, appears to have been one of the earliest subjects of speculation which engaged the attention of philosophers. The operations of the understanding might seem a subject peculiarly adapted for the investigation of the human mind. Yet it has so happened that into no subject has a greater degree of perplexity and uncertainty been introduced, not so much perhaps from the nature of the study itself, as from the injudicious manner in which the pursuit of it has been conducted. Even to delineate and classify the operations of the mind with accuracy, is a task of no small nicety and difficulty, and requires the exercise of vigorous, steady, and acute observation. But not content with the discharge of this humbler duty, the philosophers of antiquity, and many of their successors in modern times, have sought to penetrate into the substantial nature of the soul, and without any data of experience, to trace it in its progress through past and future scenes of being. Hence the doctrines of pre-existence, reminiscence, metempsychosis, with innumerable others equally visionary and unsubstantial. On the whole, therefore, in ancient literature, the science of metaphysics, notwithstanding the celebrity of the names recorded among the number of its votaries, and the genius and labour expended on its cultivation, does not seem to have been in general directed to objects of utility. Many sparks of truth were indeed struck out, but no steady and directing light was kindled.

Intellectual science seems in its full proportion to have partaken of the decay which taste, erudition, and knowledge of every species, sustained after the fall of the Roman empire. Under the school-philosophy it was indeed revived, but only to appear disguised under accumulated absurdities. After most literary pursuits had recommenced that career of improvement which they have scarcely ever since relaxed, this was long enveloped in all the gloom of scholastic obscurity. France and England were the first to burst those fetters of authority in which the human faculties had been enchained. But the systems of Descartes and Malbranche have disappeared, while Locke retains the glory, not perhaps of carrying the science which he investigated to perfection, but of having disincumbered it of many absurdities, of having conducted the investigation with that caution which is the character-

istic of true philosophy, and of having laid down those first principles from which subsequent enquirers, we apprehend, will never be able to deviate with safety.

Mr. Drummond in his preface eloquently complains of the neglect into which metaphysical science has fallen in England, and particularly in our universities, the representatives in many respects of our literary republic. The fortune of this study among us has indeed been rather singular. The scholastic philosophy was able for centuries to maintain an untroubled dominion; the free genius of Locke, in overleaping the boundaries and exposing the absurdities of that philosophy, was considered as engaged in a rebellious attempt to overthrow an established empire; Europe acknowledged his merit and success, and they who condemned and discarded him soon claimed the honour of his name. There now seems to be some danger lest the veneration paid to his name should be his only honour; and, as has happened in other instances, that while he is permitted to hold a high rank among the promoters of science, his theories and discoveries should be almost disregarded and forgotten.

The following extract conveys the feelings of our author on this subject.

“ Little fortitude, however, is requisite to bear with indifference the misrepresentations of the ignorant, or the contempt of the vulgar, the mistakes of the illiterate, or the pretensions of the superficial. The philosopher may calmly assert his claims against those, who would trick themselves out in his mantle, and may leave frivolity and dullness to themselves, to scoff, or to revile, without experiencing any sentiments of regret or indignation. It is nothing to him, that his tone and his language are ill imitated by the sophist; that he is considered as a useless member of society by the heavy plodding man of business; or that he is exposed to the impotent ridicule of the gaudy coxcomb, by whom he can never be approved, because he can never be understood. What is it to him, though his name be unknown among the monopolizers, the schemers, and the projectors, that throng the crowded capital of a mercantile nation? What is it to him, though his talents be undervalued by the votaries and the victims of dissipation, folly, and fashion? What is it to him, though grandeur should have withdrawn its protection from genius; though ambition should be satisfied with power alone; and though power should only exert its efforts to preserve itself? These things may not affect him: they may neither inter-

rupt the course of his studies, nor disturb the serenity of his mind. But what must be his feelings, if he should find, that philosophy is persecuted, where science is professed to be taught? Are there not some, who seem desirous of excluding it from the plan of public education? The advantages which are to be derived from classical knowledge are well understood in one place; and a profound acquaintance with mathematics is highly estimated in another: while the study of the human mind, which is the study of human nature, and that examination of principles which is so necessary to the scrutiny of truth, are either discouraged as dangerous, or neglected as useless."

The work of Mr. Drummond, though replete with learning and acute observation, we find it from the want of a regular plan somewhat difficult to analyze. This deficiency is indeed almost unavoidable, as the present volume is only introductory, and is chiefly employed in controverting opinions and observations of former philosophers. It consists of two books, the former of which comprises nine chapters, which may be distinguished into three principal divisions.

The first of these divisions, containing the first and second chapters, is chiefly employed in controverting the propriety of those popular statements by which the mental operations are considered as distinguishable into the exercise of various distinct intellectual faculties. Language of this sort the ablest metaphysicians have not hitherto scrupled to employ. "It cannot be doubted," says Hume, "that the mind is endowed with several powers and faculties; that these powers are distinct from each other; that what is really distinct to the immediate perception may be distinguished by reflection, &c." The convenience of this language, and its accommodation to practical purposes, cannot surely be disputed; it is only its philosophical accuracy that is questioned by Mr. Drummond. The arguments which he employs display all the refinement of metaphysical subtlety. Is power, he asks, a cause or an effect? If an ultimate cause, it is a principle beyond which we cannot proceed, and the supposition of distinct intellectual powers is destructive to that of the unity of the mind. If power is an attribute of substance, and things are distinguished only by their qualities, the supposition terminates in the confusion of substance, material, intellectual, and divine. The object of this and the subsequent reasoning it is difficult to apprehend, from a defect that pervades the whole

work as it now appears; our want of knowledge respecting the positive system which the author intends to establish. The remarks on Locke's account of power are more obvious, and few metaphysical reasoners of the present day will withhold their assent from them. The following extract, though mingled with some occasional obscurity from the circumstance to which we have just alluded, contains some valuable remarks.

"The author of the Essay on Human Understanding is of opinion, that we obtain an idea of power, from observing the motion, which external bodies communicate to each other, and from attending to the influence of our volitions over our thoughts. We have certainly been led by these means to assume the existence of power: it may be doubted, if we thence acquire any notion of it.

"The motion of external bodies does not furnish us with any idea of what may be the motive principle. To perceive one object impelling and another impelled, is not to perceive that, which generates and continues motion. While impulse imparts impulse, I may be sensible of a repeated effect, which, I may conclude, is produced by a repeating cause; but I have no perception of the cause. The *vis movendi* is no object either of sense, or of understanding. I see the thing moved, and I cannot conceive the force, by which it is moved. I suppose the earth to be carried in its orbit round the sun by the power of gravitation; and I do not thence pretend that I have an idea, or notion, of the power of gravitation. I am acquainted with the effect; I may suppose, though I do not perceive the occult cause. I cannot, therefore, conclude, that I acquire any notion of power, by observing the motion of external bodies.

"When it is asserted, that the mind recalls, combines, or separates, ideas, according to its volitions, it may be suspected, that sufficient attention has not been given to the subject. A volition is a modified desire, exclusive (as doctor Priestley observes) of any tumultuous emotion. A desire is the indistinct percept on of an idea; but desire by no means implies power. We could not have argued *a priori*, that volition would be followed by action, or desire by gratification, even where this happens most frequently. May it not then be doubted, whether there be any thing positively causal in volition, or whether any thing necessarily happen, because it has been willed by the mind? There can be no such thing as power which is contingent.

"The power of the mind over ideas has been oftener peremptorily assumed, than clearly explained. We have defined volition to be a modified desire. Now the ideas, which are the objects of volition, must have been already present to the mind, before any desire concerning them could exist. There can be no desire about that, which is no ob-

ject of perception; and the idea, about which we will, must be previously distinguished by us. How then shall we pretend, that ideas present themselves to our contemplation by the power of the will, or by the choice of the mind?

"The observations, which I have just made, may be illustrated from ideas of memory. If in recollecting any train of ideas, I perceive a broken link in the chain, which I desire to fill up, my volition is not employed about the absent idea itself, but about the removal of a want, of which I am perceptive. Having, for example, the first and third ideas of a train, I may perceive the absence of the intermediate idea, and may desire to recollect it; though my volition is not employed about this forgotten idea itself, for it is no object of my perception. I do, however, perceive an interrupted association of ideas; and the painful sensation, which accompanies any association felt to be wrong, may induce me to dwell upon the train, until it present itself to my mind in its original and proper order. Thus if I forget a word in a verse, which I formerly knew, I perceive its absence from the altered sense and the broken harmony. By repeating to myself the words, which I do know, the forgotten word often recurs to my mind. This happens, because the longer we attend to any ideas, the more distinctly we comprehend them; and because those ideas, which were formerly associated in our minds, more readily present themselves to the understanding.

"In the same manner it may be argued, that ideas of intellect and imagination do not always present themselves to the mind by an act of the will. It is not always according to volition, that the orator arranges his discourse, or that the poet paints to the imagination. On the contrary, it would seem difficult to comprehend, how volition should ever influence the reasoning of the one, or the fancy of the other."

The conclusion of the chapter contains some just ethical remarks, conveyed in elegant language, respecting the operation of the passions, and their independance on any direct and authoritative controul of the will.

In the second chapter, in controverting the distinction between active and passive powers of the soul, the abstract subject of power is resumed. We may incidentally remark that a passive power is a very strange expression. It is however clearly shewn, in conformity with the reasoning of Hume, that with respect to the material world, when we speak of the relation of cause and effect, we have no idea of the power exerted, the causal efficacy; we perceive only the connection of events, or more strictly speaking, of perceptions. Some perplexing questions are then started respecting the distinctions between the

active and passive states of the soul, which will not however create much difficulty to a necessarian, who regards the soul as always passive, at least in the sense of being subject to laws of causation in all its operations.

The ideas of substance and primary matter, with the opinions of some ancient and modern philosophers on these subjects, form the basis of the third and fourth chapters. It is obvious to every reader of Locke, that while he possessed the great principles of mental philosophy, he did not in all instances extend them to their full application. Thus on the subject of substance he has been betrayed into some inconsistency with the principles which he himself has laid down. His inaccuracy is well exposed by Mr. Drummond. His very language indeed on this, as on some other occasions, betrays the confusion of his ideas. Speaking of the obscure notion which he supposes the human mind to possess of substance, "It is a supposition," he says, "of one knows not what support of such qualities as are capable of producing simple ideas in us." "Now a supposition," as Mr. Drummond justly remarks, "of one knows not what, does not give an obscure idea, but rather no idea at all." The fact is, as must appear to every attentive observer of the operations of his own mind, that of substance as of power, we are incapable of forming any positive idea. In the subsequent chapter the primary matter of the ancient and modern peripatetics is successfully ridiculed.

The four succeeding chapters are devoted to the consideration of the great metaphysical question respecting the distinction between the primary and secondary qualities of matter, in which the opinion is decisively maintained, that the former equally with the latter are the creatures of perception. The following is the author's statement of the object of these chapters.

"There can be no doubt, says Lord Monboddo, that ideas have their models and archetypes in the nature of things, and that bodies under various figures are the objects which affect our senses. If there were no doubt, there would be no dispute. But there is a dispute. Several philosophers have attempted to prove, that the mind is sentient, that the senses are not so, and that we, who only feel in ourselves, are incapable of discovering the causes of perception, and the sources of sentiment. For the same reasons they have questioned the existence of external qualities. Of these qualities the secondary

are admitted to exist, only as they are perceived : at least by all the disciples of Locke and Des Cartes. With respect to the primary qualities of matter, greater doubts have been entertained. Berkeley has certainly employed some forcible reasoning, to show, that they have no external existence. I shall content myself, with endeavouring to explain, in what manner they are contemplated by the mind ; and in order to do this with greater precision, I shall treat separately, in three following chapters, of solidity, extension and motion."

The sixth chapter briefly treats the question of solidity. This is a subject on which it may appear surprising that controversy should have existed. The human faculties are evidently incapable of communicating any other idea of solidity than of resistance, which however insuperable by any force which we are able to employ, we have no means of ascertaining to be infinite.

The important subject of extension furnishes the next topic of investigation. After attempting to show with the bishop of Cloyne what extension is not, the author proceeds, in one of the few instances of this nature which occur in his volume, to advance a positive theory, which we therefore think it our duty to present to our readers, without professing to vouch for its perspicuity.

"Thus far, therefore, I shall be found to have coincided with the bishop of Cloyne ; and to have arrived by a different induction to a similar conclusion. Still something more is necessary to explain my notions concerning extension ; for it belongs to philosophy to point out both what may be improbable, and what may have the appearance of the greatest probability.

"As it is by the sight and the touch, that we acquire our notions of any extension, and as it is also by the comparison of such ideas, that we learn to distinguish the relative proportions of magnitudes ; so we may not improperly term extension a simple mode of duration. I shall endeavour to illustrate this theory, as clearly as I can.

"Let any whole visible extent, answering to the whole visual angle, at which all the rays of light falling upon the retina are concentrated, be denominated a continuous quantity. Again, let any apparent disunited quantities, equal to particular objects, and making parts of continuous quantity, be called discrete. Continuous extension will be equal to what I term the simple mode of duration ; and discrete quantities to particular combinations of the same simple idea. In the extension, which is continuous, we only consider the simple mode itself ; but in discrete quantities, the mode is not contemplated simply, but as mixed with other modes ; and

this in fact gives us the difference, as we shall have occasion afterwards more fully to show, between one discrete quantity and another.

"When I look out of my window, the objects, which I see before me, give me notions of discrete quantities. The mind cannot contemplate more than one idea at a time, with whatever rapidity whole trains may pass before it ; and a regular series of images passes in my imagination, while I survey the prospect before me, and while the neighbouring shores, covered with buildings, gardens, and vineyards, the sea, a remote promontory, and a farther island, fill the painted field of my vision, and successively attract my notice. But all these objects, with their different distances, and relative magnitudes, being, as it were, summed up, make me perceptive of the simple mode of duration, which has been called continuous extension."

On the subject of motion, the author likewise advances a theory terminating in this definition : motion is "mutation in the combinations of our ideas of extension." This observation scarcely required to be advanced with the formality of a theory, containing nothing more than the plain fact that whatever be the cause or the nature of motion, its effect is a change in the order of those perceptions, which we are accustomed to consider as the representatives of material archetypes.

The ninth chapter contains a series of observations on the senses, intermixed with various digressive remarks, which prove the erudition, the taste, and the science, of the author. The purpose of them in relation to the subsequent parts of the work must be to establish a theory of pure idealism.

Some of the sceptical arguments in this chapter seem to be urged rather too far, when the residence of what are termed the qualities of matter is deduced to be in the mind itself, from the various judgments which men exercise respecting them. Surely the most zealous advocates of material archetypes never maintained that the operation of the cause is not modified by the circumstances of the percipient being through whose organs it acts.

The second book is divided into ten chapters, at the head of each of which stands the name of some celebrated philosopher, some of whose opinions our academical disputant finds it necessary to call into question. The writers who here pass the ordeal of his examination are the following : Descartes, Bacon, Newton, Spinoza ; some mechanical philosophers, who suppose the vital or animal spirits to be the

immediate instruments by which the soul holds communication with the external world; Hartley, Tucker, Leibnitz, Hart, Reid. The conclusion of the article on the philosophy of Descartes, affords a favourable specimen of Mr. Drummond's powers of writing.

"*Perceptiones nostræ, says Des-Cartes, sunt etiam duarum specierum, et quædam animam pro causa habent, aliæ corpus: **** omnes perceptiones quas nondum explicui, veniunt ad animam opera nervorum, et inter eas hæc est differentia, quod quædam referamus ad objecta externa quæ sensus nostros firiant, alias ad nostrum corpus, aut quasdam ejus partes, et denique alias ad nostrum animam.* But there was a period when the author doubted of the existence of his nerves, of his body, and of external objects. He nevertheless affirmed, that he thought, and perceived; nor did he doubt, that he had all those perceptions, which he now tells us, have his body and external objects for their causes. It is evident, then, that during this period of scepticism Des-Cartes must have thought, that he was solely perceptive of his sensations and ideas. Now if it be possible for the human mind to contemplate to-day, what is called the external world, without being perceptive of any thing but sensations and ideas; it seems rather unaccountable, that in again surveying the same objects to-morrow, the mind shall discover things, which are neither sensations, nor ideas. If all the objects, which I perceived an hour ago, existed only in my own mind; am I now to pretend, that they are perceived by me, as existing out of my mind? We may indeed suspect that Des-Cartes was not hitherto satisfied with his own reasoning concerning the existence of the material world, since his belief in it finally rested upon this, that the Deity could not desire to deceive him. The supposition would be impious. God does not deceive us; but we deceive ourselves. We are not satisfied with speaking of the objects of our perception—of what we feel and understand. We seek to attach ideas to mere abstractions, and to give being to pure denominations. The dreams of our imaginations become the standards of our faith. Essences, which cannot be defined; substances, which cannot be conceived; powers, which have never been comprehended; and causes, which operate, we know not how; are sounds familiar to the language of error. Accustomed to hear them from our infancy, we seldom enquire into their meaning. Our early associations form the code of our reason. We forget our first impressions; nor recollect how simple are the elements of all our knowledge. Deluded by his own mind, man continues to wander in the mazes of the labyrinth, which lies before him, unsuspecting of his deviations from the truth. Like some knight of romance in an enchanted place, he mistakes the fictitious

for the real, and the false for the true. He is dazzled by the effulgence of the meteor, and thinks he sees by the light of the sun. The prisoner who dreams in his dungeon, imagines himself walking abroad in the field, or in the streets. He enjoys the sweets of fancied liberty. See, how gladly he inhales the fresh air of the morning, or embraces the friends whom he loves. He suspects not, that the world, which he has revisited, exists only in himself; and that he must shortly awake to the conviction of his error—to solitude, captivity, and sorrow. Is there no being, who resembles this dreamer? Is there not one, who perceives his own ideas, and calls them external objects; who thinks he distinguishes the truth, and who sees it not; who grasps at shadows, and who follows phantoms; who passes from the cradle to the tomb, the dupe and often the victim of the illusions, which he himself has created?"

In the unconnected state in which these chapters appear, it will not be necessary to enter on a minute analysis of them; we shall content ourselves with referring to the most remarkable passages and observations.

In the article of Bacon, the subject of power, and the supposition of distinct mental powers and faculties, is resumed.

We do not fully comprehend Mr. Drummond's hypothesis respecting power, and we suppose that in the subsequent volume it will be more fully developed and employed. We fully agree with him that the human mind is incapable of forming an idea of power; but some parts of the following paragraph, if not incautiously expressed, might tempt his readers to suppose that he denies its existence.

"The doctrine of necessity has been severely stigmatised by many writers of great authority. It may be questioned, however, whether the blame do not rest in a considerable degree with themselves. Had they been less strenuous in asserting the necessary connection between causes and effects—had they not insisted on that occult operation by which one thing is said to act upon another—had they not, in short, supposed the existence of powers which can never be contingent, whenever they wished to account for phenomena of nature and the world, they would not have been so much embarrassed by the dangerous conclusions which are made by necessarians, and which, upon the principles admitted by both parties, are more easily denied than proved to be false. p. 192."

The third chapter boldly, but in our opinion unjustly, charges the Newtonian system of the world with a tendency to

atheism. Be it admitted that matter is endowed with powers by which the operations of the universe are conducted, does not the arrangement of matter so as to be capable of exerting these powers in reference to the purposes of the system, still point, with undiminished certainty, to an intellectual author of the scheme? The movements of the watch are effected by the laws of elasticity and percussion; but the intellect of the artificer appoints the direction and objects of those powers.

The fourth chapter is occupied by a copious and able representation of the system of Spinoza, in a dialogue between Theophilus, an orthodox theist, Hylus, a Spinozist, and Eugenius the arbiter of the dispute, who sustains, we suppose, the person of the author. He does not, however, favour us with any systems of his own, but expresses his hope on another occasion of explaining his sentiments and system. Addressing himself to Theophilus, he says, "In the mean time I do not hesitate in declaring that the doctrines of Hylus appear to me to be altogether erroneous; and yet with every wish to support your cause, and with a firm conviction of the truth of the two great principles which you have taught, namely, the existence of a Deity, and the immortality of the soul, I cannot assent to many of your arguments. I do not mean to say, that you spoke ineloquently; but I think you set out with making many injudicious concessions to Hylus. If he did obtain any advantages in this discussion, it has been owing to your imprudence. Verum hæc hactenus; cætera quotiescunque volitis, et hoc loco, et aliis, parata vobis erunt."

In the seventh chapter, Tucker, the author of "the Light of Nature pursued," falls under the examination of our enquirer. His mechanical system is justly condemned, and occasion is taken to controvert the encomium bestowed on him by Dr. Paley, as unrivalled in the talent of illustration. This leads to a critical digression on the varieties of style applicable to the treatment of different subjects, and that especially which is suitable to the investigation of metaphysical topics.

The eighth chapter is employed in the investigation of the system of Leibnitz, which is well stated, and its merits fairly

appreciated. As a production of genius it receives a merited portion of praise; as a philosophical investigation, it is evidently deficient in the most requisite circumstances of evidence and proof.

A German philosopher of no mean fame in his country, but whose system, if intelligible, is at least little understood by the philosophers of this country, Emanuel Kant, is next brought forward, and provokes rather more than an unusual portion of Mr. Drummond's severity. To a representation of his system we profess ourselves totally inadequate, and we have reason to suppose that for a just and able statement of it, it would be necessary to have recourse to German literature, or the Latin translations of the professor's works. With the latter Mr. Drummond appears to be acquainted, and the result of his enquiry is an utter condemnation of the Kantian philosophy as a system of mysticism, tending to the revival of the scholastic philosophy, or some other system of equally laborious trifling, under the disguise of a formidable nomenclature, in the acquisition of which reason is fatigued before definition can be ended.

The philosophy of Dr. Reid, which is the last subject of discussion, is diametrically opposed to the system which Mr. Drummond appears inclined to establish, that of pure idealism. The accurate and investigating spirit of the author receives however a just tribute of respect.

Our analysis of many parts of this work has been sufficiently minute, and our extracts sufficiently copious, to enable our readers to appreciate its character and merits. In one respect, as we have before observed, it appears under a disadvantage, as stating no positive system, and occupied by distinct topics of controversy, the reference of which to a common purpose, it is not always easy to discover. Mr. Drummond has however fully established his own character as a man of learning and taste, and an acute metaphysical enquirer. The elegance of style with which his book is written, though not entirely free from indications of the *læne labor*, is such as renders him, in this respect, not an unfit associate of Berkeley and Hume. We shall be anxious to witness the continuation of his labours.

ART. IV.—*Epeu Plerocata, or the Diversions of Purley.* By J. H. TOOKE. Part II. 4to. pp. 516.

FEW good books have been written on the theory of language: this is one of

them. Philosophic linguists have mostly pursued the Aristotelic, the ancient, method of reasoning, *a priori*; they have rarely recurred to the Baconian, the modern, method of reasoning, *a posteriori*. They have examined ideas instead of phenomena, suppositions instead of facts. The only method of ascertaining in what manner speech originates, is to enquire historically into the changes which single words undergo; and from the mass of instances, within the examination of our experience, to infer the general law of their formation. This has been the process of Mr. Horne Tooke. He first examined our prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs, all those particles of speech foolishly called insignificant, and shewed that they were either nouns or verbs in disguise, which had lost the habit of inflection. He now examines our adjectives and abstract substantives, and shows that they too are all referable to nouns or verbs, describing sensible ideas.

Whether this opinion is strictly new, scarcely merits enquiry; it was never applied before on so grand a scale, and in so instructive a manner. A critic on the first volume of the *Diversions of Purley* states, that Schultens had derived a long string of Hebrew adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, from nouns extant in that language; and that he adds: *Apud Latinos quoque conjunctiones multe a nominibus oriundæ*. Lennep again in his *Analogia* observes: *Ex octo igitur partibus orationis, vulgò statuant grammatici, verbum et nomen principem locum obtinent, cum relique omnes facile ad harum alterutram referri queant*. Gregory Sharpe, in his *Origin and Structure of the Greek Tongue*, reveals the important fact, that the personal inflections of verbs have been formed by coalescence with auxiliaries. Such scattered solitary observations may have prepared and do confirm the comprehensive generalizations of Mr. Horne Tooke; but to him the English language owes the pristine introduction of just principles, and a most extensive, learned, and detailed application of them to the etymology of its terms. He has laid the groundwork of a good dictionary.

Aristotle, and other ancient grammarians, had perceived and taught that language consisted of verbs and nouns. To this grand distribution of the parts of speech, Horace, talking of the invention of language, alludes:

—“ Sic verba, quibus voces sensusque notantur,
Nomina præ invenere.”

Yet if we attend to the process of acquirement among children (and it is by the same steps that a savage horde must collectively pass in the evolution of a dialect), we shall be compelled to rank the *interjection* first, as the original kind of word. It is long before children can distinguish between objects and phenomena; their first articulations describe sensations and perceptions, which they have not yet learnt to refer to external objects. The first sounds they utter are simple vowels, the *oh* and *ai* of pain, the *ee* and *ah* of attention and wonder, the *oo* of disgust. Such sounds describe an enduring action, or rather passion, of the child's frame; and therefore approach nearer to verbs than to nouns. The radical or auxiliary verb seems to have been originally an interjection imitative of suction. The Latin *sum* signifies I suck; it is etymologically connected with *sumen* the pap, or dug. The English *I am* is derived from the same root with *ammel* nipple, *amme* nurse, and *emma* mother. The first nouns again rather describe impressions than objects, and thus begin by being interjections. The sheep is called *baa*, the cataract *gush*, the bird *cuckoo*: all is onomatopoeia with the savage. The indicative interjection *he!* in many languages forms the basis of the demonstrative pronouns, of the articles, and of the substantive pronouns of the third person. Lord Monboddo is of opinion that verbs grew out of interjections, and preceded nouns. “From this account (says he in the *Origin and Progress of Language*, Vol. I. p. 481) it appears that the first sounds articulated were the natural cries of men, by which they signified their wants and desires to one another, such as calling one another for certain purposes, and other such things as were most necessary for carrying on any joint work. Then in process of time other cries would be articulated, to signify that such and such actions had been performed or were performing, or that such and such events had happened relative to the common business. Then names would be invented of such objects as they were conversant with. This increase of words would make more articulation necessary: and thus the language would grow by degrees; and as it grew it would be more and more broken by consonants, but still the words would retain a great deal of their original nature of animal cries.”

To strictly elementary speculations the interlocutors of these winged words seldom ascend: they do not discuss the ori-

gin, but the progressive formation of early language. Their conversations are eight in number. The first treats of the rights of man, and explains the word *right* to mean that which is directed, or ordered.

The four next are very valuable: they concern abstraction, and reduce many words current among the metaphysicians to their precise and only intelligible employment. The lamentable decay of etymological studies in this country has been a great cause of the quantity of jargon offered to the public as reasoning. No man can write with propriety on any subject who does not understand the words he uses; yet scarcely any one of our metaphysical philosophers, except Hobbes, has even endeavoured to understand his terms. An entertaining excursion is that which respects the word *lord*.

"Speaking of Varlets, you mentioned the word *Lord*. That word is not yet become quite an opprobrious term, whatever it may be hereafter; which will depend entirely upon the conduct of those who may bear that title, and the means by which it may usually be obtained. But what does the word mean? For I can never believe, with Skinner, that it proceeds from "*rlaf*, panis, et Ford (pro Afford), suppeditare: quia scilicet multis panem largitur, i. e. multos alit." For the animal we have lately known by that name is intirely of a different description.

"You know, it was anciently written *rlaford*; and our etymologists were misled by *rlaf*, which, as they truly said, certainly means and is our modern loaf. But when they had told us that loaf came from *rlaf*, they thought their business with that word was completed. And this is their usual practice with other words. But I do not so understand etymology. I could as well be contented to stop at loaf in the English, as at *rlaf* in the Anglosaxon: for such a derivation affords no additional nor ultimate meaning. The question with me is still, why *rlaf* in the Anglosaxon? I want a meaning, as the cause of the appellation; and not merely a similar word in another language.

"Had they considered that we use the different terms bread and dough and loaf for the same material substance in different states; they would probably have sought for the etymology or different meanings of those words, in the circumstances of the different states. And had they sought, they probably would have found: and the meaning of the word *rlaf* would have saved them from the absurdity of their derivation of *Lord*.

"Bread we have already explained: It is *brayed* grain. After breaking or pounding the grain, the next state in the process towards loaf is dough. And

"Dough—Is the past participle of the An-

glosaxon verb *deawian*, to moisten or to wet. Dough therefore or *dow* means *wetted*.

"You will not fail to observe en passant, that dew (A. S. *deaw*), though differently spelled and pronounced, is the same participle with the same meaning.

"Ane hate fyry power, warme and dew,
Heuinely begynnyn and original
Bene in thay sedis quhilkis we saulis cal.

Douglas, lib. 6. page 191.

"Of Paradise the well in sothfastnes
Foyson that floweth in to sondry roaymes
The soyle to adewe with his swete streames.

Life of oure Lady, page 165.

"Wherefore his mother of very tender herte
Out braste on teres and might herselic nat
stere,

That all bydewed where her eyen clere.

Life of oure Lady, page 167.

"And let my breste, benigne lorde, be
dewed

Downe with somme drope from thy mageste.

Life of oure Lady, page 182.

"With teares augmenting the fresh mornings
deaw.

Romeo and Juliet, page 54.

"Her costly bosom strew'd with precious
orient pearl,
Bred in her shining shells, which to the deaw
doth yawn,

Which deaw they sucking in, conceive that
lusty spawn.

Poly-albion, Song 30."

The sixth conversation discusses adjectives, and refutes convincingly many definitions of Harris, Lowth, and other scholastic grammarians. The introductory part will suffice to explain the author's theory.

"You imagine then that you have thus set aside the doctrine of abstraction.

"Will it be unreasonable to ask you, What are these adjectives and participles by which you think you have achieved this feat? And first, What is an adjective? I dare not call it noun adjective: for Dr. Lowth tells us, page 41, 'Adjectives are very improperly called nouns, for they are not the names of things.'

"And Mr. Harris (Hermes, book 1. chap. 10.) says—'Grammarians have been led into that strange absurdity of ranging adjectives with nouns, and separating them from verbs; though they are homogeneous with respect to verbs, as both sorts denote attributes: they are heterogeneous with respect to nouns, as never properly denoting substances.'

"You see, Harris and Lowth concur, that adjectives are not the names of things; that they never properly denote substances. But they differ in their consequent arrangement. Lowth appoints the adjective to a separate

station by itself amongst the parts of speech; and yet expels the participle from amongst them, though it had long figured there: whilst Harris classes verbs, participles, and adjectives together under one head, viz. attributives*.

"These gentlemen differ widely from some of their ablest predecessors. Scaliger, Wilkins, Wallis, Sanctius, Sciooppius, and Vossius, considerable and justly respected names, tell us far otherwise.

"Scaliger, lib. 4. cap. 91. 'Nihil differt concretum ab abstracto, nisi modo significatio, non significatio.'

"Wilkins, Part 1. chap. 3. Sect. 8. 'The true genuine sense of a noun adjective will be found to consist in this; that it imports this general notion, of pertaining to.'

"Wallis, page 92. 'Adjectivum respectivum est nihil aliud quam ipsa vox substantiva, adjectivè posita.'

"Page 127. 'Quodlibet substantivum adjectivè positum degenerat in adjectivum.'

"Page 129. 'Ex substantivis fiunt adjectiva copiè, additè terminatione y, &c.'

"Sanctius, —

"I beg you to proceed no farther with your authorities. Can you suppose that Harris and Lowth were unacquainted with them: or that they had not read much more than all which you can produce upon the subject, or probably have ever seen?

"I doubt it not in the least. But the health of the mind, as of the body, depends more upon the digestion than the swallow. Away then with authorities: and let us consider their reasons. They have given us but one; and that one, depending merely upon their own unfounded assertion, viz. That adjectives are not the names of things. Let us try that.

"I think you will not deny that gold and brass and silk, is each of them the name of a thing, and denotes a substance. If then I say—A gold-ring, a brass-tube, a silk-string: here are the substantives adjectivè posita, yet names of things, and denoting substances.

"If again I say—a golden ring, a brazen tube, a silken string; do gold and brass and silk, cease to be the names of things, and cease to denote substances; because, instead of coupling them with ring, tube, and string, by a hyphen thus -, I couple them to the same words by adding the termination *en* to each of them? Do not the adjectives (which I have made such by the added termination) golden, brazen, silken, (uttered by themselves) convey to the hearer's mind and denote the same things as gold, brass, and silk?

Surely the termination *en* takes nothing away from the substantives gold, brass, and silk, to which it is united as a termination: and as surely it adds nothing to their signification, but this single circumstance, viz. That gold, brass, and silk are designated, by this termination *en*, to be joined to some other substantive. And we shall find hereafter that *en* and the equivalent adjective terminations *ed* and *ig* (our modern *y*) convey all three, by their own intrinsic meaning, that designation and nothing else; for they mean give, add, join. And this single added circumstance of 'pertaining to,' is (as Wilkins truly tells us) the only difference between a substantive and an adjective; between gold and golden, &c.

"So the adjectives wooden and woollen convey precisely the same ideas, are the names of the same things, denote the same substances, as the substantives wood and wool: and the terminating *en* only puts them in a condition to be joined to some other substantives; or rather, gives us notice to expect some other substantives to which they are to be joined. And this is the whole mystery of simple adjectives. (We speak not here of compounds, *ful, ous, ly, &c.*)

"An adjective is the name of a thing which is directed to be joined to some other name of a thing. And the substantive and adjective so joined, are frequently convertible, without the smallest change of meaning: As we may say—a perverse nature, or, a natural perversity."

The seventh and eighth conversations, which treat of participles, complete the volume. The dialogue form of composition has, in our opinion, been chosen unwisely: 'it is ill adapted for etymological investigations, because the shades of difference between collateral words in kindred languages, though it may be rendered sensible to the eye, hardly can to the ear: and because where dictionaries are to be consulted, and quotations to be compared, it is unnatural to communicate the result by word of mouth.

Instances may and do occur in which the filiation of a word adopted by Mr. Horne Tooke differs from the pedigree preferred by Adelung. But a few questions of individual fact decided differently would diminish in no perceptible degree the value of the book. One instance of disagreement between these etymologists

* Harris should have called them either attributes or attributables. But having terminated the names of his three other classes (substantive, definitive, connective) in *ive*, he judged it more regular to terminate the title of this class also in *ive*: having no notion whatever that all common terminations have a meaning; and probably supposing them to be (as the etymologists ignorantly term them) mere *protractiones vocum*: as if words were wire-drawn, and that it was a mere matter of taste in the writer, to use indifferently either one termination or another at his pleasure.

is the derivation of the formative affix *th*. Mr. Horne Tooke (p. 423) makes the substantives in *th* to be the third persons of verbs in the present tense and singular number. Thus he makes *blowth* to be *that which bloweth*; *garth*, *what one girdeth*; *wath*, *where one wadeth*; *broth*, *what one breweth*; *math*, *what one moweth*; *earth*, *what one eareth*, or *ploweth*; and so forth. In this case the affix would hardly be applicable to adjectives: yet we form from long, *length*; from broad, *breadth*; from wide, *width*; from high, *highth*; from deep, *depth*; from strong, *strength*; from dear, *dearth*; from well, *wealth*; from slow, *sloth*; from warm, *warmth*; from merry, *mirth*; from swart, *swarth*; and even from moon, *month*. So that Adelung is perhaps defensible in considering this *th* as a mere variation of the substantive affix *de*, answering to the *té* of the French, and to the *ity* of our language. On the whole, we prefer Mr. Horne Tooke's conjecture, and think it

easier to find some intermediate verb where the etymon appears to be an adjective, than to account for the many verbal substantives, if there be no necessary connection.

Such cavils, could they be multiplied, would weigh little. The good sense with which all the phenomena are explained, the sagacity with which the difficulties are investigated, the force of intellect displayed in every conjecture, these constitute the essence of the treatise, and will cause it to outlast the compilations of a more laborious erudition. This work is the most valuable contribution to the philosophy of language, which our literature has produced: the writer may be characterized in those words which Junius applied to Wachter: *ad ornandam, quam nactus est, Spartam, instructissimus venit: in intima artis adyta videtur penetrasse, atque inde protulisse quodcunque potuerit illustrando ipsius proposito inservire.*

ART. V.—*Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian. Drawn up, according to the Directions of the Committee, by HENRY MACKENZIE, Esq. its Convener or Chairman. With a copious Appendix, containing some of the Principal Documents on which the Report is founded.* 8vo. pp. 504.

THE question concerning the authenticity of Ossian's poems, as produced by Macpherson, is at length brought fairly before the public, with all the evidence that can be collected on either side. It is a question of considerable importance, and we shall investigate it at length.

About the year 1740, Mr. Pope, the minister of Rea, in Caithness, began to collect the Gaelic poems, with the assistance of a friend and neighbour; but the death of that friend put an end to the scheme, and the first person who formed a collection for the purpose of translating them, was Jerome Stone, a schoolmaster of Dunkeld. A rhymed translation of one he published in the Scots Magazine for January 1756, in which year he died at the age of only twenty or twenty-one. Much might have been expected from this young man had his life been prolonged; he had acquired the Gaelic language, (for it was not his mother-tongue) evidently delighting in the study, and his verses are in a better and purer strain than any of Macpherson's. These facts show that a taste was arising for the popular poetry of the Highlands.

In the summer of 1758 or 1759, Home, the author of Douglas, met Macpherson

at Moffat, who was there with a pupil. Professor Fergusson had some years before this meeting excited in Home a strong curiosity about the Gaelic poems, and finding Macpherson to be a native of the remote Highlands, and a good classical scholar, he was not a little pleased that he had found, what he had long been wishing for, a person who could make him acquainted with the poetry of which he had heard, so much. Accordingly he questioned Macpherson, who said that he had in his possession several pieces of ancient poetry. Home desired to see them, and was asked if he understood the Gaelic. Not one word, said he. Then, replied the Highlander, how can I show you them? Very easily, said Mr. Home; translate one of the poems which you think a good one, and I imagine that I shall be able to form some opinion of the genius and character of the Gaelic poetry. After some persuasion he complied, and in a day or two brought the fragment on the death of Oscar. The delight which Home expressed encouraged him, and he produced two or three more pieces in a few days, which his new friend carried to Edinburgh. They were shown to Dr. Fergusson, to lord Elibank, to Robertson and Blair, and

the latter sent for Macpherson, urged him to translate the other pieces which he had in his possession, and promised to circulate and bring them out to the public. He was extremely reluctant and averse, says Dr. Blair, to comply with my request, saying, that no translation of his could do justice to the spirit and force of the originals; and that besides injuring them by translation, he apprehended they would be very ill relished by the public, as so very different from the strain of modern ideas, and of modern connected and polished poetry. Blair, however, after much and repeated importunity, (we use his own words) and representing to him the injustice he would do to his native country by keeping concealed those hidden treasures which would serve to enrich the whole learned world, obtained his promise of compliance. From this promise it appears he was afterwards solicitous to be released, urging to a confidential friend (Mr. George Laurie, minister of London) that his Highland pride was alarmed at appearing to the world only as a translator. But Blair's zeal eventually prevailed, and in June 1760 the first collection was published under the title of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands*. Blair wrote the preface, and asserted their authenticity.

In this preface it was said that 'many more remains of ancient genius, no less valuable than those now given to the world, might be found in the same country where these have been collected. In particular there is reason to hope that one work of considerable length, and which deserves to be styled an heroic poem, might be recovered and translated, if encouragement were given to such an undertaking.' The fragments excited much attention, and at a dinner made by Blair for the purpose, a subscription was begun for recovering the Gaelic epic. Macpherson being thus enabled to disengage himself from all other employment, set out on his mission, and undoubtedly collected much traditional poetry. With this he returned to Edinburgh, and, after a year's labour upon *Fingal* and the lesser poems, went to London, and there, under the patronage of lord Bute, published them by subscription, about the beginning of 1762. *Temora* and the remaining poems were published early in the ensuing year. No journey was taken to discover these: excepting a few fragments, Macpherson states that he had collected them by means of his friends.

But doubts were entertained in London as to the authenticity of these extraordinary relics. Macpherson himself did not choose to remove them; he left the originals in the publisher's hands for public inspection, and finding, after a few months, that no person had called for that purpose, indignantly withdrew them. This is triumphantly stated by the Ossianites; it should however be remembered, how very few of the persons who felt any doubt or curiosity upon the subject, understood Gaelic, and that unless these manuscripts were of some antiquity, they proved nothing. A Gaelic poem in the hand-writing of Macpherson, his amanuensis, or his correspondents, must not be admitted as authentic without proof. What the general opinion concerning them was, may be collected from a letter written by Hume to Blair, which it is better to insert at length than to abridge, especially as the highland committees, without knowing the plan which he recommended, have nearly followed it.

"DEAR SIR,

"I live in a place where I have the pleasure of frequently hearing justice done to your dissertation, but never heard it mentioned in a company, where some one person or other did not express his doubts with regard to the authenticity of the poems which are its subject, and I often hear them totally rejected, with disdain and indignation, as a palpable and most impudent forgery. This opinion has indeed become very prevalent among the men of letters in London; and I can foresee, that in a few years, the poems, if they continue to stand on their present footing, will be thrown aside, and will fall into final oblivion. It is in vain to say that their beauty will support them, independent of their authenticity. No; that beauty is not so much to the general taste, as to insure you of this event; and if people be once disgusted with the idea of a forgery, they are thence apt to entertain a more disadvantageous notion of the excellency of the production itself. The absurd pride and caprice of Macpherson himself, who scorns, as he pretends, to satisfy any body that doubts his veracity, has tended much to confirm this general scepticism; and I must own, for my own part, that though I have had many particular reasons to believe these poems genuine, more than it is possible for any Englishman of letters to have, yet I am not entirely without my scruples on that head. You think that the internal proofs in favour of the poems are very convincing: so they are; but there are also internal reasons against them, particularly from the manners, notwithstanding all the art with which you have endeavoured to throw a varnish on that circumstance; and

the preservation of such long and such connected poems, by oral tradition alone, during a course of fourteen centuries, is so much out of the ordinary course of human affairs, that it requires the strongest reasons to make us believe it. My present purpose therefore is, to apply to you, in the name of all the men of letters of this, and I may say of all other countries, to establish this capital point, and to give us proofs that these poems are, I do not say so ancient as the age of Severus, but that they were not forged within these five years by James Macpherson. These proofs must not be arguments but testimonies: people's ears are fortified against the former; the latter may yet find their way before the poems are consigned to total oblivion. Now the testimonies may, in my opinion, be of two kinds. Macpherson pretends that there is an ancient manuscript of part of Fingal in the family I think of Clanronald. Get that fact ascertained by more than one person of credit; let these persons be acquainted with the Gaelic; let them compare the original and the translation; and let them testify the fidelity of the latter.

"But the chief point in which it will be necessary for you to exert yourself will be, to get positive testimony from many different hands, that such poems are vulgarly recited in the highlands, and have there long been the entertainment of the people. This testimony must be as particular as it is positive. It will not be sufficient that a highland gentleman or clergyman say or write to you that he has heard such poems: nobody questions that they are traditional poems in that part of the country, where the names of Ossian and Fingal, and Oscar and Gaul, are mentioned in every stanza. The only doubt is, whether these poems have any farther resemblance to the poems published by Macpherson. I was told by Burke, a very ingenious Irish gentleman, the author of a tract on the Sublime and Beautiful, that on the first publication of Macpherson's book, all the Irish cried out—*We know all those poems; we have always heard them from our infancy*; but when he asked more particular questions, he could never learn that any one had ever heard or could repeat the original of any one paragraph of the pretended translation. This generality, then, must be carefully guarded against, as being of no authority.

"Your connections among your brethren of the clergy may here be of great use to you. You may easily learn the names of all ministers of that country who understand the language of it. You may write to them, expressing the doubts that have arisen, and desiring them to send for such of the bards as remain, and make them rehearse their ancient poems. Let the clergymen then have the translation in their hands, and let them write back to you, and inform you that they heard such a one (naming him), living in such a place, rehearse the original of such a pas-

sage, from such a page to such a page of the English translation, which appeared exact and faithful. If you give to the public a sufficient number of such testimonies, you may prevail; but I venture to foretel to you that nothing less will serve the purpose; nothing less will so much as command the attention of the public.

"Becket tells me that he is to give us a new edition of your Dissertation, accompanied with some remarks on Temora. Here is a favourable opportunity for you to execute this purpose. You have a just and laudable zeal for the credit of these poems. They are, if genuine, one of the greatest curiosities in all respects, that ever was discovered in the commonwealth of letters; and the child is, in a manner, become yours by adoption, as Macpherson has totally abandoned all care of it. These motives call upon you to exert yourself, and I think it were suitable to your candour, and most satisfactory also to the reader, to publish all the answers to all the letters you write, even though some of these letters should make somewhat against your own opinion in this affair. We shall always be the more assured that no arguments are strained beyond their proper force, and no contrary arguments suppressed, where such an entire communication is made to us. Becket joins me heartily in this application; and he owns to me, that the believers in the authenticity of the poems diminish every day among the men of sense and reflection. Nothing less than what I propose can throw the balance on the other side. I depart from hence in about three weeks, and should be glad to hear your resolution before that time."

In consequence of this letter Blair wrote to the highlands, to procure attestations: he received testimony in abundance, such as it was, and added the result of it to his Dissertation in an appendix, which Macpherson afterwards suppressed. Time passed on, and no serious attack was made upon the authenticity of the poems, except by the Irish antiquarians. But the writings attracted little notice in England. Blair's Lectures, meantime, by that good fortune which sometimes befalls worthless books as well as worthless men, got into every common library, and was put into the hands of all young readers, who thus received a belief of the genuineness and of the sublimity of Ossian, as an article of faith in fine literature. The poems became very naturally the delight of young poets: our magazines teemed with imitations in prose, and paraphrases in rhyme. Chatterton was among the imitators. They reached the Continent, and obtained a better circulation than any English work had ever

done before, and a quotation came back to us in *Werter*, which was perhaps the best advertisement that ever book had. Every traveller in the highlands added his testimony to their authenticity; antiquarians and historians quoted them; Whitaker controverted a few points but admitted them in the gross; and Henry collected from them his statement of the state of society of the ancient Britons and their arts! More Ossian also made its appearance. Mr. John Clark published a collection in 1780, and Dr. Smith another in the same year. Johnson had said that many men, many women, and many children, could write such poems, when he was asked who but Ossian could have written them. But that many men produced them tended, in the general opinion, rather to prove their authenticity than to invalidate the opinion of their inimitable merit. The opinion of Johnson and of other disbelievers had its weight in their own circles, but they did not write upon the subject, and if they had, controversial pamphlets would not have found their way to a hundredth part of the readers who had become familiar with Ossian. The book was in every circulating library throughout the kingdom.

The rudest shock which it sustained was by the publication of the *Reliques of Irish Poetry*. Miss Brooke's translations were unfortunately in rhyme, by which the poems were made as nearly worthless as possible; the original character of expression, metaphor, and simile, every thing in short, which characterises ancient poetry, being inevitably and utterly lost. The stories however remained, and in three of them it was impossible not to see the originals of Carthor, of Fingal, and of the episode of Fainasollis, greatly as Macpherson had altered them. The Irish originals were published with Miss Brooke's versions; they came in the most unquestionable shape; and though to the English reader the poems were disguised and disfigured by rhyme, the internal proofs of authenticity were such as could leave no doubt upon his mind whatever. All controversy was avoided in this volume; the name of Macpherson was not once mentioned, nor was there the slightest allusion to him or his work. But the inference was irresistible; the poems of the Irish Oisín were the evident productions of a rude age and country; those of the Scotch Ossian, had all the marks of modern sentimentality.

At length Mr. Malcolm Laing attacked

the authenticity of Ossian's poems, in a dissertation appended to his *History of Scotland* from the union of the crowns to the union of the kingdoms. He reduced his arguments, historical and critical, under eight general heads: 1. The Roman history of Britain; 2. The middle ages; 3. Traditions; 4. The customs and manners of the times; 5. The real origin of the poems; 6. Imitations of the ancient and modern poets; 7. The pretended originals; 8. Macpherson's avowal of the whole imposture. Of all these we shall give as summary a statement as possible.

1. At the beginning of the era assigned to Fingal, there was not a Highlander in Scotland of the present race. Their first migration from Ireland is fixed at the year 258, and the authority of Bede upon the subject is confirmed by the Irish histories. The true era of the Fions was from the middle to the end of the third century. Macpherson when he translated them into Scotland did not sufficiently regard chronology. He connects Fingal with Caracalla in 208, making Ossian describe him, as Gibbon remarked, by a nickname invented four years afterwards, scarcely used by the Romans till after the death of that emperor, and seldom employed by the most ancient historians. He connects him afterwards with Caracallus, in 286, and finally in the *Temora*, with the battle of Gabhra, where Oscar was killed by Cairbar in 296; with the same propriety, says Mr. Laing, as if some youthful patriot, who had resisted an union in the Scottish parliament, were again introduced at the end of the same century, as opposing an union with Ireland in the British senate. These blunders were from carelessness; others, not less decisive, were occasioned by want of information. Misled by Buchanan, who followed the fabulous Nonnius, Macpherson represents Fingal as encountering Caracalla on the banks of the Carron, whereas it is a fact fully established by the best English antiquarians, that the country, within the wall of Antoninus, between the Forth and the Clyde, was abandoned by Caracalla. He represents him as returning from an incursion into the Roman province of Valentia, which did not then exist; and makes Oscar oppose Caros, king of ships, entrenched at Carron, behind his gathered heap, which, as the wall in Scotland was not built by Severus, Carausius the usurper did not repair. After this decisive evidence nothing

farther need be adduced under this head.

2. No traditions whatsoever of Swaran have been discovered in the highlands; but there are traditions of Magnus Barefoot, who seized Cantire and the isles, and was killed in Ireland in the beginning of the twelfth century. This Magnus is made the antagonist of Fingal in some rude ballads, and among others in that which is the groundwork of Macpherson's epic. The name is retained by Smith; and Swaran, in the first fragments of Fingal, is called Gærve, a literal translation of Magnus into Erse. A remarkable circle of stones in Orkney is introduced by Macpherson, who says that the circles to this day retain there the name of Loda or Loden, and appeals to Mallet as a proof that the temple built by Haquin at Drontheim, went always under the same name of Loden. The first assertion Mr. Laing, who is an Orcadian, declares to be false; and the words in Mallet are these—'Haquin Comte de Norvege, en avoit bâte un (temple) pres de Drontheim, a *Leiden*,' the name of the territory, not of the temple. The name Lochlin, so frequent in Ossian, was unknown till the ninth century.

3. That poems could be preserved upwards of fifteen hundred years by oral tradition, is a fiction utterly unworthy of credit. Hume urges this argument in a letter to Gibbon. 'It is indeed strange,' says he, 'that any men of sense could have imagined it possible, that above twenty thousand verses, along with numberless historical facts, could have been preserved by oral tradition, during fifty generations, by the rudest, perhaps, of all the civilized nations, the most necessitous, the most turbulent, and the most unsettled.' Mr. Laing adds, 'to estimate the full force of this argument, let us remember that three-fourths of the civilized world have been employed, since the era of Fingal, in the recitation of poems, neither so long nor so intricate as Ossian's; and consider how small a portion of the Psalms or liturgy can be preserved by memory, much less transmitted by real tradition, for a single generation.'

This argument is altogether fallacious, and the illustration is as fallacious as the argument. Beyond a doubt the whole of the Psalter, and the whole of the Sunday liturgy, could be taken down from oral delivery in any parish of any extent in England. But the case is not in point; it is not what the parishioners could repeat which applies, but what the parish-

priests and the parish-clerks could do, for to recite ballads was a profession in the Highlands. The class of men with whom bards and minstrels may most properly be compared are the players; and assuredly those plays which, like Jane Shore and Douglas, have continued stock-pieces since they were first brought out, might at any time have been copied from recitation. Is Mr. Laing aware that the historical traditions of the blind colleges in Japan were considered as equally authentic with the annals of the empire? Hume's mode of reasoning is strangely incorrect; the ruder the nation, the more probable the fact against which he reasons. It is civilization which destroys traditions, till a people become civilized enough to be curious concerning them, and preserve in books what little can be recovered. This argument is taken from our state of society and from the ordinary powers of memory: but strength of memory, like strength of muscles, is increased by use; and that of a bard would exceed that of an ordinary man, just as a blacksmith's arms are larger than his neighbour's.

In the fragments it was stated that the diction was very obsolete, and differed widely from the style of such poems as have been written in the same language two or three centuries ago. This, Mr. Laing justly observes, is sufficient to confute the authenticity of traditionary poems; it is ridiculous to suppose that the people should recite poems in a dialect long disused. But Macpherson discovered manuscripts; what these are we shall see hereafter. The poems not only cannot have been preserved by oral tradition, but they are unsupported by those traditions which are in their nature the most authentic. The genealogy of the clans has been pushed to the utmost, but not a single family is derived from the Fions.

4. The manners of the Caledonians, when invaded by Severus, are minutely described both by Dio and Herodian. They were in a wretched state of barbarism, almost naked, tattooed, using their women and supporting their children in common; their only defensive armour the shield. The manners of Ossian are those of no age, people, or country. Religion is altogether omitted by Macpherson; he has created a savage society of refined atheists, who believe in ghosts but not in deities. Not a particle of information concerning the customs of the people can be collected from his poems. The method of dressing venison in pits lined with hot stones,

and covered with heath, which is the only appropriate custom of the age to be found there, is transcribed from Keating. Neither wolf nor boar is mentioned as existing in Scotland, nor wild cattle, all of which were then common; but the offer of a hundred hawks, a hundred handmaids, a hundred sanctified girdles, an apple or an arrow of gold, is copied from an Irish ballad of the sixteenth century, as tribute from a people equally ignorant of hawking, female servitude, popish saints, and of the precious metal.

5. There is presumptive evidence that Macpherson is the author of the poems. His first ambition was to be an epic poet, and he had published a poem of which many passages are to be traced in Ossian. This poem has failed of success. He was encouraged to the imposture by the public curiosity already excited towards Gaelic poetry; and by the expectation of that patronage and favour which his literary countrymen were at that time sure of finding, whether they deserved it or not. Smollett had even had the impudence to reckon Wilkie's Epigoniad, in his History, among the glories of George the Second's reign! If Ossian should succeed, Macpherson reasonably expected that his fortune was made: and the speculation answered.

6. The poems are full of imitations: this subject we shall examine hereafter.

7. The specimens of the original, produced by Macpherson, are his own translations from his own English original; Erse, it must be remembered, being his mother-tongue. Mr. Laing says, the introduction of occasional rhymes in Ossian, five hundred years before they were known in Europe, and a thousand before they were used in Wales, is alone a detection: if he had seen Mr. Turner's paper in the *Archæologia*, he would not have relied much upon Mr. Pinkerton's authority on this subject. But if many words derived from the Latin are found in these pretended originals, it is a detection; more especially if metaphorical idiom be found derived from these words. Many such are pointed out by Mr. Laing; but as the whole of the Gaelic is to be published, we shall not follow farther his remarks upon this head. A good Celtic scholar, if to his knowledge he adds but good sense and good faith, may decide the controversy when this promised publication appears, if there be any persons capable of conviction still unconvinced.

8. Macpherson has avowed the fact;

that he gave intimations to this effect: and that he was not unwilling to be considered as the author, the Ossianites allow. He says in one of his prefaces, 'I assure my antagonists that I should not translate what I could not imitate.' Referring to the Irish pretensions to Ossian, he observes, that the poems 'cannot well belong to Ireland and to me at once:' and in his last preface the avowal is unequivocal: 'Without increasing his genius, the author may have improved his language, in the eleven years that the poems have been in the hands of the public. Errors in diction might have been committed at twenty-four, which the experience of a riper age may remove; and some *exuberances in imagery* may be restrained with advantage, by a degree of judgment acquired in the progress of time. In a convenient indifference for literary reputation, the author hears praise without being elevated, and ribaldry without being depressed. The novelty of cadence, in what is called a prose version, though not destitute of harmony, will not, to common readers, supply the absence of the frequent returns of rhyme. This was the opinion of the writer himself, whose first intention was to publish in verse; and as the making of poetry may be learned by industry, he had served his apprenticeship in secret to the muses.' Here then, says Mr. Laing, if there be a meaning in words, Macpherson vindicates and appropriates the poems to himself.

Such is the summary of Mr. Laing's Dissertation, and in this state was the controversy when the Highland Society published their Report. The method which they had taken to procure information was the best possible; they circulated the following set of queries, through such parts of the highlands and islands, and among such persons resident there, as seemed most likely to afford it.

"1. Have you ever heard repeated or sung, any of the poems ascribed to Ossian, translated and published by Mr. Macpherson? By whom have you heard them so repeated, and at what time or times? Did you ever commit any of them to writing, or can you remember them so well as now to set them down? In either of these cases, be so good to send the Gaelic original to the committee.

"2. The same answer is requested concerning any other ancient poems of the same kind, and relating to the same traditional persons or stories with those in Mr. Macpherson's collection.

"3. Are any of the persons, from whom you heard any such poems, now alive? Or

are there, in your part of the country, any persons who remember and can repeat or recite such poems? If there are, be so good to examine them as to the manner of their getting or learning such compositions; and set down, as accurately as possible, such as they can now repeat or recite; and transmit such their account, and such compositions as they repeat, to the committee.

"4. If there are, in your neighbourhood, any persons from whom Mr. Macpherson received any poems, inquire particularly what the poems were which he so received, the manner in which he received them, and how he wrote them down; shew those persons, if you have an opportunity, his translation of such poems, and desire them to say if the translation is exact and literal; or, if it differs, in what it differs from the poems, as they repeated them to Mr. Macpherson, and can now recollect them.

"5. Be so good to procure every information you conveniently can, with regard to the traditionary belief, in the country in which you live, concerning the history of Fingal and his followers, and that of Ossian and his poems; particularly concerning those stories and poems published by Mr. Macpherson, and the heroes mentioned in them. Transmit any such account, and any proverbial or traditionary expression in the original Gaelic, relating to the subject, to the committee.

"6. In all the above inquiries, or any that may occur to in elucidation of this subject, he is requested by the committee to make the inquiry, and to take down the answers, with as much impartiality and precision as possible, in the same manner as if it were a legal question, and the proof to be investigated with a legal strictness."

The way in which they have communicated the result of their enquiries is not so unexceptionable. An inmethodical report is followed by a copious appendix, after the parliamentary model. Now though parliamentary proceedings are the very best authority in point of law, they are not the happiest models for a book. The committee should have stated what MSS. Macpherson had collected, and what fragments he had received from oral delivery, according to the evidence before them; they should have printed faithfully whatever poems they had recovered, which bore any resemblance to Ossian, with a literal version, and then either have past sentence, or left it to the public so to do. But the report is desultory, confused, and inconclusive. After Mr. Laing's Dissertation, nothing but the strongest external evidence could support the authenticity of the poems.

That traditions respecting the Fions are

common, and allusions to them proverbial, they have proved.

"The committee presumes it may assume as undisputed, that a traditionary history of a great hero or chief, called Fion, Fion na Gael, or, as it is modernized, Fingal, exists, and has immemorially existed in the highlands and islands of Scotland, and that certain poems or ballads, containing the exploits of him and his associate heroes, were the favourite lore of the natives of those districts. The general belief of the existence of such heroic personages, and of the great poet Ossian, the son of Fingal, by whom their exploits were sung, is as universal in the highlands as the belief of any ancient fact whatsoever. It is recorded in proverbs, which pass through all ranks and conditions of men. Ossian dall, blind Ossian, is a person as well known as strong Samson or wise Solomon. The very boys in their sports cry out for fair play, *Cothram na feine*, the equal combat of the Fingalians. 'Ossian, an deighn um fiann,' Ossian, the last of his race, is proverbial, to signify a man who has had the misfortune to survive his kindred; and servants returning from a fair or wedding, were in use to describe the beauty of young women whom they had seen there, by the words '*Tha i cho boidheach reh Agandecca, nighean an sneachda*,' She is as beautiful as Agandecca, daughter of the snow. This is one of those general and well-known facts, which it is believed no one will contest, however much he may be disposed to doubt the authenticity of the poems published as the composition of Ossian the son of Fingal."

This is confirmed by all travellers. The passage however which the reporter quotes from bishop Carswell, is far more favourable to Mr. Laing's view of the question, than to their own; 'great is the blindness, and sinful darkness, and ignorance, and evil design, of such as teach and write, and cultivate the Gaelic language; that, with the view of obtaining for themselves the vain rewards of the world, they are more desirous and more accustomed to compose vain, tempting, lying worldly histories, concerning the *Tuatha de danan*, and concerning warriors and champions, and Fingal, the son of Cumhall, with his heroes, and concerning many others which I will not at present enumerate or mention, in order to maintain or reprove, than to write, and teach, and maintain, the faithful words of God, and of the perfect way of truth.' This passage proves that the Fions were the heroes of popular traditions, but it implies also that the highland rhymers made ballads of them at that time, and in fact what fragments are genuine appear to be of this age.

They have proved that much poetry was preserved traditionally in the Highlands and islands. Dr. Steuart of Luss declares that an old Highlander, in the isle of Sky, continued for three successive days, and during several hours in each day, to repeat to him, without hesitation, with the utmost rapidity, and as appeared to him, with perfect correctness, many thousand lines of ancient poetry, and would have continued his repetitions much longer if he could have listened to him. In one of the letters written to Blair, when he collected evidence, it is said, 'the old highlanders commonly entertained one another with the repetition of these poems, and diverted the tediousness of the winter nights. When they met to watch the dead corpse of their friends, they spent a considerable part of the night in repeating the poems, and talking of the times of Fingal. They often laid wagers on such occasions, who should repeat most of the poems, and to have a store of them on memory was reputed not a despicable acquisition. I know some old men, says the writer, who value themselves for having gained some of these wagers. Mr. Pope's letter contains a striking anecdote upon this subject.

"There is an excellent poem, called *Duan Dearmot*: it is an elegy on the death of that warrior, and breathes the sublime very much. This poem is in esteem among a tribe of Campbells that live in this country, and would derive their pedigree from that hero, as other clans have chosen others of them for their patriarchs. There is an old fellow in this parish that very gravely takes off his bonnet as often as he sings *Duan Dearmot*: I was extremely fond to try if the case was so, and getting him to my house I gave him a bottle of ale, and begged the favour of him to sing *Duan Dearmot*; after some nicety, he told me that to oblige his parish minister he would do so, but to my surprise he took off his bonnet. I caused him stop, and would put on his bonnet; he made some excuses: however as soon as he began, he took off his bonnet. I rose and put it on; he took it off, I put it on. At last he was like to swear most horribly he would sing none, unless I allowed him to be uncovered; I gave him his freedom, and so he sung with great spirit. I then asked him the reason; he told me it was out of regard to the memory of that hero. I asked him if he thought that the spirit of that hero was present; he said not; but he thought it well became them who descended from him to honour his memory."

But what is the antiquity of the poems thus preserved? In the preface to the

Fragments it was said that the diction was very obsolete, and differing widely from that of the poems two or three centuries old. Hugh M'Donald, who gives his testimony in Gaelic, confirms this; he says, they are composed in the language of the times to which they refer, and contain many words and phrases now obsolete, and understood by very few. This is contradicted in the report of the committee; the reporter there notices as a difficulty, that the language, in poems of such antiquity, should be so nearly what it still is in the common use and understanding of the country. Certain it is, he says, that, with the allowance of a somewhat different orthography, and a few words now in disuse, which the best Celtic scholars could not make out without the help of the context, the language of the ancient MSS. published by Miss Brooke and others in Ireland, and also that of those in the possession of the society, is very much the same with that which proficient in the Gaelic now write, and is perfectly intelligible to such persons. This decidedly contradicts Macpherson; and it should be remarked, that the language of Taliesin and of Llywarc Hen, though long posterior to Ossian, differs very materially from later Welsh, and is but imperfectly understood by the ablest Cimbric scholars. Yet there is no reason to believe that the Welsh language has been subject to greater changes than the Gaelic.

Mr. Mackenzie accounts for this difficulty by the little communication of the highlands and islands with other countries. Language, he says, is changed from its use in society, as coins are smoothed by their currency in circulation. If the one be locked up among a rude, remote, and unconnected people, like the other when it is buried under the earth, its great features and general form will be but little altered. This is not the true answer, nor the best solution of the difficulty. Poems preserved in manuscript retain their original language; popular songs are imperceptibly modernized; intelligible words being substituted for such as are obsolete by the reciter, as often unwittingly as by design. That the language of the poems differs little from the common Gaelic, as now spoken, we should not therefore consider as any argument against their antiquity; but it is an argument against Macpherson's veracity, that he has asserted the contrary.

It must then be admitted that much

traditional Gaelic poetry has been preserved, and that it was as possible to collect the minstrelsy of the highlands as of the Scottish border. What then have the committee discovered corresponding with Ossian?

The first fragment is the bed of Gaul.

"Prepare, ye children of musical strings,
The bed of Gaul, and his sun-beam by him,
Where may be seen his resting-place from
aër,

Which branches high overshadow,
Under the wing of the oak of greenest flourish,

Of quickest growth, and most dorable form,
Which will shoot forth its leaves of the breeze
of the shower,

While the heath around is still wither'd.

"Its leaves, from the extremity of the
land,

Shall be seen by the birds of summer,
And each bird shall perch, as it arrives,
On a sprig of its verdant branch.
Gaulin his mist shall hear their cheerful note,
While virgins are singing of Evirchoma.

"Until all of these shall perish,
Your memory shall not be disuited:

Until the stone crumble into dust,

And this tree decay with age;

Until streams cease to run,

And the source of the mountain waters be
dried up;

Until there be lost, in the flood of age,

Each bard, and song, and subject of story,

The stranger shall not ask, Who was Mor-
ni's son?

Or where was the dwelling of the king of
Strumon?"

Of this passage, which in Dr. Smith's publication forms the conclusion of a poem, a copy was communicated to the committee by Mr. M'Diarmid, minister of Weem, which he procured in a channel altogether different from Dr. Smith, and transmitted before he knew that it had been previously published. Mr. Laing calls this 'a well-known fabrication, which assuredly the author himself would not now, as a christian and as a clergyman, venture to attest upon oath as authentic.' We know not on what authority this strong language may have been used; but if the charge be false, Dr. Smith is living to refute it; his silence will surely be considered as pleading guilty. That Mr. M'Diarmid should have received 'a copy by another channel, is no proof of its antiquity or authenticity. We know a living author who has not only heard his own poems, which had been printed in his own name, recited as the compositions of another, but has seen them with another signature in newspapers and magazines.

The letters from Dr. Smith by no means strengthen the evidence from Ossian. The passages which he quotes as corresponding to parts of Fingal, are from the Irish ballad of Magnus.

"I consider the combatants in the dispute in the same light with the two knights who fought about the shield hung between them; the one maintaining it was white, the other it was black, while each looked on the side that was next him; so that both were partly in the right, and partly in the wrong. That Fingal fought, and that Ossian sung, cannot be doubted. That the poems of Ossian extended their fame for ages over Britain and Ireland, is also clear from Barbour, Camden, Colgan, and many other old writers of the three kingdoms. That at least the stamina, the bones, sinews, and strength, of a great part of the poems now ascribed to him are ancient, may I think be maintained on many good grounds. But that some things modern may have been superinduced, will, if not allowed, be at least believed on grounds of much probability: and to separate precisely the one from the other, is more than the translator himself, were he alive, could now do, if he had not begun to do so from the beginning. Even then he might not be sure of the genuineness of every poem or passage given him as ancient, supposing his own invention were out of the question. What cannot therefore be determined otherwise, must in the end be compromised. I suspect the originals, if published, (as I imagine they are not likely to be,) were never intended to decide the question about their authenticity, but perhaps to render it problematical or suspicious."

Either disheartened by the ill success of his book, or unwilling to have the subject investigated, lest he also should be convicted of fabrication, Dr. Smith evidently dislikes the subject. I admire your zeal, he says, in a matter to which only your zeal could give much importance. Of his own work he says, 'I some time ago used a copy I had in papering a dark closet that had not been lathed, in order to derive some small benefit from what had cost me so much: I question if any other copy of this book has ever done so much service.' What he says with respect to the authenticity of the book deserves notice.

"One circumstance, however, I remember well, that a man who had given me the use of a parcel of poems, without any restriction, had long threatened a prosecution for publishing what he called translations of his collection of poems, and alleged that he had a claim to a share of the profits. I believe however, upon enquiry, that he understood the profits were only a serious loss, as I had been persuaded to run shares with a bookseller in the publication, which to me turned

but in the year (when my income was £1000 a year,) that I could never have read of Gaelic poetry with pleasure or interest, except to wish it had been written before I was born. The circumstance I have just mentioned, may be construed in favour of the authenticity of these poems; but on the other side, I have to mention that, in my observing the beauty of one or two passages in one of those poems, (I forget which) the person who gave it me as an ancient poem, said, these were of his own composition. This assertion, I placed then to the account of his vanity; but I think it right to state it to you as I had it, and leave you to think of it what you please. I feel no interest in the question, in its issue, or in the fate of the poetry."

The person thus alluded to is Duncan Kennedy, whose collection the society have purchased. The reason they assign for disbelieving his own avowal that he had interpolated these poems is illiberal and unphilosophical. "Whether such a person might compose one or two passages in those poems, the committee will not pretend to decide; but when one looks over the list of those from whom the doctor collects his originals, and considers their rank and situation in life, their education and opportunities of improvement, to believe that they could compose such poems, would be a degree of credibility much greater than is necessary to believe in the authenticity of Ossian."

"Not only Mr. Macpherson, whose talents and early turn for poetry are acknowledged, and Dr. Smith of Campbelltown, whose learning and literary accomplishments are very considerable, but other men, such as Clark and Kennedy, whose studies and habits of life were remote from the cultivation of poetry, who have either never written on any other occasion, or whose writings give no token of poetical genius or of powers of composition, produce to the world poetry which, in sublimity and tenderness, will, it is believed, be admitted to be at least equal to the compositions of the best modern poets, and but little inferior to the most admired among the ancient. Setting aside all the credit due to persons of unimpeached and respectable characters, may it not be asked, how imposture and forgery should become muses to such men, should inspire them with the fervour, the pathos, and the imagery, contained in the compositions which they have thus given to the world?"

Had the committee forgotten Burns, or what did they conceive the education of Ossian himself to have been, and his opportunities of improvement? Whatever may be the genius required for the com-

position of such poems, it will not be pretended that erudition is necessary. And it appears too that Kennedy was a school-master when he made the collection.

With respect then to Dr. Smith, his publication stands in need of evidence to authenticate it, as well as Macpherson's; it is moreover positively impeached by this avowal of Kennedy. And the *Bed of Gaul* cannot be admitted as authentic till Mr. Laing's positive charge of fabrication be as positively repelled.

Mr. Gallie, an old clergyman of fourscore, produces sixteen lines of *Fingal* in Erse, as taken out of the MSS. by a friend who was with Macpherson when he translated it at the old gentleman's fire-side. Mr. Laing applied to him for the name of his friend, and was informed that it was Mr. Lauchlan Macpherson, of Strathmashire.

"This gentleman, in his letter to Blair, had attested, without hesitation, in 1763, that he had accompanied Macpherson in his journey through the highlands, and assisted in collecting the poems of Ossian; that he took down from oral tradition, and transcribed from old manuscripts, by far the greatest part of those pieces that were published; that he had since compared the translation with the copies of the originals still in his hands, and found it so amazingly literal, as to preserve even the cadence of the Gaelic versification; that some of the hereditary bards had committed very early to writing some of the works of Ossian; and that one manuscript in particular, which he saw in Mr. Macpherson's possession, was written so far back as 1410. Instead of appearing in person to produce those copies of the originals which remained in his hands, and to attest to the world from what particular manuscripts, extant or lost, or from whose oral recitation he had transcribed them, this gentleman, the kinsman, friend, and amanuensis of Macpherson, and a brother poet, had furnished Mr. Gallie with sixteen lines of the Erse version of *Fingal*, made at his fire-side; without suspecting that the latter would ever divulge the secret, from whom the lines had been originally procured."

Mr. Macdiarmid communicated the address to the sun in Carthor; a passage which 'the committee was the more solicitous to procure, and to lay before the society, because it was one which some of the opposers of the authenticity of Ossian's poems had quoted as evidently spurious, betraying the most convincing marks of its being a close imitation of the address to the sun in Milton.' Mr. Macdiarmid took it, with several other fragments, now,

he fears, irrecoverably lost, from the mouth of an old man in Glenlyon, in the year 1765. A writer in the *Literary Journal*, said by Mr. Laing to be Mr. Macdiarmid's son, repeats this, and adds, 'another copy of it was taken down by a captain Morris, from the mouth of an old man in the isle of Sky, in the year 1763; and was by captain Morris given to the reverend Alexander Irvine of Ranoch. Both the old men had committed this poem to memory in their younger years. These two copies taken down by persons unknown to each other, from the mouths of persons equally unacquainted, and living at a great distance of place, we have compared, and found to correspond almost exactly. As this address (perhaps the most beautiful of Ossian's poems) is attested by respectable witnesses still alive, to have been in the mouths of the common people long before the birth of Macpherson, Mr. Laing has on this occasion to find out some other imitator.'

It so happens that Mr. Laing has found out more than this writer expected. Captain Morris or Morison (the same person, for he says he had given the rev. Mr. Irvine a true and faithful copy of Ossian's address to the sun in the original) was one of Macpherson's amanuenses, and in his answer to the queries of the committee, expressly states 'that he got the address among Mr. James Macpherson's original papers, when he was transcribing fairly for him from these original papers, (either collected by himself, or transmitted by his highland friends) as it stood in the poem of Carthon, afterwards translated and published.' He also states that he gave a copy of this address to the rev. Mr. Mackinnon of Glendaruel in 1780. Mr. Irvine, who took down Mr. Morison's evidence, has assured Mr. Laing that he gave no information whatsoever to Mr. Macdiarmid concerning the old man in the isle of Sky. Mr. Laing's remarks are such as effectually to invalidate this passage as a proof of the authenticity of the poems.

"When a copy taken from Macpherson's papers, had been circulated by his amanuensis above twenty-five years ago, the presumption undoubtedly is, that Macdiarmid's copy was obtained, directly or indirectly, from the same source. Accordingly we find, that it differs materially, in six distinct lines, from the copy communicated by Morison, previous to the year 1780, to Mackinnon of Glendaruel; but that in these lines, and almost in every other word, it coincides most minutely with another copy which Morison

had given to the Rev. Mr. Irvine of Ranoch, and which was communicated by the latter to Mr. Macdiarmid, whose own copy has been evidently transcribed from the same original. Mr. Irvine, at the same time, procured from Morison a copy of the Address to the Sun in Carric-thura, which last Mr. Macdiarmid has also produced; and as these are the only specimens of Macpherson's Ossian, procured from the one, and possessed by the other, the conclusion is unavoidable, that the old man in Glenlyon was no other than Morison himself. Morison, having committed these passages to memory, delivered the two copies of the Address to the Sun in Carthon with some variations; such perhaps as existed in Macpherson's Earse version of Ossian, which, when shewn at Edinburgh, was filled with the interlineations, alterations, and additions, of an author correcting his own productions. But it will not now be pretended, that Morison gave one copy to Mackinnon, with the variation of six distinct lines, and afterwards another copy to Irvine, coinciding most exactly, and by mere accident, in those identical lines, with the old man of Glenlyon's edition."

Dr. Ferguson and Mr. Gallie both quote from memory a passage as in *Fingal*, which is not to be found there, nor in Macpherson's Ossian, but in the Irish ballad of Magnus. And thus it is, that the question has been unintentionally confounded by the witnesses. They remember ballads concerning the Fions, and confound them with Macpherson's fabrications. Accordingly in the attestations transmitted to Blair, such passages only are specified as had been adopted from the Irish ballads. These attestations are published by the committee, for Blair gave only the substance, magnified with a true pleader's spirit; and even now Mr. Laing observes that the letters are not published entire. The declaration of one conscientious witness has been suppressed, who says, 'I do remember in my early days, to have heard the exploits of the Fions recited almost by every body; and I still retain some of what I then heard, particularly relating to Oscar; but upon comparison find the circumstances differ widely from what is contained in the printed poems.'

The committee then have produced no credible testimony that any part of Macpherson's Ossian was traditionally preserved, except such as is to be found in the Irish ballads. What evidence have they of the existence of MSS.?

Mr. Gallie's testimony on this head is clear. Macpherson, who had been for some years his intimate acquaintance, came

to his house when returning from his tour of discovery, and 'brought with him several volumes, small octavo, or rather large duodecimo, in the Gaelic language and characters, being the poems of Ossian and other ancient bards.'

"I remember perfectly, that many of those volumes were, at the close, said to have been collected by Paul Macmhuirich Bard Clanraonuill, and about the beginning of the 14th century. Mr. Macpherson and I were of opinion, that though the bard collected them, yet that they must have been writ by an ecclesiastic, for the characters and spelling were most beautiful and correct. Every poem had its first letter of its first word most elegantly flourished and gilded; some red, some yellow, some blue, and some green: the material writ on seemed to be a limber, yet coarse and dark vellum: the volumes were bound in strong parchment: Mr. Macpherson had them from Clanronald."

In another letter, not designed for the committee, Mr. Gallie ventures a conjecture with regard to these MSS. by no means favourable to the authenticity of Macpherson's translations.

"I remember Mr. Macpherson reading the MSS. found in Clanronald's, execrating the bard who dictated to the amanuensis, saying, 'D——n the scoundrel, it is he himself that now speaks, and not Ossian.' This took place in my house, in two or three instances: I thence conjecture that the MSS. were kept up, lest they should fall under the view of such as would be more ready to publish their deformities than to point out their beauties.

"It was, and I believe is well known, that the broken poems of Ossian, handed down from one generation to another, got corrupted. In the state of the Highlands, and its language, this evil, I apprehend, could not be avoided; and I think great credit is due, in such a case, to him who restores a work of merit to its original purity."

Certain of these manuscripts (Mr. Laing writes as if but one; the reporter, upon apparently better authority, of more) were received by Macpherson from the then Mr. McDonald of Clanronald, whose son and heir wished afterwards to have them returned. Macpherson had given a written obligation so to do—which he never fulfilled—and orders were given to commence an action against him for their recovery. The orders were not obeyed, and after his death, one volume, all that could be found, was returned. This the committee communicated to Mr. Laing, towards whom, it ought to be observed,

they have conducted themselves with true liberality throughout the controversy. He conceived it to be the red book of Clanronald (Leabhar Dearg), and thus describes it. 'It is a small mutilated duodecimo, in modern binding, of a hundred and fifty leaves, in the Irish character, which the Macvuricks understood and wrote; and is dated September 8, 1726, in the midst of the songs. But the only poem relative to Ossian in the whole collection, is a short ballad in the scriptural style, on the longevity of the Fions; of whom Gaul lived three hundred and odd years; Ossian, four hundred; and Fingal himself fifty-two tens of years, that is, twenty-six score, or five hundred and twenty years.' The committee acknowledge the unimportance of this volume, and argue plausibly that for this very reason it cannot be the red book, for that has often been mentioned in the highlands as containing a valuable collection of ancient poetry. They refer to evidence upon this point, which is contradictory. Lachlan Mac Mhuirich deposes that Clanronald, whose bard his father was, made his father give up the red book to Macpherson; that it was near as thick as a Bible, but that it was longer and broader—(this seems to describe a quarto). Ewan Macpherson on the contrary deposes, that Clanronald gave Macpherson an order on a lieutenant Donald Macdonald at Edinburgh, for a Gaelic folio manuscript, which was called the red book. He is positive that the book delivered by Mac Mhuirich was not the red book, being witness to the delivery of it: it was of the size of a New Testament, and of the nature of a commonplace book.

In Macknichol's remarks on Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides, is this passage, as quoted by Mr. Laing. 'If Dr. Johnson will but call some morning on John Mackenzie, esq. of the Temple, he will find more volumes in the Gaelic language and characters, than perhaps he will be pleased to look at after what he has said. Among these are two volumes which are very remarkable: the one is a large folio MS. called An Duanairadh Ruadh, or the Red Rhymers, which was given by Mr. Macdonald of Glencalladel in Muideart, to Mr. Macdonald of Kyles in Cnoideart, who gave it to Mr. Macpherson. It contains a variety of subjects, such as some of Ossian's poems, Highland tales, &c. The other is called An Leabhar Dearg, or the Red Book, which was given to Mr. Macpherson by the bard

Macvurich. This was reckoned one of the most valuable MSS. in the bard's possession.

From this passage it appears that Ewan Macpherson in his deposition may have mistaken the Red Rhymer for the Red book, but both are stated to have then been in Mr. Mackenzie's possession, and from him Clanronald's MS. was obtained. The remaining MSS. were transmitted to Edinburgh: they were nineteen volumes in quarto and octavo; and, according to Mr. Mackenzie's explanation, had been placed in his hands, as secretary to the Highland Society in London, for the purpose of removing the doubts which had been raised by Dr. Johnson, whether any ancient manuscripts in that language really existed. 'They consisted of medical and religious treatises, Irish legends and legendary histories, an obituary, a vocabulary, genealogies, &c. with many of the Irish ballads ascribed to Ossian; but not a single original, as far as could be discovered, of Macpherson's supposed translations.' The manuscripts of the supposed originals which he left for publication, were either in his own hand-writing, or in that of some amanuensis. It appears therefore, that of the MSS. collected by Macpherson, none of any value are forthcoming, and that nothing has been found among his papers in any way to authenticate his Ossian.

A collection of Gaelic MSS. belonging to the late major John M'Lachlan, of Kilbride, has been procured for the society by Lord Bannatyne's exertions. In the midst of these there is the following remark on the margin of one of the leaves. The night of the first of May, in the jubilee of my pope Murchus, and I regret that there is not left of my ink enough to fill up this line. I am Fithil, an attendant on the school.' From this use of the word pope, Dr. Donald Smith argues that the MS. is not of a later date than the close of the eighteenth century, and he character is such as to warrant this conclusion. All that this contains concerning Ossian is the following passage.

"Fingal, of the family of Baoiscne, meeting his son, to wit Ossian. Ossian was a year without any notice being had concerning him, until a boar-hunter informed his father. Upon which Fingal repaired to the desert, where Ossian was slaying a boar at the time of his getting there. Fingal sent him a messenger. Ossian instantly took his arms and prepared for an armed resistance. It was then that Fingal said it was hazardous for the lad to en-

gage with the gray-haired hero. Upon which Ossian sung the piece *dicens* "Con uadh ladh ei a scciadh "Con "Con."

Another of the MSS. bears date in a comparatively modern hand, 1238; and it is pronounced by one well versed in ancient writings to be of the thirteenth century. It consists of some mutilated tales in prose interspersed with verse, from one of which upon the story of Deardir, Macpherson's Darthula, the following extract is made.

"Darthula looked behind her towards the land of Albion, and raised the strain—

"Lovely land is that eastern land,
Albion with all its lakes,
O that I might not depart from it!
But I depart with Naos.

Lovely is the tower of Fidga, and the tower of Fingal.

Lovely is the tower above them.

Lovely the isle of Drayno

And lovely the tower of Suvno.

But, alas! the wood, the bay, which Aisle would approach,

Are left by me and Naos for ever

Upon the coast of Albion.

O vale of Laith! would I were sleeping by its soothing murmur!

Fish and venison, and the choice of the chase prepared,

Would be my repast in Glenlath.

Glenmasain! high grow its herbs, fair wave its branches,

Steep would be the place of our repose

Over the grassy banks of Masan.

O vale of Etha! where a first house has been built for me,

Delightful were its groves, when the sun risen to his height

Would strike his beams on Gleneiti

How I long for the vale of Urchay!

Straight vale of the fairest hills;

Joyful were his companions around Naos

In Glenurchay.

Vale of Daruadh!

Pleasant to me would be each of its people:

Sweet is the note of the cuckoo

From the bending tree of the mountain

Above Glen-da-Ruadh.

Lovely is Drayno of the sounding shore!

Lovely is Avich of the brightest sand!

O! that I might not depart from it west.

But I depart with my love!"

This is undoubtedly ancient poetry; but it bears no resemblance to Macpherson's, nor would it remind the reader of Ossian, if the names had not all been altered by the translator according to the Fingalian nomenclature.

The Highland Society of London have also presented to the committee a large and valuable collection of manuscripts. From one of these, which appears from

dates affixed to it to have been written at different periods from 1512 to 1529, two poems are extracted attributed to Ossian, and one to Fergus the bard, his brother.

The Author of this is Ossian.

"Long do the clouds this night surround me—
Long to me was the night that is past—
For the day that is come I have longed—
While slowly rolled the day before.
Tedious to me is each day that comes,
For it is not as it was wont!
Gone are the heroes, my friends in war,
And feats of strength are no longer perform'd:
Generosity, the will and the deed have failed.
Sad is my heart without an object for its love,
Nor power to avenge the feeble.
Hospitality and the drink of the feast are no more;
No more the love of the fair or of the chase,
In which I was wont to take delight.
On the sword or the dart I no longer rely.
I do not come up with the hind or the hart,
Nor do I traverse the hills of the elk.
I hear not of hounds nor their deeds.
The night of clouds to me is long!"

It is remarkable that the *elk* is mentioned in this fragment: how far the word in the original may justify this translation, we must leave to Celtic scholars to determine; but one great argument against the authenticity of the old Irish histories is, that the *elk* is not noticed in them. The fragment is in Ossian's character, but not in the style of Macpherson. It resembles the complaint of an American savage, as given by Alexander Kellet, sufficiently to shew that it was composed in a not dissimilar state of society. The Red Man complains, "that in the happy days of youth he was loved or feared by all; that he could tomahawk his enemies, and could not miss his game; that every river was then an inn to him, and every squaw he met a wife; but that now he was grown old every one hated and scorned him; the deer bounded away from his erring aim, and the girls covered themselves repulsively at his approach, nor was he any longer permitted to paint and grace the glorious file of war; and he concludes with ardent wishes, that either nature had never disclosed him, or had gifted him with that power of renovation which seemed so improperly granted to the pernicious snake."

The second poem is the story of Fainasollis, resembling in its conclusion the Irish ballad, not the episode in Fingal, and bearing no resemblance to Macpherson's style. Fergus's poem is upon the death of Oscar, but no authentication of the Temora. These are all which the committee have

found immediately connected in subject with Macpherson's pretended translations, except copies of the Irish ballads of Magnus, and of Conloch, manifestly the origin of Carthon, and here said to be written by Gilcolm, the son of the physician. From Kennedy's collection they have given, among other extracts, one representing the manners of Fingal's heroes. We copy it on account of the subject, and also because it seems to have received fewer of Kennedy's improvements than some of the other pieces.

"Mournful it is to be to-night in the vale of Cona,
Without the voice of hound, and without music!

My fancy can no longer accomplish its purpose,

I am truly the old man and the feeble.
When we went to the vale of Cona,
Soft and expressive was the music that accompanied us;

Many were the men of worth among us,
Nor would we willingly incur displeasure.

"When we would ascend the paths of Cona,
Numerous were the parties in every direction,
To subdue the hart and the hind,
Many hundreds of which were never to rise.

"Many were the heroes, when called upon,
That would rapidly ascend the mountain.
With spear exposed in their grasp,
Their great sword and their shield;
While my beloved Fingal and fifty chiefs
Were assembled in the lofty court,
And the sun-beam, set to its flag-staff,
Waved over them its victorious banner.

Far would disperse asunder,
Through the steep banks of each mountain,
The strong, adventurous band of Fingal,
With bows ready in their grasp.
When the deer began to start,
We let slip the hundreds of our hounds;
Many a hart, roe, and hind
Fell, as far as I could view.

We returned in the evening with the spoils of the chase,

To Taura of the musical strings,
Where frequent our cruits and harps,
And many were the bards to sing the tale.

"Many a shell went round,
Many were the new songs which were sung together:

Whilst the feast was consuming in the tower,
Beautiful and young the Fingalian heroes,
Joyful in their accustomed course;
Musical, elegant, comely, valiant,
With wine, the reward of valour, and meat
Much beloved, unused to falsehood.
Cheerful and happy were the heroes of Fingal,
The heroes, lovely, strong and friendly,
Of great compassion and extensive fame,
Who were generous, hospitable, and ever ready
To protect the stranger at a distance from abroad.

In the day of battle, on the field of strife,

Mightier men never were seen.
 We would engage a man and a hundred,
 Each Fingalian hero who was a leader.
 We never moved but with reluctance
 To give the impetuous battle,
 To give the forlorn the protection of valour,
 And the wounded stranger the shelter of our shield.

The numbers that were in my time
 In Tara of the sweet-sounding strings
 Were fourteen hundred and fifty,
 Of our dear friends without blame,
 Without mentioning the young king of Phail,
 For yet the wounded, the aged, or young women,

For the young men that waited on the swords;
 As I weak am I with grief,
 Travelling the world to and fro,
 And cannot find one person in it like Fingal.
 In generosity and good fortune
 None was ever found to surpass him.
 The heroes have gone to the grave
 That sees not day,
 Which has caused mine eye to be in mist.
 I am like the lonely wounded bird of the wood,

While I mourn without ceasing in the hall;
 Without sight, or offspring, or cause of joy.
 I am like the tree whose growth has ceased,
 Like the nut in its withered husk,
 Ready to drop down to the ground.
 Grievous it is to the sorrowful heart,
 That it cannot derive relief from friends.
 Like the dying hart is my form,
 My voice sinks under the dew of night!"

The tautology here is in favour of its minuteness. Barbarous poets delight in repeating the same idea: this is particularly the character of Welsh poetry.

The committee neither from oral recitation, nor by means of manuscripts, have been able to authenticate a single poem of Macpherson's Ossian, nor a single passage of those poems. But Dr. Donald Smith, in their appendix, put together passages extracted from the Gaelic poems in his possession, so as to form an outline of Fingal.

* To this paper the committee requests the particular attention of the society. The document, by the committee's direction, taken with the same liberty which Mr. Macpherson may be supposed to have used, namely, that of selecting passages, and sometimes even lines, in different poems, and different editions of the same poem, the *'disiecta membra'*, which seemed to relate to, or to be connected with, the principal event in the poem, as found in Macpherson's publication. The committee has been at pains to make the translation as scrupulously literal as the nature of the two languages would admit. Perhaps indeed, in some passages it may incur the censure of obscurity and abruptness, and too close adherence to the expression of

the original. By comparing this translation with Macpherson's, in some of the longer and most closely corresponding passages, even the mere English reader will be able, in some degree, to form a judgment of what alterations that gentleman may have made in the collection he gave to the world, either by omitting, supplying, or refining his original; with this saving always, however, which the committee must request the society to keep in mind, that it is impossible to know what copies or editions of the poems in question Mr. Macpherson might have procured, or have had access to."

Any thing may be made of any thing in this way. Virgil has thus been made to evangelize, and Homer to write the life of Christ. This comparative version to which particular attention is invited by the committee, is neither more nor less than a mere cento. Mr. Laing has inadvertently upon such a subterfuge with not more severity than it deserves.

"Thirteen or fourteen modern manuscripts were taken, containing many hundred pages, and consisting of different collections of Earse and Irish poems. From this extensive range, between twelve and fifteen hundred detached lines are selected, and pieced together, with the most preposterous diligence, in order to present to the reader, by dint of translation, something like the plan and outlines of Fingal. No intimation is given of the particular songs or poems from which they are taken; but the references to the different pages of the MSS. are as desultory as the lines themselves are unconnected and detached. For instance: the three first lines, concerning Daol watching the ocean (as if the same with Moran, the scout of ocean), are taken from Kennedy's Collection, p. 78, st. 8; the eight next lines (a part of the Irish ballad of Garibhe Mac Stairn), from Fletcher's, p. 183, stanzas 1st and 13th; the three succeeding lines from Fletcher's, stanza 2d; and the six last lines of the first page, are taken from the four different pages and stanzas of the following manuscripts; Mr. MacLaggan, p. 91. l. s. 3. Kennedy, p. 154, st. id. p. 130, st. 5. id. p. 154, st. 3. Six successive lines in the same paragraph, are often taken from four or five different pages of different manuscripts; and in a single page (248) twenty-two lines are taken from fifteen different pages of ten separate and distinct manuscripts. This, if practised in any other language than Earse, would be termed fabrication. What opinion, for instance, would the public entertain of an author who should piece together two partial quotations, in order to extract from them in conjunction a sense of which they were not separately susceptible? Yet this is practised for seventy pages, and supported by such false translation as Rìgh an Teamhra (Temora) king of Taura, in order to approximate the word to Tura in the opening of Fingal;

and Loingeas na mach, (mach, a wave, maght, a plain), the ships of the hills, in order to assimilate the expression to 'the desert of the hills,' Fingal's poetical appellation in the preface to the Fragments; after which no reliance can be placed on the translator's fidelity. But the collection with which the committee has chiefly collated Fingal, is itself a more recent fabrication by Kennedy, a schoolmaster, who complains bitterly that Dr. John Smith, to whom it was communicated, has intercepted and appropriated the fruits of his invention. As a proof of this, in Kennedy's edition of the ballad of Conloch, the spirit of Loda is introduced from Fingal. But as Kennedy was ignorant that the name in Macpherson's Earse version of Ossian, is Cruth Loduin, the shape or form of Wodin, the spirit of Loda is literally translated into Earse, Spiorad Lodda. Ruith fuaimneach arm mar Spiorad Lodda. He rushed in the sound of his arm like the spirit of Loda. No such passage occurs in miss Brooke's genuine edition of the ballad, of which Kennedy retains only the story and 29 verses; but Smith, to whom he acknowledged his fabrications (Report 107, Appendix 69), has inserted the whole passage verbatim in his poem of Manos, into which he has converted the ballad of Conloch. Thus the committee of the Highland Society has been very laudably employed in collating one forgery with another; and, in order to prove the authenticity of Ossian, has unwarily given a sanction to a gross fabrication."

Among the many tales which have been told of the jesuits, one is, that to abridge the trouble of praying, they used no other form than that of repeating the alphabet, beseeching God to put the letters into whatever words he liked best. This device of the committee is much of the same kind.

There remains to be considered only the evidence arising from a particular examination of the Gaelic, as left by Macpherson, with his own translation. They quote such instances of alteration as the following:

Literal Translation.

Innstore rose slowly
And Cartickthura, chief of waves.

MACPHERSON.

Innstore rose to sight, and Carrickthura's
mossy towers.

Literal.

The signal of evil (or violence) was on high:
A blind fire, with its side in smoke.

MACPHERSON.

"But the sign of distress was on their top. *The warning flame, edged with smoke.*" *Warning flame*, they remark, is a metaphysical idea, putting in a reflex attribute of the fire, which was intended to warn his friends of the distress of their chief; but, in the original, the epithet *dull, blind*, is a

well-known Gaelic epithet for smothered flame, which exactly expresses what every one has seen in kindling straw, or other materials for fire-signals. From these and other like examples, they give it as their opinion, that, in the original, the scene and its circumstance are given distinctly; they are embodied in clear and accurate description; that, in the translation by Mr. Macpherson, they are frequently lost in words, of which the sound pleases the ear, but which are of a general indeterminate sort, that might belong to any other place or object of a similar kind! It is not worth while to dispute this farther in the scale; but we may remark that, of the two languages, Macpherson would write that most vividly with which all his earliest ideas were associated, and that, in the instances adduced, the advantage is sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other. Their verdict must be given in their own words.

"On the whole, the committee beg leave to report, that there are two questions to which it has directed its inquiries, on the subject which the society was pleased to refer to it, and on which it now submits the best evidence it has been able to procure.

"1st, What poetry, of what kind, and of what degree of excellence, existed anciently in the Highlands of Scotland, which was generally known by the denomination of Ossianic, a term derived from the universal belief that its father and principal composer was Ossian the son of Fingal?"

"2d, How far that collection of sad poetry, published by Mr. James Macpherson, is genuine?"

"As to the first of those questions, the committee can with confidence state its opinion, that such poetry did exist, that it was common, general, and in great abundance; that it was of a most impressive and striking sort, in a high degree eloquent, tender, and sublime.

"The second question it is much more difficult to answer decisively. The committee is possessed of no documents, to shew how much of his collection Mr. Macpherson obtained in the form in which he has given it to the world. The poems and fragments, poems which the committee has been able to procure, contain, as will appear from the article in the Appendix, No. 15, already mentioned, often the substance, and sometimes almost the literal expression (*the ipsa verba*), of passages given by Mr. Macpherson, in the poems of which he has published the translations. But the committee has been able to obtain any one poem the same in title and tenor with the poems published by him. It is inclined to believe that, as it was in use to supply chasms, and to give connection, by inserting passages which he

not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short, by changing what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what in his opinion was below the standard of good poetry. To what degree, however, he exercised these liberties, it is impossible for the committee to determine. The advantages he possessed, which the committee began its inquiries too late to enjoy, of collecting from the oral recitation of a number of persons now no more, a very great number of the same poems, on the same subjects, and then collating those different copies or editions, if they may be so called, rejecting what was spurious or corrupted in one copy, and adopting from another something more genuine and excellent in its place, afforded him an opportunity of putting together what might fairly enough be called an original whole, of much more beauty, and with much fewer blemishes, than the committee believes it now possible for any person, or combination of persons, to obtain.

"The committee thinks it discovers some difference between the style both of the original (one book of which is given by Macpherson) and translation of Temora, and that of the translation of Fingal, and of the small portion of the original of that poem, which it received from his executors. There is more the appearance of simplicity and originality in the latter than in the former. Perhaps when he published Fingal, Mr. Macpherson, unknown as an author, and obscure as a man, was more diffident, more cautious, and more attentive, than when at a subsequent period he published Temora, flushed with the applause of the world, and distinguished as a man of talents, and an author of high and rising reputation. Whoever will examine the original prefixed to some of the editions of the 7th book of Temora, and compare it with the translation, will, in the opinion of the committee, discover some imperfections, some modernisms (if the expression may be allowed) in the Gaelic, which do not occur in the specimen of Fingal, given in the Appendix to this Report; and, in the English, more of a loose and inflated expression (which however was an error into which Macpherson was apt to fall), than is to be found in his earlier translations. He had then attained a height which, to any man, but particularly to a man of a sanguine and somewhat confident disposition like Macpherson, is apt to give a degree of carelessness and presumption, that would rather command than conciliate the public suffrage, and, in the security of the world's applause, neglects the best means of obtaining it. He thought, it may be, he had only to produce another work like Fingal, to reap the same advantage and the same honour which that had procured him; and was rather solicitous to obtain these quickly, by a hasty publication, than to deserve them by a care-

ful collection of what original materials he had procured, or by a diligent search to supply the defects of those materials."

Upon this statement it should be remarked, that the fragments to which they allude have been invalidated, and that Dr. Smith's cento proves nothing except how weak the advocates for Ossian must feel their cause to be, when they advance such proofs to support it! In fact they give up the question, by admitting that *they have not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title and tenor with the poems published by Macpherson.*

Here, then, the external evidence ends: but the Gaelic originals left by Macpherson are to be published, and to these the Ossianites appeal. As there is not the slightest evidence to authenticate these, the internal evidence must be referred to as finally decisive; and Mr. Laing has completed the subject, by editing Ossian with a commentary, indicating all its spurious characteristics. This extraordinary publication, which we have mentioned in a former article, must now be examined.

Some proofs, in the course of this rigorous commentary, arise from the want of costume in the poems; as thus: "In the simplicity of Homer's description, we trace minutely the whole process of the feast or sacrifice; but the modern Ossian merely informs us, that ten heroes blew the fire, a hundred gathered the heath, three hundred the polished stones; and then, like a French critic, shrinks from the delicacy of dressing and preparing the smoking feast." Others from false costume; to speak of the winds whistling aloft in the shrouds, corresponds but ill with sails of deer's-skin and thongs for ropes. Earthquakes are twice mentioned. "The sound of their steps is like thunder, in the bosom of the ground, when the rocking hills shake their groves, and not a blast pours from the darkened sky." "He lay, like a shattered rock, which Cromla shakes from its shaggy side, when the green-valleyed Erin shakes its mountains from sea to sea." Ossian could have no such ideas of an earthquake; but Macpherson remembered the earthquake at Lisbon, and has introduced a description of one in his poem upon death. The proofs from alterations in the different editions are numerous and weighty. In many cases they are merely capricious; thus Erin is substituted for Innisfail; and the note to explain this latter name still retained. Such changes are frequent, and prove that the writer had no prototype to

adhere to. "These lonely yews sprung from their tombs, and *wish to meet on high*." Blair observed, that this sympathy of the trees with the lovers, might be reckoned to border on an Italian conceit; and it now stands thus—these lonely yews sprung from their tombs, and *shade them from the storm*. The conceit was from ballads old and new, for none can be more hackneyed. Starno was called the king of snow; phrases afterwards omitted as too violent. In *Temora* there was evidently a design of connecting the poem with *Darthula* and the *Children of Usnoth*; but this was changed, and one passage referring to it as first published, rejected as an interpolation: others however remain, and indicate such an alteration as none but the author would have made. Addressing the sun, it was said, "*the dun robe may seize thee, struggling in the sky*:" afterwards this was altered to "*the darkening hour*;" but, says Mr. Laing, "what becomes of the *Earse* original, of which the *dun robe* and the *darkening hour* are such different translations?"

Proof still more decisive is afforded by the *Death of Oscar*, the first fragment, it must be remembered, which Macpherson produced. At that time he had not met with the Irish ballad upon *Oscar's* death, and was ignorant of the historical account. The story, therefore, is wholly fictitious. But afterwards, when the Irish ballad was to be woven into *Temora*, it was necessary to account for this difference; this was easily done: he states, that he has found a more correct copy of the fragment, and accordingly reprints it, calling *Dermid* son of *Diaran*, instead of son of *Morui*: and *Oscar* son of *Caruth*, instead of son of *Ossian*, or my son. This paragraph is interpolated, to show how *Ossian* came to tell this tale of another *Oscar*. "But, son of *Alpin*, the hero fell not harmless as the grass of the field; the blood of the mighty was on his sword, and he travelled with death through the ranks of their pride. But *Oscar*, thou son of *Caruth*, thou hast fallen low! No enemy fell by thy hand. Thy spear was stained with the blood of thy friend!"

A later impostor has practised a subterfuge very like this of the two *Oscars*. Mr. William Henry Ireland ventured to produce a note of hand, given by *Shakspeare* to *John Heminges*, as a compensation for business done at the *Globe* theatre, and for his great trouble in going down for him to *Stratford on Avon*; and to this

he added a receipt in the name of *Heminges*. Unluckily a genuine signature was produced, which of course proved to be in a totally different hand-writing. Mr. Ireland, however, was enabled, by his dexterity of hand, to escape better than *Macpherson*. He hurried home, forged another receipt, and signed it as nearly alike as he could, from memory, to the true signature; then stated that there had been two *John Heminges* in the time of *Shakspeare*, although not known to the world: the one connected with *Shakspeare* and the *Globe* theatre, and the other with the *Curtain* theatre, though sometimes connected with *Shakspeare* and the *Globe* also. The promissory note had been given to this last; the two other signatures were of the former one; and they were distinguished, when living, by the appellations of the tall *John Heminges* of the *Globe*, and the short *John Heminges* of the *Curtain*:—the short *John Heminges* is cousin-german to *Oscar* the son of *Caruth*.

Macpherson's second collection was made in London by means of his friends. The correspondence with these friends from whom *Temora*, and the other poems, were received by the post, would be the best proof of the authenticity of the poems; but not a trace of any such correspondence has been discovered, nor pretended to be discovered.

Mr. Laing, however, notwithstanding so many damning proofs, rests his case chiefly upon the numerous imitations which he has indicated.

"In *Ossian* there are some hundred similes and poetical images, which must either be original, or derived from imitation. If the poems are authentic, they must be original; and their casual coincidence with other poetry can possess only such a vague resemblance, as that of *Virgil's Pollio* to the prophecies of *Isaiah*. If the poems, however, are not authentic, these similes and poetical images must be derived from the classics, scriptures, and modern poetry, with which the author's mind was previously impregnated, and, however artfully disguised, they may be traced distinctly to their source.

"And conversely again, if these similes and poetical images are original, the authenticity of the poems can admit of no contradiction; if, on the contrary, they are derived from imitation, all the attestations and oaths in the Highlands would fail to establish the authenticity of *Ossian*. The present commentary professes, therefore, not merely to exhibit parallel passages, much less instances of a fortuitous resemblance of ideas, but to produce the precise originals from which

the similes and images are indisputably derived."

In the course of this investigation Mr. Laing has gone through a long course of poetry: the Bible, the Greek and Latin poets, and our own writers, have all been ransacked for parallel passages. So much pains taken for such a purpose—so many volumes perused, not for the beauties which they contain, not for the pleasures which they afford, but to collect evidence against James Macpherson—reminds us of Jedediah Buxton, attending to Garrick's Hamlet with the deepest attention, for the sake of counting the number of words which he pronounced. He has, however, effectually succeeded in his object; as a few instances, from many, may evince.

"His spear is a blasted pine. His shield the rising moon.] MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, l. 284.

His spear, to equal which the tallest pine,
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great admiral.

His ponderous shield

Hung on his shoulders, like the moon, whose orb

Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening;

when the moon rises; and, in converting Satan into Swaran, it was only necessary to suppress those images that are derived from the sciences, or from the arts of civilized life."

"Comest thou like a roe from Malmor, like a hart from thy echoing hills. Behold he cometh, leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills. My beloved is like a roe, or a young hart. Be thou like a roe, or a young hart in the mountains of Bether. *Song of Solomon*, ii. 8. 17."

But Mr. Laing is too eager in this pursuit of imitations; like the inquisitors in *Gil Blas*, a single word is sufficient for him, whatever be the context. "Loud and distant he heard the blast murmuring behind the grove;" for this he refers us to Hardyknute,

"Loud and chill blew the westlin wind;"
and to Virgil,

"Ceum flamina prima

Cum depressa fremunt sylvis, et cæca volutant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos."

Other instances yet more absurd are to be found.

"O lay me, ye that see the light, near some rock of my hills! let the thick hazels be around, let the rustling oak be near. Green be the place of my rest.] *Windsor Forest*, 259.

Ye sacred Nine! that all my soul possess,
Whose raptures fire me, and whose visions
bless,

Bear me, oh bear me, to sequestered scenes,
The bowery mazes, and surrounding greens:
To Thames's banks, which fragrant breezes
fill,
Or where yemuses sport on Cooper's hill."

A more extraordinary charge of imitation we believe never was made.

"The waves come to behold thy beauty. They lift their trembling heads. They see thee lovely in thy sleep.] *Par. Lost*, v. 11.

He, on his side

Leaning, half-raised, with looks of cordial
love,

Hung over her enamoured, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces.

The remainder of the passage, 'Awake, my fairest, my espoused, my latest found,' was transferred to Dar-thula. Much as I am accustomed to Macpherson's plagiarisms, I am lost in astonishment at such unexpected imitations."

Mr. Laing might as well have accused him of stealing this passage from the *Sleeping Beauty in the Wood*. It is beyond measure ridiculous to adduce such proofs of imitation. The critic himself might in this manner be convicted of having borrowed his whole *History of Scotland*, with all its *Dissertations*, from *Johnson's Dictionary*. Does he suppose it possible that any man ever sat down to write poetry, or prose, with all his expressions ready cut and dried, like a lady's materials for fillagree? Imitations enough, however, have been fairly proved to establish his point, and to surprise the believers in Ossian; one of whom, Mr. Archibald McDonald, in a very worthless dissertation, advances a very curious argument in reply.

"The surprise," he says, "will be in a great measure removed, if we suppose that the Highland bard might very possibly have received some assistance from the writings of the Greek and Roman poets. I do not pretend, or think, he himself ever read their works, but some notion of them might have been communicated to him from the information of others. The Greeks, as well as the Phœnicians, we are informed, had an early intercourse with Great Britain and Ireland. It has been already shewn, that the natives of these countries had arrived at a higher degree of learning, at that early period, than is generally supposed. The Druids possessed the Greek letters, and probably knew that language. Abaris, who was sent ambassador to Athens, spoke it in great purity; and so might many more, though that celebrated character is only recorded. If so, they could not be entirely ignorant of Grecian poetry.

"No doubt can be entertained with regard to that of the Romans. For, if from their frequent intercourse with the Celts, the wits of that nation admired their bards, it is next to an impossibility these should not know the poetical compositions of the Italians. What puts the matter beyond contradiction is, that a full century before Ossian was born, Agricola, while stationed in Britain, erected temples, theatres, and stately buildings; caused the sons of the nobility to learn the Latin language; be instructed in the liberal arts; and brought them, by degrees, to imitate the Roman modes of dress and living. So that in a short time they assumed the polished manners of their conquerors, and even lived with them in pomp and refinements.

"Supposing then Ossian himself had no access to the Latin poets, it is possible, nay probable, he was acquainted with the compositions of the Celtic bards, who had an opportunity of knowing and being improved by their writings. We are certain that the inhabitants of Britain assisted the Gauls against Cæsar; when, for so doing, that general invaded this island, Eder, who then reigned in Scotland, is said to have assisted his neighbours against the common enemy. Now it is impossible that men, who held so close an intercourse, could be ignorant of each other's poetical productions; and if they were not, a genius like Ossian would not fail of profiting by such communication."

Nothing is too absurd to be advanced by a zealous controversialist; but they who believe in the authenticity of Ossian may believe this, and in fact they ought to believe not this only, but that the blind poet had obtained a second-sight perusal of the English poets also.

Having analysed the materials of Macpherson's composition, Mr. Laing explains the receipt by which they are put together, which he is enabled to do by the fragment of the Six Bards, as originally transmitted to Gray and Shenstone.

"As the Six Bards, however, was written in hemistichs or versicles nicely balanced, with one clause beneath another like irregular verse, we discover their origin in Louth's explanation of the nature of Hebrew poetry, which Blair had recently introduced into his lectures. According to Louth's explanation, Hebrew poetry consists neither of numbers, nor of rhyme, nor of any regular or perceptible feet; but of periods divided into two or more corresponding clauses, of the same structure, and nearly of the same length; the second clause containing generally a repetition, a contrast, or an amplification of the sentiment expressed in the first: and the result of these responses, or parallelisms, is a sententious harmony, or measured prose, which even our English translation of the Bible has preserved.

"O sing unto the Lord a new song;
Sing unto the Lord all the earth.
Sing unto the Lord, bless his name;
Shew forth his salvation from day to day,
Declare his glory among the heathen,
His wonders among all people;
For the Lord is great, and greatly to be praised:

He is to be feared above all gods.
Honour and majesty are before him;
Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.

Psalms xcvi.

"In these verses, the second is uniformly an amplification of the first; but in others the alternation of the clause is preserved without repetition.

"For, lo, the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth;
The time of the singing of birds is come,
And the voice of the turtle is heard in our land;

The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs,
And the vines, with the tender grapes, give
a good smell.

Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.

"It is evident, that the Six Bards has been written in the same form of corresponding clauses, of which Macpherson probably acquired the first information from Blair's lectures.

"No star with green trembling beam;
No moon looks from the sky;
I hear the blast in the wood;
But I hear it distant far.

The stream of the valley murmurs;
But its murmur is sullen and sad.
From the tree at the grave of the dead,
The long-howling owl is heard.—

"No beast, no bird is abroad,
But the owl and the howling fox;
She on a leafless tree;
He in a cloud on the hill."

When Macpherson came to write narrative, he found measured prose more convenient than these versicles. Hervey's *Meditations* and the English *Death of Abel* had made it popular, but still these corresponding clauses are to be found; every image has its shadow following it, every sentence its echoing sound.

After the thorough investigation which it has now undergone, the question may be considered as at rest. Every exertion has been made by a society with peculiar advantages, to collect evidence for the authenticity of the poems; and, on the other hand, every argument for detection has been exhausted by the indefatigable zeal of Mr. Laing. It is only to be regretted, that the Highlanders have considered Macpherson's cause as their own, and associated national feelings with what ought to have been a mere point of literary enquiry. That much Gaelic poetry has been

preserved is certain; let them give it us with as naked a translation as possible: the controversy respecting Ossian will only have rendered the public more curious for genuine relics, and the meretricious ornaments of Macpherson will not have made them insensible of simple beauty.

Henceforward Macpherson must be classed among literary impostors, and in the very first rank. When Mr. Urban had been lately imposed upon by one of his correspondents, and made to engrave a drawing of Fyfield-church in his lively and valuable magazine, he thought imposture of this kind a heinous offence. "Let him," said he, speaking of the culprit, "quit this evil course, lest, flushed with success, he make an essay on bank-notes. Many a hero, whose name has swelled the Tyburn calendar, commenced his career with crimes of less turpitude." Without attaching such heavy criminality to the offence, we certainly do consider Macpherson as highly culpable. The

Gaelic poems would have been valuable documents for the historian and antiquarian; but his example has been so successfully followed by Kennedy and Dr. Smith, that it will be difficult now to distinguish what is genuine from what has been interpolated, and every thing will be received with suspicion.

The popularity of Macpherson's Ossian will not be immediately affected by this detection, but it will in course of time be destroyed. Assuredly most of the pleasure which these poems occasioned will depart with the delusion. They are not the same whether composed by the blind Ossian, the last of his race, on the ruins of Selma; or if written by James Macpherson in Edinburgh, in his lodgings at the head of Blackfriars Wynd: who, instead of calling to the white-handed daughter of Toscar for his harp, sent the bare-footed servant of the *flat* to fetch him another quire of paper from the book-sellers.

CHAPTER XIII.

MISCELLANIES.

THE present chapter being composed of those articles that cannot properly be arranged under any of the other subdivisions of our volume, does not admit of any general character. Mr. Foster's Essays have a claim to be first noticed by us, on account both of the importance of the subjects that they discuss, and the original and striking manner in which they are treated. Mrs. More's "Hints towards forming the Character of a young Princess," display her accustomed good sense and command of style, and will be read with pleasure and profit even by those who are far from agreeing with her on topics of religion or politics. Dr. Sayers's Miscellanies evince his various reading and cultivated taste. Mr. Knight's Treatise on the Principles of Taste is a work of high merit: and Professor Miller's Retrospect of the 18th Century, is entitled to the foremost rank among the literary productions of the United States.

ART. I.—*Essays in a Series of Letters to a Friend, on the following Subjects: I. On a Man's Writing Memoirs of Himself. II. On Decision of Character. III. On the Application of the Epithet Romantic. IV. On some of the Causes by which Evangelical Religion has been rendered less acceptable to Persons of cultivated Taste.* By JOHN FOSTER. 2 vols. pp. 500.

HUME, in the introductory essay of his Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding, has with his usual precision and elegance discriminated the different species of moral philosophy, and appreciated their respective merits and defects. The one, he remarks, considers man chiefly as born for action, and as influenced in his measures by taste and sentiment; the other regards him in the light of a reasonable, rather than an active being, endeavouring to analyze his various powers, and reduce them to general principles; and dwelling little on the particularities which distinguish individuals or classes of men, it seeks to develop those primary laws of the human constitution, from which, under different circumstances and modifications, result all the varieties of action and passion, sentiment and character. The former species of philosophy, in recommending virtue and censuring vice, thinks it necessary only by strong delineations of each to impress their features distinctly on the mental view, and to appeal at once to

those feelings of approbation or disapprobation which, whether factitious or natural, are to be found in the hearts of men, where unfortunate influences have not prevented their growth, or overcome their efficacy. The latter analyzes with all the coolness of metaphysical and mathematical precision, the constituent qualities and distinctive characters of vice and virtue, and of those sentiments of the mind by which they are accompanied, and with which they are perceived. Each of these modes of philosophizing has its merits; the one appeals, with greater force, to greater numbers; the language of sentiment is the language of persuasion and eloquence, and it meets responsive feelings in the hearts of those whom it addresses. The other, if capable of being carried into execution, adds the dignity and firmness of science to the beauty of virtue, it establishes moral sentiment on the basis of reason, and boasts not merely of making individual converts, but possibly of meliorating the state of the species itself. Each also has its defects. If

sentiment be often a safe, and always a powerful and animating principle of direction, there are however doubtful regions, confines between vice and virtue, in which it is possible that its dictates may mislead. The different and inconsistent principles which by different sects, nations, and ages, have been distinguished by the honourable appellation of conscience, are well known to the historical and moral enquirer. The more severe and scientific method of philosophy, on the other hand, though it professes, and though its professions are not destitute of foundation, to discover, and render palpable to the judgment, the eternal and unalienable distinction between vice and virtue, and to separate them almost with the clearness of a geographical outline, yet gives instructions comparatively cold and unanimating; and it is possible that the man who is best acquainted with the theories of moral science, and can develop them with the greatest subtlety, and illustrate them with the greatest perspicuity, may be as much a stranger to the living principles of virtue, as the blind man, who reasons with minute and philosophic accuracy on the doctrines of light and colours, is insensible of their brilliancy, and destitute of a faculty by which he can become the subject of their influence.

In one respect, however, the practical knowledge of human nature is essential to the establishment of just theories of morals. The human mind is not an intelligence so pure and so powerful as to be capable of being wholly and adequately governed by these lofty intellectual abstractions which the solitary speculatist is capable of conceiving; and in the æthærial regions to which he directs his view, there is danger lest the grosser principles of our active nature should miss those elements which are requisite to lend them support, or furnish them with nourishment. Whatever be the defects of the ancient theories of ethics, they have at least usually the merit of being constructed with a reference to the realities of human life. Many instances of this nature will recur to the recollection of the reader of Tully's Offices.

Mr. Foster is of that class of philosophers, (and the rank which he holds is no mean one) who chose rather to examine human nature in the detail, than in the abstract; to read it with the eye of experience, rather than assume it as a subject of speculation and theory. The subjects of his essays are the following: On a man's

writing memoirs of himself; on decision of character; on the application of the epithet romantic; on some of the causes by which evangelical religion has been rendered less acceptable to persons of cultivated taste. The essays are subdivided into letters, for which no other reason appears than that this was the original mode of their private communication to a friend.

A great part of the first essay does not closely correspond to its title. So far as its reference to it extends, the following are the positions on which it rests: that marked characters result from the operation of peculiar circumstances, of which the individual who is the subject of them may be conscious, and which he can best describe; and that the communication of them may, in many instances, be highly interesting and instructive to others.

The first letter of this essay is employed in ascertaining the objects to which the review of past life may be profitably extended, the difficulties which naturally accompany the retrospect, and the accidental circumstances which may obstruct or facilitate. The uninteresting actions, the common accidents, the minute employments of a series of years, are indeed altogether unworthy of record. "What I recommend," says the author, "is a clear simple statement from the earliest period of your recollection, to the present time, of your feelings, opinions, and habits, and of the principal circumstances through each stage, that have influenced them, till they have become at last what they now are."

"The elapsed periods of life acquire importance too from the prospect of its continuance. A commencement, small in itself, may become important as the introduction to a sequel that is grand. The first rude settlement of Romulus would have been an insignificant circumstance, and might justly have sunk into oblivion, if Rome had not at length commanded the world. The little rill near the source of one of the great American rivers, is an interesting object to the traveller who knows, while he steps across it, or walks a few miles by its side, the amazing length of its progress, and the immense flood into which it ultimately swells. So, while I anticipate the interminable duration of life, though in a changed form, perhaps through endless forms of change, and wonder through what unknown regions it is to take its course, the years that are past, and the moments that are now passing, assume a new and serious aspect. I cannot be content without an accurate sketch of the windings thus far of a stream which is to bear me on

for ever. There is a mystic importance in this early part of a series of actions which is to have no end. It has a solemnity something like that which we may suppose to have accompanied the operations on board the ship of the first circumnavigator, on the day before his leaving the harbour."

One of the chief obstacles to self-enquiry, arises, it is remarked, from the impression of self-observation, in consequence of which the circumstances which have contributed most efficaciously to the formation of our characters, have probably passed by unnoticed. The faithlessness of memory conspires with the inertness of observation. We are become different beings, and we are almost incapable of conceiving what we once were, yet our power of recollection is very different in different states of the mind. Sometimes moments of illumination occur of which we cannot assign the cause, but associated circumstances and places will prove the most powerful aids of memory. "How much is there in a thousand spots of the earth, that is invisible and silent to all but the conscious individual !

"I hear a voice you cannot hear,
I see a hand you cannot see."

The second letter enumerates the principal elements by the operation of which, character is formed, and the education of circumstances impressed; instruction, comparison, reading, and attention to the state and manners of mankind; the influence of each of which is acutely investigated. The action of the last of these causes is pursued in the third letter, and the question is discussed, why amidst the agency of so many causes, evincing in some instances, so much power to impress a signal peculiarity, so few characters, strongly marked from the common order, are found to arise.

In the fourth letter, the author delineates with a bold hand several sketches of character, lamenting that, with the exception of religion, there is little cause to felicitate our species on the influences to which they are exposed. We regret that on this subject his views are so misanthropic. He beholds the path of life, haunted as if with evil spirits, which in a moment may fatally cross the wanderer. "What a vacant world," he exclaims, "would this be, if all the things that may do irretrievable mischief were gone!" The first sketch is that of the misanthropist, to the formation of which character we think that the views entertained by the author possess a manifest tendency, though pro-

bably unexperienced by himself. The next is that of the timid acquiescent in the example and dictates of others, which character however Mr. Foster is almost inclined to felicitate as secure from the dangers of scepticism and indifference. Then succeeds the fancied wit or poet, who admires nothing but genius, and whose self-love easily persuades him that he is himself entitled to this supreme distinction. The character is forcibly delineated, and well ridiculed. The projector and antiquary next receive their share of satire; and the domestic tyrant, his, of pity and condemnation.

The character of the atheist, and its formation according to a process which the author describes, are the subject of the fifth letter, from which we make the following extract:

"Nothing tempts the mind so powerfully on as to have successfully begun to demolish what has been deemed to be most sacred. The soldiers of Cæsar, probably, had never felt themselves so brave as after they had cut down the Masilian grove; nor the Philistines, as when the Ark of the God of Israel was among their spoils. The mind is proud of its triumphs in proportion to the reputed greatness of what it has overcome; and, from the view of facts, it would seem that the first proud triumph over religious faith involves some fatality of advancing to further victories. But, perhaps, the progress is neither difficult nor mysterious. When the rejection of revelation has thrown the whole doctrine of the attributes and the will of the Deity on the dark field of hopeless conjectural speculation, it is, perhaps, no vast transition of thought to make his being also a question of conjecture; since the reality of a being is with difficulty apprehended, when all things concerning that being are undefinable. But the state of conjecture is the state of doubt; and we know that the mind easily passes from doubt to disbelief, if it has some powerful reason for wishing such a conclusion. In the present case there may be a very powerful reason; the progress in sin which generally follows a rejection of revelation makes it still more and more desirable that no object should remain to be feared. It was not strange, therefore, if this man read with avidity, nor strange if he read even with conviction, a few of the writers who have attempted the last achievement of presumptuous man.

"After inspecting these pages awhile, he raised his eyes, and the great spirit was gone! Mighty transformation of all things! The luminaries of heaven no longer shone with his splendour, nor the adorned earth looked fair with his beauty, nor the darkness of night was rendered solemn by his majesty, nor life and thought were the inspiration of his all-pervading energy, nor his providence supported an

finite charge of dependant beings, nor his empire of justice spread over the universe, nor even that universe sprang from his creating power. You might inquire what super-human energy of argument and eloquence could inform those pages with so much power. And you would, perhaps, have expected to find something of more athletic cogence than subtlety attenuated into inanity, and; in that invisible and impalpable state, mistaken by the artful reader and by the writer, for profundity of reasoning—than attempts to crumble away some of those great familiar facts and principles which must be admitted as the basis of human reasoning, or it can have no basis—than monstrous parallels between religion and mythology—or than the occasional wit, or often, perhaps, some meaner thing assuming the manner of wit, expressive of exultation that the grand foe is retiring; if it were not sometimes, perhaps, an artificial resource or the support of courage against the suspicion that he may not be gone—that he will never go.

“It only remained for this disciple of darkness to accept the invitation to pledge himself to the cause in some associated band, where profaneness and vice would consolidate impious opinions without the aid of augmented conviction, and where the fraternity, having been elated by the spirit of social daring to say, “What is the Almighty, that we should serve him?” the individuals might acquire each a firmer boldness to exclaim, “Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice?” Thus easy it is, my friend, to meet that train of influences which may seduce a man to live an outrageous infidel, and betray him to die a terrified believer; that train of which the infatuation, while it promises him the impunity of non-existence and degrades him to desire it, impels him to fill up the measure of his iniquity, till the divine wrath come upon him to the uttermost.”

The sixth letter expatiates on the common inefficacy of religious principles in the formation of the character, intermixed with some just and forcible appeals on this important subject. The concluding letter is occupied by some general reflections on the subject, and deductions from it.

The second essay is on “decision of character,” and describes in a very forcible manner the nature of that quality, and illustrates its important effects. Without entering into an analysis of this essay, we shall content ourselves with the following extract, describing a well-known and justly celebrated character.

“In this distinction, no man ever exceeded or ever will exceed our great philanthropist, the late illustrious Howard.

“The energy of his determination was so great, that if, instead of being habitual, it

could have appeared in an intermitted form, operating only for a short time, on particular occasions, it would have seemed a vehement impetuosity: but by being continuous, it had an equability of manner, which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of a calm constancy. It was the calmness of an intensity, kept uniform by the nature of the human mind forbidding it to be more, and the character of the individual forbidding it to be less. The habitual passion of his mind was a measure of feeling almost equal to the temporary extremes and paroxysms of common minds: as a great river, in its customary state, is equal to a small or moderate one, when swoln to a torrent.

“The moment of finishing his plans in deliberation, and commencing them in action, was the same. I wonder what must have been the amount of that bribe, in emolument or pleasure, that would have detained him a week inactive after their final adjustment. The law which carries water down a declivity was not more unconquerable and invariable than the determination of his feelings towards the main object. This object he pursued with a devotion which seemed to annihilate his perceptions to all others; it was a stern pathos of soul on which the beauties of nature and of art had no power. He had no leisure feeling which he could spare, to be diverted among the innumerable varieties of the extensive scene which he traversed; all his subordinate feelings lost their separate existence and operation, by falling into the grand one. There have not been wanting trivial minds to mark this as a fault in his character. But the mere men of taste ought to be silent respecting such a man as Howard: he is above their sphere of judgment. The invisible spirits, who fulfil their commission of philanthropy among mortals, do not care about pictures, statues, and sumptuous buildings,—no more did he. Or at least, regarding every moment as under the claims of imperious duty, his curiosity waited in vain for the hour to come when his conscience should present the gratification of it as the most sacred duty of that hour. If he was still at every hour, where it came, fated to feel the attractions of the fine arts but the second claim, they might be sure of their revenge, for no other man will ever visit Rome under such a despotic consciousness of duty, as to refuse himself time for surveying the magnificence of its ruins. Such a sin against taste is very far beyond the reach of common saintship to commit. It implied an inconceivable severity of conviction, that he had one thing to do; and that he, who would do some great thing in this short life, must apply himself to the work with such a concentration of his forces, as, to idle spectators who live only to amuse themselves, looks like insanity.

“His attention was so strongly and tenaciously fixed on his object, that even at the greatest distance, like the Egyptian pyramids to travellers, it stood confest to his sight with a

luminous distinctness as if it were nigh, and beguiled the toilsome length of labour and enterprise, by which he was to reach it. It was so conspicuous before him, that not a step deviated from the direction, and every movement and every day was an approximation. If it were possible to deduct from his thoughts and actions all that portion which had not a methodical and strenuous reference to an end, the solid mass which would remain, would spread over an amazing length of life, if attenuated to the ordinary style of human deliberation and achievement. One less thinks of displaying such a character, for the purpose of example, than for that of mortifying comparison."

The third essay is on the application of the epithet *romantic*.

The derivation of this word presents one of the most remarkable specimens which language affords of deviation from the meaning of its radical term; denoting first a city, then a people, a corrupt dialect derived from the ancient language of that people, a species of wild composition frequent in that dialect; and lastly, whatever in the scenery of nature, or the passions and pursuits of men, is supposed to bear some analogy to the distinguishing features of that mode of composition, and the events which it is usually employed to describe.

The application of this word is almost as vague as its origination is remote and fortuitous. It is employed as a generic term to designate those wild appearances of Nature, in which objects of beauty, grandeur, and terror, are thrown together with her boldest hand; and in human affairs it characterizes every exercise of great and uncommon passions directed to the attainment of objects which make little impression on the majority of mankind, and which they are disposed to consider as visionary and impracticable. It is one, in short, of a class of epithets which are very convenient to the declaimer, but are exceedingly difficult to be reduced to precise terms of explanation.

On this class of words, illustrated by a few pertinent instances, as those of puritan, methodist, and jacobin, Mr. Foster makes some sensible, and by no means trite remarks, and then proceeds more directly to the illustration of the term in question.

Having defined the epithet *romantic* as a term describing a state of the mind, in which the imagination predominates over the judgment, in his second letter Mr. Foster proceeds to distinguish some modes of that ascendancy to which the word may

be justly applied. And first he applies it to "presumptions (if entertained after the period of childhood or early youth) of some peculiarly fortunate or important destiny in life, which are not clearly founded on certain palpable distinctions of character or situation, or which greatly exceed the sober prognostics afforded by those distinctions."

By the same epithet he also characterizes those theories of education which suppose the possibility of training up young people, even before they have passed the ordinary limits of that period of imbecile judgment which is incident to their years, to maturity of intellect, and stability of character. The same charge is applied to those speculations of philosophers and philanthropists which anticipate the most signal improvements in the moral and political state, and consequent happiness of mankind. Chivalry also affords some illustrations immediately adapted to a term which possesses so close a connection with its manners and institutions.

The epithet "*romantic*" is next transferred to all such narrations or projects as suppose ends to be accomplished by inadequate or utterly improbable means. And here the author inflicts a severe censure on novel-writers, to which indeed, if their works are considered as lessons of instruction rather than as mere sources of fugitive amusement, they are justly liable. As instances of false and romantic calculation on the efficacy of insufficient means, Mr. Foster cites a few instances of projects and expectations, benevolent indeed and amiable, but which he conceives to be uncountenanced by any rational estimate of human nature, and the influences to which it is likely to be subjected. As such he considers, in common cases, "plans for the civilization of barbarous nations, without the intervention of conquest;" too sanguine expectations of the efficacy of instruction, either as employed for the purpose of education, or as delivered from the pulpit; but the object on which he pours the chief severity of his satire is the zeal of those reformers, who hope, by the inculcation of truth, gradually to accomplish the universal or general prevalence of knowledge, virtue, and happiness, among mankind. The consideration of the subject is extended nearly through the remainder of the essay; in which our author, while he expresses his contempt of all human projects or expectations of any great amelioration of our species, yet asserts his conviction, resting on the support of pro-

phetic intimations, that the empire of truth and happiness is advancing with a certain, and, as he seems to suppose, a rapid progress, under the guidance of divine and supreme agency.

The subject of the melioration of mankind was formerly considered as a topic of innocent speculation, in which the visionary philosopher might safely indulge, though it possessed but little relation to the present state or probable expectations of human life. The astonishing political changes which distinguished, and will forever distinguish, the last twenty or thirty years of the late century (and the termination of which is even yet only faintly seen, if seen at all) led many of the too sanguine friends of liberty and virtue to suppose that some mighty principles were in operation, such as had never before exerted their full influence on mankind, and that perpetual peace and order were to issue from the struggles and heavings which began to agitate the world. The exit of the late revolution of a neighbouring country has stamped an impression of visionary expectation on these warm and enthusiastic anticipations, and two circumstances have tended to throw reproach upon them: one, their connection with plans of reform, a word at the very sound of which, however innocent or even salutary the object which it may express, the political alarmist of the day shudders with apprehension; and the other, the supposed, though altogether arbitrary, connection of his doctrine with the tenets of religious unbelief.

We have no inclination to enter on the discussion of the question; but we are persuaded that there is a sense in which, as a matter of speculation, the affirmative side of it may be maintained, and a mode in which the defence of it may be conducted, which neither the philosopher, the friend of his country, the lover of peace and order, nor the christian, needs to be ashamed of avowing. What is the human character, but the result of circumstances? In the language of Mr. Foster himself, "What relation is there between such a form of human nature as that displayed at Sparta, and, for instance, the modern society of friends, or the Moravianaternity?" The following propositions we think, if not incontestable, at least highly probable: that the human character is capable of being indefinitely modified by circumstances; that many individuals are, and have been, wisely virtuous; that what individuals are, the species itself is not incapable of becoming;

that speculative knowledge in science, arts, and the theory of human nature, is advancing with a progress to which limits cannot be assigned; that there is a real and important connection between speculative and practical knowledge; and lastly, that it is agreeable to the analogy of the divine works to proceed by gradual progress and the operation of natural causes, from less to greater degrees of excellence, and nearer assimilations to perfection. What we have said tends at least to shew that the doctrine of the melioration of mankind, whether probable or improbable, is not chargeable with absurdity; while on the other hand we should as cautiously abstain from any sanguine calculation of the efficacy of present circumstances for that purpose, as we should from the application of prophecy to contemporary and approaching events, before their form and tendency are fully developed.

The essay which will probably excite the most notice, and on which the author seems to have bestowed the most of his attention, is the last: "On some of the causes by which evangelical religion has been rendered less acceptable to men of taste."

Here Mr. Foster must be aware that some of his readers will be disposed to object to the assumption of his title: evangelical religion unacceptable to men of taste; a heavy imputation! in other words, the cultivators of polite literature, our Addison and Johnsons, the reader of the title might suppose inclined to the rejection of the gospel. A perusal of his essay will however shew that by evangelical Mr. Foster intends the calvinistic, or some kindred system of theology. This assumption therefore of the epithet forms a kind of counterpart to the terms of general and sweeping censure, such as puritan and methodist, the use of which he reprobates in the preceding essay. As a technical term, possessing the meaning of an algebraic sign, it may however be suffered to pass without further exception.

As this essay enters more into detail, and illustrates its general principles at greater length, than any of the preceding disquisitions, the analysis of its plan and explanation of its object may be comprized within a small compass. The subject naturally divides itself into two parts: in the first of which the author considers those concomitant circumstances of evangelical doctrine and profession which naturally tend to excite the disgust or contempt of

men of taste;—and in the second, those principles and feelings connected with the pursuit of polite literature, which he conceives to be in themselves hostile to the spirit of the gospel.

Under the former of these heads, the first cause assigned by Mr. Foster for the neglect of what he terms evangelical religion, is the weakness of mind, and want of intellectual culture, of many of its professors. These defects are rendered still more striking and repulsive, when to ignorance is added that spiritual pride and conceit which is frequently its companion, measuring every attainment by its own petty standard, and contemptuously censuring what it is not able to comprehend. Mr. Foster himself can scarcely restrain his indignation when he describes, and it is well and strongly that he describes, this numerous class of his fellow-professors. We however readily concede to him that it is no mark of superior discernment, and no proof of that single love of truth which should distinguish the christian enquirer, to confound the system with the meanness of its advocates, and under that impression to reject it without examination.

Another cause, which in the judgment of the author, “has tended to render evangelical religion less acceptable to persons of taste, is the peculiarity of language adopted in the discourses and books of its teachers, as well as in the letters and religious conversation of christians.” He proposes therefore to reform the peculiarities of theological diction, and to render it, in as great a degree as may be consistent with a faithful communication of religious truth, conformable to the standard of language established by the usage of our classical writers. In his fourth letter Mr. Foster meets an objection which may be urged against him, namely, that this diction has grown out of the language of the scriptures, and especially of the New Testament, which christian instructors will do wisely to imitate. To this objection our author allows some force, but justly remarks that what is called the language of the Bible is only the language of a translation, and that in many instances, other translations may be substituted, equally accurate, and less distant from the forms of common language. He proposes therefore for godliness, in christian discourses, to substitute piety; for edification, improvement; for lust, desire; for righteousness, justice; for tribulation, affliction, &c. The quantity of bad writing under which the evangelical theology has

been buried, is assigned by Mr. Foster as another cause why its principles have become unwelcome to persons of accomplished intellectual attainments, and he acknowledges that the evangelical cause has not on the whole been happy in its prodigious list of authors, and “that a profound veneration for christianity would induce the wish, that after a judicious selection of books had been made, the Christians also had their caliph Omar, and their general Amrou.”

But Mr. Foster does not confine his charges to the circumstances under which evangelical religion happens to be professed, but boldly throws on the whole system of polite literature, the imputation of being essentially unfriendly to the christian scheme. This forms the subject of the remainder of his essay.

As a specimen of our author's criticism on the ancient writers, we extract his account of Lucan, which is honourable to his taste and feeling, though we do not exactly agree with the deductions which he would make from it.

“When I add the name of Lucan, I must confess that no author of antiquity, that I know, would have so much power to seduce my feelings, in respect of moral greatness, into a train not co-incidental with christianity. His leading characters are widely different from those of Homer, and of a greatly superior order. The mighty genius of Homer appeared and departed in a rude age of the human mind, a stranger to the intellectual enlargement which would have enabled him to combine in his heroes the dignity of thought, instead of physical force, with the energy of passion. For want of this, they are great heroes without being great men. They appear to you only as tremendous fighting and destroying animals; a kind of human Mammoths. The rude efforts of personal conflict are all they can understand and admire, and in their warfare their minds never reach to any of the sublimer results even of war; their chief and final object seems to be the mere savage glory of fighting, and the annihilation of their enemies. When the heroes of Lucan, both the depraved and the nobler class, are employed in war, it seems but a small part of what they can do and what they intend; they have always something further and greater in view than to evince their valour, or to riot in the vergeance of victory. Even the ambition of Pompey and Cæsar seems almost to become a grand passion, when compared to the contracted as well as detestable aim of Homer's chiefs: while this passion too is confined to narrow and vulgar designs, in comparison with the views which actuated Cato and Brutus. The contempt of death, which, in the heroes of the Iliad, often seems like an inca-

quiescence or an oblivion of thought, is, in Lucan's favourite characters, the result, or at least the associate, of profound reflection; and this strongly contrasts their courage with that of Homer's warriors, which is (according indeed to his own frequent similes) the daring of wild beasts. Lucan sublimates martial into moral grandeur. Even if you could deduct from his great men all that which forms the specific display of the hero, you would find their greatness undiminished; they would be commanding and interesting men still. The better class of them, amidst war itself, hate and deplore the spirit and ferocious exploits of war. They are indignant at the vices of mankind for compelling their virtue into a career in which such sanguinary glories can be acquired. And while they deem it their duty to exert their courage in a just cause, they regard camps and battles as vulgar things, from which their thoughts often turn away into a train of solemn contemplations, in which they rise sometimes to the empyreal region of sublimity. You have a more absolute impression of grandeur from a speech of Cato, than from all the mighty achievements that epic poetry ever blazoned. The eloquence of Lucan's moral heroes does not consist in images of triumphs and conquests, but in reflections on virtue, sufferings, destiny, and death; and the sentiments expressed in his own name have often a melancholy tinge which renders them irresistibly fascinating. He might seem to have felt a presage, while musing on the last of the Romans, that their poet was soon to follow them. The reader becomes devoted both to the poet and to these illustrious men; but, under the influence of this devotion, he adopts all their sentiments, and exults in the sympathy; forgetting, or unwilling, to reflect, whether this state of feeling is concordant with the religion of Christ, and with the spirit of the apostles and martyrs. The most seducing of Lucan's sentiments, to a mind enamoured of pensive sublimity, are those concerning death. I remember the very principle which I would wish to inculcate, that is, the necessity that a believer of the gospel should preserve the christian style of feeling predominant in his mind, and clear of every incongruous mixture, struck me with great force amidst the fascination and enthusiasm with which I read, many times over, the memorable account of Julius, the speech by which he inspired his gallant band with a passion for death, and the reflections on death with which the poet closes the episode. I said to myself with a sensation of conscience—What are these sentiments with which I am burning? Are these the just ideas of death? Are they such as were taught by our Lord? Is this the spirit with which St. Paul approached his hour? And I felt a painful collision between this reflection and the passion inspired by the poet. I perceived with the clearest certainty that the kind of interest which I felt was no less than a real adoption, for the time,

of the very same sentiments by which he was animated."

We confess ourselves surprised at the length to which, in the heat of argument, Mr. Foster has carried his positions on this subject, and though in general we discern few indications of fanaticism in his book, yet we cannot help suspecting that his principles, if fully realized, would carry us to the utmost verge of fanatical extravagance. We acknowledge that there is much in the morality of the pagan writers, inferior to, and inconsistent with, the sublime morality of the gospel. But are we not capable of making the distinction, and is it not a fair inference, that in perceiving the superiority of the gospel, we shall venerate with a greater warmth of admiration the oracles of christian truth? We deny in point of fact the conclusion that (where due attention is yielded to the truths of religion) the moral feelings of men are likely to be heathenized by familiarity with heathen writers. Who more conversant than our illustrious epic poet, with all the lore of ancient wisdom or fancy? Who more deeply penetrated with the love of sacred truth? Mr. Foster appeals to the probable feelings of Elijah, should he hear a hymn addressed to the Hindu gods? We may appeal to the practice of St. Paul, who certainly did not discontinue his acquaintance with heathen writings, when he became a christian apostle. Many of the faults which Mr. Foster fairly discovers, and candidly acknowledges, in some of his ignorant evangelical brethren, arise from their total insensibility to the elegances of polite literature, and we are persuaded that if he had felt like them, the essays with which he has now favoured the world, would never have been composed. We cannot after all understand Mr. Foster to mean, that it is desirable for polite literature, in its present state, to be banished from the world. The good and the evil are inseparably interwoven. What is to become of the language of Greece and Rome, if the heathen writers are to be annihilated or forgotten, and what will be the fate of the New Testament, when the language of Greece is mute? The same rigorous decree which should expel the profane arts and muses, would perhaps pass a sentence of exile on many of the sciences. Mathematics and metaphysics deaden, it is said, the feelings and imagination, principles which many a sincere christian seems to consider as the essence of his religion; and we be-

lieve that the philosopher in his investigation of nature, is quite as likely to wander to a very remote distance from *evangelical* theology, as the man of taste, in the flowery and seducing paths in which he chooses to stray.

But whatever may be thought respecting some of the tenets which Mr. Foster has inculcated, there can be but one opinion of the ability with which he has maintained them. Almost every page indicates a more than ordinary penetration into the springs of human nature, and a bold and original mode of thinking on all subjects. His style is vigorous, but not

free from defects. It is destitute of an easy flow, and occasional harshness of expression occurs. His metaphors are sometimes too thickly sown, too much dilated, and too far pursued, as in the following instance: "Virgil's work is a kind of lunar reflection of the ardent effulgence of Homer; surrounded, if I may extend the figure, by as beautiful a halo of elegance and tenderness as perhaps the world ever saw." With any deductions which may be made, readers of every class will find in the perusal of these volumes a rich store of entertainment and instruction.

ART. II.—*Hints towards forming the Character of a young Princess.* 8vo. 2 vols.

THESE volumes are understood to be the work of Mrs. Hannah More, and they bear all the characteristic marks of her learning, her good sense, her good intentions, and her tendency to superstition. It has been said that this lady would have been appointed preceptress to the princess but for this disqualification. On what authority it has been reported we know not, but the report is probable. No person in other respects could be better qualified for so important a task: her knowledge is extensive; her feelings always right even when her opinions are wrong; her conversation as sensible as her writings, more lively, more interesting, more liberal, more memorable. It is to be lamented that the objection should have existed; but exist it did, and assuredly it is a sufficient disqualification. The British sovereign must be of the church of England, as it was in the days of our fathers, and as it is now, not as it would be if remodelled by the evangelicals. A methodist head of the church would endanger revolution in the church first, and then in the state.

Every age of literature is marked by some epidemic fashion: the last ten years have been the age of epic poems and of systems of education. It is astonishing how many female writers have ventured upon this arduous subject! Madame Genlis, miss Edgeworth, Mrs. Hannah More, Mrs. West, Mrs. Crespiigny, miss Hamilton, &c. some really valuable writers, and others mere old women. Some good will eventually be educed from these various systems, if it be only that they will prove at last the inutility of system altogether, as well as the impracticability. For were it practicable to breed up a child with the unremitting vigilance and superintendence which they all require, it would be as de-

plorable a plan for the child's mind as it would be for its body if all its food were to be regulated by weight, and it were made to drink according to measure, instead of inclination. The regular hours of parade do not satisfy these disciplinarians, they must have the recruit *stand easy* all the rest of the day before the drill-serjeant.

These hints are prefaced with becoming modesty and becoming freedom; after noticing what important effects the character of the princess Charlotte of Wales will have upon the people of Great Britain, the author adds: 'Under this free constitution, in which every topic of national policy is openly canvassed, and in which the prerogatives of the crown form no mean part of the liberty of the subject, the principles which it is proper to instil into a royal personage become a topic which, if discussed respectfully, may without offence exercise the liberty of the British press.'

The acquisition of knowledge is the first topic.

"The course of instruction for the Princess will, doubtless, be wisely adapted, not only to the duties, but to the dangers of her rank. The probability of her having one day functions to discharge, which, in such exempt cases only, fall to the lot of females, obviously suggests the expediency of an education not only superior to, but, in certain respects, distinct from, that of other women. What was formerly deemed necessary in an instance of this nature, may be inferred from the well-known attainments of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey; and still more from the no less splendid acquirements of Queen Elizabeth. Of the erudition of the latter, we have a particular account from one, who was the fittest in that age to appreciate it, the celebrated Roger Ascham. He tells us, that when he read over with her the orations of Eschines and Demosthenes in Greek, she not only un-

derstood, at first sight, the full force and propriety of the language, and the meaning of the orators, but that she comprehended the whole scheme of the laws, customs, and manners of the Athenians. She possessed an exact and accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, and had committed to memory most of the striking passages in them. She had also learned by heart many of the finest parts of Thucydides and Xenophon, especially those which relate to life and manners. Thus were her early years sedulously employed in laying in a large stock of materials for governing well. To what purpose she improved them, let her illustrious reign of forty-five years declare!

"If the influence of her erudition on her subsequent prosperity should be questioned; let it be considered, that her intellectual attainments supported the dignity of her character, under foible and feminine weaknesses, which would otherwise have sunk her credit: she had even address enough to contrive to give to those weaknesses a certain classic grace. Let it be considered also, that whatever tended to raise her mind to a level with those whose services she was to use, and of whose counsels she was to avail herself, proportionably contributed to that mutual respect and confidence between the queen and her ministers, without which the results of her government could not have been equally successful. Almost every man of rank was then a man of letters, and literature was valued accordingly. Had, therefore, deficiency of learning been added to inferiority of sex, we might not at this day have the reign of Elizabeth on which to look back, as the period in which administrative energy seemed to attain the greatest possible perfection."

Greek, however, the writer of these volumes thinks not necessary, Latin indispensable; of modern languages, French and German the most needful: for mere accomplishments, a sovereign has no occasion, and ought to have no time; it is sufficient that there be that general knowledge and taste which enable him to discriminate excellence, so as judiciously to cherish and liberally to reward it.

The study of ancient history is recommended, but the writer looks at ancient history with jaundiced eyes: her mind has never recovered from its fear of the French revolution; order with her is paramount to every thing; in her dread of a heavy gale she longs for the pestilential and putrid calms of the Pacific. Speaking of the Egyptians she says,

"The whole aim and end of education among them, was to inspire a veneration for government and religion. They had a law, which assigned some employment to every individual of the state. And though the genius of our free constitution would justly re-

probate, what, indeed, its temperate and judicious restraints render unnecessary among us, that clause which directed that the employment should be perpetuated in the same family; yet, perhaps, the severe moralist, with the example of the well-ordered government of Egypt before his eyes, might reasonably doubt whether a law, the effect of which was to keep men in their places, though it might now and then check the career of a lofty genius, was not a much less injury to society, than the free scope which was afforded to the turbulent ambition of every aspiring spirit in the Greek democracies. Bosuet, who has, perhaps, penetrated more deeply into these subjects than almost any modern, has pronounced Egypt to be the fountain of all political wisdom.

"What afterwards plunged the Egyptians into calamity, and brought final dissolution on their government: It was a departure from its constitutional principles: it was the neglect and contempt of those venerable laws which, for sixteen centuries, had constituted their glory and their happiness. They exchanged the love of their wise domestic institutions, for the ambition of subduing distant countries. One of their most heroic sovereigns (as is not unusual) was the instrument of their misfortunes. Sesostris was permitted, by divine Providence, to diminish the true glory of Egypt, by a restless ambition to extend her territory. This splendid prince abandoned the real grandeur of governing wisely at home, for the false glory of foreign conquests, which detained him nine years in distant climates. At a remote period, the people weary of the blessings they so long enjoyed under a single monarch, weakened the royal power, by dividing it among multiplied sovereigns.

"What exalted the ancient Persians to such lasting fame? The equity and strict execution of their laws. It was their sovereign disdain of falsehood in their public transactions; their considering fraud as the most degrading of vices, and thus transfusing the spirit of their laws into their conduct. It was that love of justice (modern statesmen would do well to imitate the example) which made them oblige themselves to commend the virtues of their enemies. It was such an extraordinary respect for education, that no sorrow was ever expressed for young persons who died uninstructed. It was by paying such an attention to the children of the sovereign, that, at the age of fourteen, they were placed under the care of four statesmen, who excelled in different talents. By one they were instructed in the principles of justice; by another they were taught to subdue sensuality; by a third they were initiated in the art of government; and, by a fourth, in the duties of religion. Plato has given a beautiful sketch of this accomplished and sublime education."

Government and religion are two words

whose influence is so powerful over this writer's mind, that she never stops to enquire what government or what religion is meant. It was perfectly consistent in Bossuet to pronounce Egypt the fountain of all political wisdom; priestcraft was of course his idea of political excellence, and spees and onions not more unworthy objects of adoration than the teeth and toenails, the ideots and the madmen, of hagiology. But would Mrs. More have asserted that the system of casts in Egypt was less injurious to society than the turbulent democracies of Greece, before she was paralysed by antijacobinism? Her view of Greece is wholly in the miserable party spirit of Mr. Mitford's History. Eager to catch at a parallel between a French mob and an Athenian one, eager to compliment England at the expence of Athens, she forgets to enquire why in that little territory, and within so short a time, greater men were produced in every department of human genius and human excellence, than all the rest of the world has yet been able to equal? She calls the heroes of Athens thinly scattered—thinly scattered! Prejudice has blinded her to that galaxy of glory.

Some of the most celebrated historians are well charactered. Too much is said in praise of Clarendon; his character will not bear rigid enquiry: whether he was concerned in the assassinations of Dorislaus and Ascham, is known only to Him who will make due inquisition for blood; but his expressions concerning Desborough shew that he was no enemy to the system of assassination which the royalists carried on. Hume is ably criticised.

"His political prejudices do not strikingly appear, till the establishment of the house of Stuart, nor his religious antipathies till about the dawn of the Reformation under Henry V. From that period to its full establishment, he is perhaps more dangerous, because less ostensibly daring than some other infidel historians. It is a serpent under a bed of roses. He does not (in his History at least) so much ridicule religion himself, as invite others to ridicule it. There is in his manner a sedateness which imposes; in his scepticism, a sly gravity, which puts the reader more off his guard, than the vehemence of censure, or the levity of wit; for we are always less disposed to suspect a man who is too wise to appear angry. That same wisdom makes him too correct to invent calumnies, but it does not preserve him from doing what is scarcely less disingenuous. He implicitly adopts the injurious relations of those anarchists who were most hostile to the reformed faith; though he must have known their ac-

counts to be aggravated and discoloured, if not absolutely invented. He thus makes others responsible for the worst things he asserts, and spreads the mischief, without avowing the malignity. When he speaks from himself, the sneer is so cool, the irony so sober, the contempt so discreet, the moderation so insidious; the difference between Popish bigotry and Protestant firmness, between the fury of the persecutor and the resolution of the martyr, so little marked; the distinctions between intolerant phrenzy and heroic zeal so melted into each other, that though he contrives to make the reader feel some indignation at the tyrant, he never leads him to feel any reverence for the sufferer. He ascribes such a slender superiority to one religious system above another, that the young reader, who does not come to the perusal with his principles formed, will be in danger of thinking that the Reformation was really not worth contending for.

"But in nothing is the skill of this accomplished sophist more apparent than in the artful way in which he piques his readers into a conformity with his own views concerning religion. Human pride, he knew, naturally likes to range itself on the side of ability. He therefore skilfully works on this passion, by treating, with a sort of contemptuous superiority, as weak and credulous men, all whom he represents as being under the religious delusion.

"To the shameful practice of confounding fanaticism with real religion, he adds the disingenuous habit of accounting for the best actions of the best men, by referring them to some low motive; and affects to confound the designs of the religious and the corrupt, so artfully, that no radical difference appears to subsist between them."

All this is said truly and said well: it is the best passage in the whole work. Gibbon is never mentioned. We approve as little of the spirit which pervades his History as Mrs. More can do; but from what other sources is a knowledge to be obtained of that long and important series of ages which his admirable outline comprehends? Of Alfred she speaks with that degree of reverence which is his due: Hume is referred to for his character; but had the writer been acquainted with Mr. Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, she would have seen Alfred in a new and still more interesting light.

Of the moral advantages to be derived from the study of history, a deep conviction of the corruption of human nature is here insisted upon as the most important, accompanied with a sense of the superintending power of Providence. The deductions from the past might at once have been equally religious, more philosophical, and more consolatory. It would be more

serviceable to direct the attention of one who is to be a sovereign, to the secondary causes of the downfall of nations and the miseries of mankind, rather than to the great *causa causans*; to governments ill constituted or ill administered; to oppressive laws, burthensome taxes, obstinate ministers, and besotted rulers, rather than to the serpent and the forbidden apple. If history records the wickedness and the misery of our species, as surely does it record the always progressive amelioration; a truth which of all others it is of most importance to impress upon one in whose power it will be so greatly to accelerate that improvement. History, philosophy, and christianity, alike justify this view of things, which makes the scheme of Providence clear, and without which christianity is virtually and truly Manichæan.

The notion that Christ has actually forbidden us to improve the condition of the world, to take any vigorous measures for preventing its misery or advancing its happiness, is well confuted here; but the assertion that governments cannot be managed without certain deviations from the rules of christianity, is not so well parried. It should have been fairly and fully admitted that they are not managed without such deviations, as it is forcibly shewn that every deviation from these rules, is an error in politics as well as in morals.

Mrs. More recommends that the royal pupil, as her understanding advances, should daily commit to memory one weighty sentence, one striking precept, from the best authors. We recollect no passage which better deserves to be impressed upon her memory, and treasured up in her heart, than that which we have just quoted.

In proving that religion is necessary to the well-being of states, Mrs. More takes that view of its utility which must be most gratifying to sovereigns.

"Another of the political advantages of religious rectitude in a state is the security it affords. For with whatever just severity we may reprobate the general spirit of revolution, yet it must be confessed that it has not on all occasions been excited by undue discontent, by unprovoked impatience, nor even by selfish personal feelings; but sometimes also from a virtuous sense of the evils of oppression and injustice—evils which honest men resent for others as well as for themselves.

"Again, there is something so safe and tranquillizing in christian piety, as we have already observed, that, though we would be far from reducing it to a cold political calcu-

lation; yet, content, submission, and obedience, make so large a practical part of religion, that wherever it is taught in the best and soundest way, it can hardly fail to promote, in the people, the ends of true policy, any more than of genuine morality."

There is a concession in the former part of this sentence, which does not very well accord with that implied doctrine of passive obedience held out in the latter part, as one of the political advantages of religion. Where the doctrine has been successfully enforced, it has been found necessary to the well-being of the rulers, but not of the people.

In the observations on the age of Louis XIV. the following excellent passage occurs.

"Liberality is a truly royal virtue, a virtue too, which has its own immediate reward in the delight which accompanies its exercise. All wealth is in order to diffusion. If novelty be, as has been said, the great charm of life, there is no way of enjoying it so perfectly as by perpetual acts of beneficence. The great become insensible to the pleasure of their own affluence, from having been long used to it: but, in the distribution of riches, there is always something fresh and reviving: and the opulent add to their own stock of happiness all that their bounty bestows on others. It is pity, therefore, on the mere score of voluptuousness, that neither Vitellius nor Elagabalus, nor any of the other imperial gourmands, was ever so fortunate as to find out this multiplied luxury of "eating with many mouths at once."—Homage must satiate, intemperance will cloy, splendour will fatigue, dissipation exhaust, and adulation surfeit; but the delights of beneficence will be always new and refreshing. And there is no quality in which a prince has it more in his power to exhibit a faint resemblance of that Great Being, whose representative he is, than in the capacity and the love of this communicative goodness."

This too is a salutary lesson for the royal pupil. The great, except upon public occasions, are not liberal according to their means; it seems as if they had little sense of sufferings which they never can themselves experience. The travelling mendicant goes to the farm or to the cottage door rather than to the great house; and it is a well-known fact, that street-beggars receive the greatest part of their alms from female servants. Want blunts the feelings; wealth hardens the heart; it was for this reason that He who best knew the human heart said, how difficult it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.

remarks on books are too much in spirit of the index expurgatorius, and amend a system of precaution and censure which must inevitably defeat

This writer, as well as most others have written upon education, seems to get that the nations who will not see the face of a woman to be seen in France are infamously libidinous, and that chastity is not an uncommon virtue among the French who go naked. Novels may well be indicted; they can do no good, and only do some evil, because by their stimulation they destroy all relish for plain and wholesomer food. The licence given to tales of magic is perfectly just. We quote it for the benefit of those persons whose metaphysical fears lead their children should believe in Raw-head-and-bloody-bones, are as ridiculous, and far more mischievous, than the belief

in novels are read at all in early youth, a vice which we should think 'more ho-d in the breach than the observance,' could be tempted to give the preference to those works of pure and genuine fancy, to exercise and fill the imagination, in preference to those which, by exhibiting passion and intrigue in bewitching colours, lay too intensely on the feelings. We should venture to pronounce those stories to be safe, which, by least assimilating with our habits and manners, are less likely to soothe and soften the heart by those amatory scenes, descriptions, and situations, which are so abundant even in some of the chastest compositions of this nature. The young female is pleasantly interested for the fate of the fatal queens, for Zobeide, or the heroine of the *Imoran* and *Hamet*; but she does not herself in their place; she is not absorbed in their pains or their pleasures; she does not identify her feelings with theirs, as she too aptly does in the case of *Sophia Western* the princess of *Cleves*. Books of the former description innocently invigorate the mind; those of the latter convey a contagiousness to the mind: the one raises harmless merriment or inoffensive merriment; the other excites ideas at best unprofitable. From the one we are willing to descend to the stationarity of common life; from the scenes of the other, we are disgusted at their taints insipidity."

Novels, we are told, require to be selected with the nicest discrimination; the novel is an unfit book for the indiscriminate perusal of youth; many of Shakespeare's plays are not to be read at all, and of the best, much may be omitted. The writer had not happened to believe in the lenient inspiration of Scripture, the

Bible, we suppose, as has elsewhere already been recommended, would have had some of its leaves pasted together. Nothing is so dangerous as this puritanical prudery. These precautions cannot possibly be concealable, as their certain effect is to excite curiosity, and to the mind which is thus birdlimed every speck will adhere.

In this part of the work occurs a very remarkable instance of ignorance.

"It is a curious circumstance in the history of French dramatic poetry, that the measure used by their best poets in their sublimest tragedies is the anapestic, which in our language is not only the lightest and most undignified of all the poetic measures, but is still more degraded by being chiefly applied to burlesque subjects. It is amusing to an English ear to hear the *Brutus* of Racine, the *Cid* of Corneille, and the *Orosmane* and *Orestes* of Voltaire, declaim, philosophise, sigh, and rave in the precise measure of

"A cobbler there was, and he liv'd in a stall."

How any person acquainted with the French language, as Mrs. More undoubtedly is, can be so utterly mistaken is quite unaccountable. French heroic measure is precisely the same as our Alexandrine; it resembles the verse of the *Poly-Albion*, not of the *Bath Guide*.

Half the last volume is religious; these chapters are introduced by some remarks upon the Scriptures as connected with literature. Mrs. More's idea of the specific character of Hebrew poetry is truly curious.

"It is a peculiarity of Hebrew poetry, that it alone, of all the poetry we know of in the world, retains its poetic structure in the most literal translation; nay indeed, the more literal the translation, the less the poetry is injured. The reason is, that the sacred poetry of the Hebrews does not appear to depend on cadence or rhythm, or any thing merely verbal, which literal translation into another language necessarily destroys; but on a method of giving to each distinct idea a two-fold expression, so that when the poetry of the Old Testament is perfect, and not injured by erroneous translation, it exhibits a series of couplets, in which the second member of each couplet repeats the same, or very nearly the same sense, in a varied manner—as in the beginning of the 95th psalm:

'O come let us sing unto the Lord,
Let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation;
Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving,
And shew ourselves glad in him with psalms:
For the Lord is a great God,

And a great King above all gods;
In his hands are the deep places of the earth,
And the strength of the hills is his also."

The motive for adopting such a structure we easily conceive to have been, that the composition might be adapted to responsive singing. But, can we avoid acknowledging a much deeper purpose of infinite wisdom, that that poetry which was to be translated into all languages, should be of such a kind as literal translation could not decompose?"

It may easily be conceived what the judgment upon theological subjects is of one who can discover a *deep purpose of infinite wisdom* in the supposed structure of a psalm! Some lucid passages appear in this portion of the work, for not even antijacobinism and methodism combined have been able wholly to extinguish that light of intellect with which Mrs. More is gifted. But her opinions lamentably predominate over her nature, and the sentences which are favourable to civil and religious liberty are few, in comparison to those of a counteracting tendency. A toleration of *every* creed, she tells us, generally ends in an indifference to *all*, if it does not originally spring from a disbelief of all; what then is the creed which we

are *not* to tolerate? the Egyptian points of doctrine which are to be slain by the sword of the spirit?

The superintendence of Providence manifested in the local circumstances, and in the civil and religious history of England, form the subject of the concluding chapters, which are tinctured with flattery of the reigning family; the worst sort of flattery, that which is couched in the language of religion. At the close of the whole we find this extraordinary sentence: "Who can say how much we are indebted for our safety hitherto to the blessing of a king and queen, who have distinguished themselves above all the sovereigns of this day, by strictness of moral conduct, and by reverence for religion?" After this Mrs. More must not be offended at the French bishops for flattering their emperor in the words of scripture.

It would be superfluous to sum up the merits of this work, which abundantly proves the wisdom and the bigotry of its writer; and that no person could be better fitted to direct the studies of the princess, none more improper to form her religious opinions.

ART. III.—*The Society of Friends examined.* By JOHN BRISTED, of the Society of the Inner Temple. 8vo. pp. 360.

HUME hinted to the continental writers the expediency of puffing the quakers. In his dissertation on superstition and enthusiasm, he notices and considers them as subsisting in perfect freedom from priestly bondage, and approaching the only regular body of deists in the universe.

The French philosophists, hearing of a sect without priests, whose principles aimed at reducing all revealed religion to allegory, presently inferred, that, if such a sect could be held up as a pattern of piety and morality, inutility both of christianity and its clergy would be completely and practically demonstrated. Voltaire, Diderot, Raynal, Mirabeau, Brissot, and the whole tribe of anti-jesuits, accordingly set about extolling the quakers. Their drab dress was Attic simplicity; their *theeing* and *thouing*, the pure diction of classical antiquity; their silent meetings, the sublimest worship of contemplative philosophy; and their religious ignorance, a wise disdain of *bouring* controversy. To their industry and example was especially ascribed the wealth of England, the rise and rapid growth of her colonies, and

the extension of her fisheries; to their generous philanthropy, the diminution of privateering, the abrogation of the slave-trade, and the emancipation of the negroes in so many of the christian states. Their cautious spirit, which refused to handle implements of war, was to make of mankind an universal people of brothers, and was recommended as a model to the French soldiery who yet obeyed a monarch. Thus the old church-and-kingship of France was efficaciously wounded in the form of panegyrics on the quakers.

In all this there may be much truth; but it is well that these panegyrics should be reduced to their precise value, by unfolding from authentic documents the real interior structure, discipline, and behaviour, of the Friends. The practical world knows the quakers; but the speculative world has much to learn concerning them. They certainly do not approach a regular body of deists; they expel, or disown, those of their members who deny the *holiness* of the Scriptures; and they have published Trinitarian manifestoes from their episcopal to their parochial meetings. They are not less under the sway of their

elders, or presbyters, than other sects are of their priests: and, by avoiding to hire specific public instructors, they miss the advantage of a literary order of men adapted to educate their youth. Their intellectual culture is from this cause in arrear. They are accused of prevaricatory habits in dialect, which, if applied to little things, are ridiculous, if to great ones deceptive, and which are peculiarly unworthy of a sect, that claims to rank its mere affirmations with the oaths of other men. To their industry, to their hospitality, to their beneficence, to their philanthropy, every praise is due. Still it is strange that a legislature, like the British, not at all tender to conscientious scruples, should have granted exclusive privileges to a sect, which refuses to arm in the common defence, which increases the trouble of collecting several taxes, and which, should its discipline relax, might facilitate equivocal marriages. These privileges, however, are not abused.

The quakers do not interpret very strictly the formal directions of St. Paul: he ordains that the priesthood should be paid (1 Cor. ix. 14); that men should be uncovered in the place of prayer (1 Cor. xi. 7); that women be not suffered to speak in the halls of worship (1 Cor. xiv. 34, and 1 Timothy ii. 12); and other similar matters, from which the usages of the quakers in this country depart. The gospels they do interpret strictly; for they found on specific texts, and not on personal revelations of the holy spirit, their objections to military armament, and to judicial oaths.

It is not with the theological so much as with the practical principles of the quakers that this book is occupied: the author has indeed, he tells us, (p. 3,) looked into Penn's Key and Barclay's Apology, and into the book of extracts from the minutes of the yearly meeting; but his remarks have chiefly resulted from personal observation and habitual intercourse. His first chapter is indeed consecrated to examining the system of Friends as to its conformity with the Scriptures. But the author is himself a very unlearned christian, and talks (p. 24) of the "desperate absurdity" of those who plead a divine right for the establishment of tithes. Tithes certainly originate in scriptural authority: see Leviticus xxvii. v. 30. to 33, and Deuteronomy xxvii. v. 12, from which last passage it appears that the tithe ought to be levied triennially. To deny the divine right of tithe is to deny the inspiration of the Old Tes-

tament, and the divine authority of the Mosaic dispensation. The quakers, in order to obey the Scriptures, ought to pay their tithes once in three years, and not oftener. The redemption of the tithe is expressly permitted on the condition of adding one-fifth to its value. This triennial character of the tithe apparently resulted from the state of Jewish husbandry, which grew corn only every third year: so that the preparatory crops, such as our clover and turnips, were not liable to tithe. Those are anti-scriptural laws which have made the tithe annual and included the subsidiary crops.

Mr. Bristed's point of view deserves notice.

"Every one, who is in the least acquainted with the history of the church of England, is well aware of the desperate absurdity of those who endeavour to establish the doctrine of the divine right of tithes. Whether the maintenance of a national church hath a tendency to accelerate or to retard the progress of christianity amongst mankind, and whether or not it be necessary to the promotion of good order, harmony, a wise and an equitable government, are tremendous political problems, which it would be very unbecoming in me to attempt to solve or to discuss.

"It is sufficient for me that I find it a part, and a very important part, of our established governmental constitution; it is, indeed, the keystone of the political arch, which if taken away would cause the whole building to tumble into nothing. The great importance, in the hands of government, of a political lever so powerful as that of a body of ecclesiastics, stipendiated and kept in pay by itself, must readily appear, when we reflect that scarcely a single town, or parish, or village, or hamlet, in this kingdom is without one or more clergymen of the established church. These gentlemen are generally men of liberal and of polished education. Consider then for a moment what a weight of influence is thrown into the scale of government, by which such a mighty mass of ecclesiastical intellect, all regularly classed and arranged under fixed, determinate, and appropriate heads, rising in regular gradation, from the village curate up to the empurpled metropolitan and primate of all England. These men, coming into continual contact with the minds of by far the majority of the English people, must have a very considerable effect in guiding them to sentiments of loyalty to their king, and of obedience to the constituted authorities of their country.

"At a former period of time, the nation, or some individuals who represented the nation, agreed to allow their chief magistrate, their king, a certain annual revenue, for the purpose of upholding and of maintaining the dignity and the power necessarily attached to the representative and the head of a mighty people.

"Ethelwulf, in the days of the Saxon heptarchy, made a present of the tithe, or sixth part of the produce of the land, to the clergy, which tithes are now established and actioned as the birth-right and the inheritance of our national church, by the same law which empowers the chief magistrate to draw an annual revenue from the people; and, I confess, I see no reason why one tax in support of government should not be cheerfully and willingly paid as well as another, nor by any one should refuse to contribute to the maintenance of the clergy more than to the support of the king, whose very safety and existence, indeed, are intimately connected with the preservation of the English church.

"For let us for a moment suppose, that the national clergy were, all at once, deprived of their ecclesiastical emoluments, and turned out to roam this wilderness of a world in want of shelter and of food; what, think you, could be the consequence of the decided hostility of such a formidable body of men, amongst whom floats such a mighty mass of science and erudition, against the existing government? For certainly it is to be expected, that all those men, who had been forcibly and unjustly deprived of their means of existence for no valid reason;—I say forcibly and unjustly, because no reason could be offered as a pretext for taking away the property of the church, which would not equally apply as an argument in favour of sweeping away the whole British constitution from the face of the earth:—would exert all their mental powers to examine by what right the government had defalcated them of their inheritance; nay, by what right the government itself existed. Now, we need no angel from heaven to tell us, for every man of common sense will easily foresee, to what awful and serious consequences such an examination and discussion would lead, when carried on with all the vigour of ability, stimulated to revenge, and urged to desperation by the bitterness of oppression and the lash of injustice. This fearful contest, probably, would too soon be decided between the ephemeral meteors of a court, and the irresistible blaze of the united intellect of the church of England clergy all concentrated into one burning focus; for intellect is the only steady and intrinsic power existing in the universe, and always ultimately elms its bark in safety through the waves of contention, and bounds triumphant over the billows of opposition."

"This may be a very good deistical ground for the payment of tithes; but it has nothing to do with the conscientious motives of a scriptural sect, which of course considers the authority of the Bible as superior to that of the magistrate.

The second chapter describes the influence of the tenets of Friends on their character as individuals. It praises the con-

versation of Friends as decent, and censures it as not expanded. It treats of the apparel, the address, the occupations, the studies, the recreations, the moral and the religious conduct of Friends, and insinuates with urbanity several wholesome criticisms. There is also much digression about education in general.

The third chapter discusses the interior government, the laws and ordinances of the society. In criticising the regulations concerning the poor, the author again digresses widely into a consideration of the poor-laws of the country. A curious sally against workhouses deserves transcription.

"England has authorized parishes to commit the maintenance of the sinews and strength of our country to an interested, audacious speculator, a hardened jobber in human misery, whose business it is to render the condition of the inmates of a workhouse as wretched and forlorn as possible, that the poor may prefer perishing in their own houses, by the silent and wasting progress of hunger, of cold, of nakedness, of disease, and of anguish, to seeking an abode where they must endure all the agonies which callous cruelty can inflict, and dependant slavery can suffer.

"But Rumford, who appears like a guardian angel sent down by the Most High to watch over and to promote the interest of humanity, has taught us by his invaluable precepts, and still more by his inestimable example, that, in every instance in which a poor family is driven by distress and depression of circumstances to pass over the threshold of a parish workhouse, an incumbrance has been entailed on the funds of the parish never to be redeemed, even in part, but by an entire change of system, namely, by encouraging that industry and prudence which no act of parliament can compel; and by assisting them with increased means and advantages of life, calculated to enable them to support themselves and their families in comfort and in plenty in their own cottages, without being compelled to have recourse to parochial relief; and, above all, by blessing them with an early religious and moral education, that they may be enabled to consult their own real interest, and, in consequence, the well-being of the community, by habits of industry, of self-denial, and of virtue."

A still more serious and impressive alarm is sounded against manufactories.

"The immediate effect of many manufactures in this kingdom is to prejudice the health and the morals of the people, and requires the most strenuous exertions of active benevolence to correct and to remedy. In many of these places every incentive to vice and to immorality is applied; and every avenue to disease and to contagion is laid open by neg-

ligence and by filth. Boys and girls are huddled together in lots and parcels, by day and by night, deprived of all education, instructed neither in religion nor in morals; so that even in childhood, before the state of infancy be well passed, every species of horrid and of disgusting debauchery is committed. From these pestilential vaults and charnel-houses of all virtue and of all proper knowledge, are continually steaming up thieves and prostitutes of every description, to prey upon and to plunder the community, and to weaken the very sinews of all good government, and of all social order."

A warmth of style glows in this whole volume, which resembles, though it does not rival, the diction of Rousseau. A sensibility, irritable alike to the bitter and

to the benevolent feelings, vibrates along every page. The ethic observations deserve the attention of those to whom they are addressed, and will contribute to efface peculiarities neither warranted by Scripture nor by reason. Much tendency may be perceived among the quakers, and all the richer sectaries, to join the established worship; but it is felt as an impiety to the manes of our forefathers, and as an abandonment of one's household gods, to apostatize from an hereditary sectarianism. An extensive comprehension would in such circumstances result from any enlargement of the terms of national communion.

ART. IV.—*Miscellanies, Antiquarian and Historical.* By J. SAYERS, M. D. 8vo. pp. 174.

THE poems of Dr. Sayers have passed through three editions; his prose works, though not less meritorious, have not been received with so forward an approbation. They consist of a volume of *Disquisitions Metaphysical and Literary*, and of these *Miscellanies Antiquarian and Historical*.

The first dissertation respects the term Hebrew, which signifies *transfluvial*, and was applied to the posterity of Abraham, because they came from *beyond* the Euphrates. Dr. Sayers thinks that this word might with more accuracy (p. 9) have been applied to the Chaldee tongue, as an acknowledged *transfluvial* one. We suspect the term Chaldee to be the misapplied word, and that the Hebrew was in fact the language used beyond the Euphrates; but that the Chaldee was used on this side the Euphrates; that the Hebrew was the East-Aramic, or Babylonian dialect, and that the Chaldee or Syriac was the West-Aramic, the vernacular dialect of Jerusalem. This question, as we conceive, is not to be determined by the authority of Lightfoot, Parkhurst, Kennicott, and the commentators, but by enquiring *where* the Hebrew Scriptures were reduced to their present form. This dissertation is more erudite than satisfactory.

The second offers remarks tending to prove that the Melita, on which St. Paul was shipwrecked, is the modern Malta: this point is rendered nearly certain.

A most original, interesting, curious, and learned paper is the third, which contains an account of St. George of England, partly drawn from the Greek and Latin writers, partly from a Gothic legendary poem, first published by Sandrig, and since re-edited by Stilm. This enquiry corrects

in some important particulars the well-known note of Gibbon, and, from its turn, will be as gratifying to the patriot as to the scholar.

We shall borrow some passages.

"George the Arian, or, as he has been called, from the place of his birth, George of Cappadocia, has by some writers been supposed to be the same person as the saint of whom I have hitherto been speaking; the history of this man may be comprised in a few words: he appears to have been born of obscure parents, but, by his assiduity and obsequiousness, he obtained a profitable employment in the army, in which situation he acquired great wealth; having imbibed the opinions of Arius, he contrived, by the assistance of partisans of a similar faith, to force himself into the seat of Athanasius, at Alexandria: the power which he had thus obtained was exercised to the worst of purpose; he not only persecuted with severity the opposers of his theological opinions, but by his illiberal conduct in other respects he provoked a general indignation: but the career of his violence and injustice was at length effectually checked; he was degraded, thrown into prison, and soon after massacred in a popular tumult. He was exalted to the primacy of Alexandria in the reign of Constantine, and perished under Julian.

"This narrative cannot I think but convince every unprejudiced reader, that George the Arian was a very different person from St. George of the East, for without insisting upon the difficulty of introducing into the Catholic calendar a heterodox army-contractor, whose title to the honour of martyrdom was openly disputed by Epiphanius, the particulars of his life, no less than the mode and period of his death, are utterly irreconcilable, by any ingenuity, with the history of the more ancient St. George.

"Mr. Salmon has started a new hypothesis respecting our national saint; rejecting with

an indignation not altogether unpardonable in an Englishman, the mean and cruel George of Alexandria: he has introduced to us a new mint, certainly of a much more respectable character than the one whom he discards, but whose pretensions to the honour which is claimed for him are equally ill-grounded. George of Ostia, pope Adrian's legate to England, is the person who has attracted Mr. Salmon's attention, and whom he has endeavoured to prove, by a few fanciful arguments, to be the genuine tutelary saint of our country: that George of Ostia was undoubtedly in England, that he was present at a council held at Cealchythe, that he much distinguished himself by establishing, or rather by confirming, the catholic faith among the Anglo-Saxons, and that he was every where received with the respect and honour due to his character; all this, I say, may be supported by authorities which cannot be reasonably questioned; but of his farther pretensions we have no proofs; it appears by no means certain that he was ever canonized; and the particulars respecting St. George, which are handed down to us in the martyrology of Bede, as well as in the martyrology above-mentioned, appear to me to prove most decisively that in the time of the Saxons (and at no other time would the bishop of Ostia have been so peculiarly celebrated) the St. George of the English calendar was the same as the St. George of the Greeks.

"I have now to speak of the fragment of which I propose to give a literal translation; the original of it is written in the Franco-Theotish language, and is annexed to the Vatican manuscript of Otfrid's Franchish Gospels: it is printed with a Latin translation and notes (by Sandvig) in the Symbolæ Literaturæ Teutonicæ of Sehlin; I have omitted some lines which were defective or unintelligible, the rest is as follows;

"George went to judgment,
With much honour,
From the market-place,
And with a great multitude (following him);
He proceeded to the Rhine
To (perform) the sacred duty,
Which was highly celebrated,
And most acceptable to God.
He quitted the kingdoms of the earth
And he obtained the kingdom of heaven;
Thus did he do.
The illustrious Count George;
Then hastened all
The kings, who wished
To see this man entering,
(But) who did not wish to hear him.
The spirit of George was there honoured,
I speak truly from the report of these men,
(For) he obtained
What he sought from God.
Thus did he
The holy George.
Then they suddenly adjudged him
To prison;
Into which with him entered

Two beautiful angels.
* * * * *

Then he became glad
When that sign was made (to him);
George there prayed;
My God granted every thing
To the words of George;
He made the dumb to speak,
The deaf to hear,
The blind to see,
The lame to walk.
* * * * *

Then began the powerful man
To be exceedingly enraged;
Tatian wished
To ridicule these miracles;
He said that George
Was an impostor.
He commanded George to come forth.
He ordered him to be unclothed,
He ordered him to be violently beaten
With a sword excessively sharp.
All this I know to be altogether true;
George then arose and recovered himself,
He wished to preach to those present,
And the Gentiles
Placed George in a conspicuous situation.
(Then) began that powerful man
To be exceedingly enraged,
He then ordered George to be bound
To a wheel, and to be twirled round;
I tell you what is fact;
The wheels were broken in pieces;
This I know to be altogether true;
George then arose and recovered himself.
He there wished (to preach)—the Gentiles
Placed George in a conspicuous place.
Then he ordered George to be seized
And commanded him to be violently scourged;
Many desired he should be beaten to pieces
Or be burnt to a powder.
They at length threw him into a well,
There was this son of beatitude,
Vast heaps of stones above him
Pressed him down;
They took his acknowledgment;
They ordered George to rise;
He wrought many miracles,
As in fact he always does.
George rose and recovered himself,
He wished to preach to those present.
The Gentiles -
Placed George in a conspicuous place."

The fourth sketch respects the rise and progress of English poetry, which is divided into distinct schools, according to the models which were successively imitated. Chaucer and his successors are classed under the denomination of the Norman school; Spenser and his successors under that of the Italian; Dryden and his successors under that of the French; Gray and his cotemporaries under that of the Greek. It is justly observed that the rising race of poets are studiers of German models. Shakspeare is almost the only ex-

cellent writer who has painted from nature, not from art, and who has founded a school strictly English. It is remarkable that the Latin poets should have produced no very prominent imitations. An oriental school of poetry may be expected to originate, of which sir William Jones will perhaps be reckoned the founder.

The hints on English architecture are drawn up with much display of antiquarian research; yet we a little question the propriety of calling any style of architecture Saxon. The Saxons, when they invaded England, were a much ruder people than the previous inhabitants whom they contributed to re-barbarize. It is not likely that they taught the method of building with hewn stone; but rather that they adopted a Roman or a Cimbric method of structure already in use. The word *Gothic* we are quite disposed to reject, as describing a style of building which did not come to us from the Goths; but neither can it be proved to have been invented in England. At Rheims and Paris stand the models of our Gothic cathedrals: from Normandy came our rhyme, our romance, our chivalry, our heraldry, and probably the architecture called Gothic. The church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris, which is of the rudest style we call Gothic, and has pointed arches, was founded in the seventh century, and is older than any domestic specimen of that style of building. The cathedral of Paris was completed under Philip Augustus before the close of the eleventh century. La Sainte Chapelle, again, which is one of the most finished and elegant specimens of the florid and ornamented Gothic or

Norman, was finished in 1247; so that each style of architecture prevailed successively in the north of France earlier than here.

The disquisition on Saxon literature properly recommends the publication of all the yet unedited manuscripts of that class deposited in our several public and private libraries. Why does the learned author, who displays much conversancy with the language, not himself undertake at least one of the editions he recommends? An explanation of the Saxon names of months is appended; and a translation from Eadmer.

The life of Edgar Atheling is a valuable and admirably well-executed piece of biography, comprehending all the attainable information, and narrating the result with a neatness, a simplicity, a proportion, and a propriety, worthy of the chaste, correct, and elegant taste of the writer.

The life of Edmund Mortimer is also good; but it contains more of disquisition, and is almost buried under the necessary notes.

A French critic, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, says, that poets seldom write prose well; that the restraint to which they are accustomed gives a stiffness to their phraseology; and that the habit of pursuing embellishments for every verse generates a tumid, frothy, sparkling diction. Dr. Sayers is an instance to the contrary. There is no English prose more easy, pure and plain than his: it has that Attic simplicity, that apparently unstudied fitness, in which critics place the highest and rarest merit of good writing.

ART. IV.—*Sketches relative to the History and Theory, but more especially to the Practice of Dancing; as a necessary Accomplishment to the Youth of both Sexes; together with Remarks on the Defects and bad Habits they are liable to in early life; and the best Means of correcting or preventing them. Intended as Hints to the young Teachers of the Art of Dancing.* By FRANCIS PEACOCK, Aberdeen. 8vo. pp. 224.

DANCING, which is now a profane, was once a sacred pastime. The Egyptians danced at the mysteries of Isis; they taught many of their military exercises in a dance called the Memphian: they even recorded and represented astronomical facts in a dance given on the feast of Apis.

The Jews borrowed these religious ceremonies of the Egyptians. They not only danced in the wilderness around the golden calf; but at the feast of the Lord in Shiloh (Judges xxi. 19) they celebrated dances, which terminated like those

with which Romulus entertained the Sabine women.

These dances did not accord with modern ideas of decency: for when David brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edam, the daughter of Saul (2 Samuel vi. 20) reproached the king with having, like one of the vulgar, uncovered himself shamefully. Yet the practice of temple-dances was not therefore discontinued: in many of the Psalms (see Lorin's commentary on the third verse of the hundred and forty-ninth Psalm) the people are called on to praise

the Lord in the dance. From the descriptions preserved of the three Jewish temples of Jerusalem, Samaria, and Alexandria, it is known, that a sort of stage was erected before the altar, where dances were publicly performed by the young, accompanied with music and with song. The words of the biblical commentator are, *in utroque psalmo nomine chori intelligi posse cum certo instrumento homines ad sonum ipsius tripudiantes*; and again, *de tripudio seu de multitudinis saltantium et concinnantium minime dubito*.

The Greeks naturalized the military, or Memphian, dance of the Egyptians, under the name of Pyrrhic. The javelin, the shield, the sword, were all employed in this exhibition. It was sacred to Pallas; and named from Pyrrhus of Epirus, who introduced it as conducive to military agility and skill.

"Plato reduces the dances of the ancients to three classes: 1. The military dances, which tended to make the body robust, active, and well-disposed for all the exercises of war. 2. The domestic dances, which had for their object an agreeable and innocent relaxation and amusement. 3. The mediatorial dances, which were in use in expiations and sacrifices. Of military dances there were two sorts: the Gymnopedic dance, or the dance of children; and the Enoplian, or armed dance. The Spartans had invented the first for an early excitation of the courage of their children, and to lead them on insensibly to the exercise of the armed dance. This children's dance used to be executed in the public place. It was composed of two choirs, the one of grown men, the other of children; whence, being chiefly designed for the latter, it took its name. They were both of them in a state of nudity. The choir of the children regulated their motions by those of the men, and all danced at the same time, singing the poems of Thales, Alcman, and Diopysodorus. The Enoplian, or Pyrrhic, was danced by young men, armed cap-a-pee, who executed, to the sound of the flute, all the proper movements either for attack or for defence. It was composed of four parts: the first the podison, or footing, which consisted in a quick shifting motion of the feet, such as was necessary for overtaking a flying enemy, or for getting away from him when an overmatch. The second part was the xiphism: this was a kind of mock-fight, in which the dancers imitated all the motions of combatants; aiming a stroke, darting a javelin, or dexterously dodging, parrying, or avoiding a blow or thrust. The third part, called the komos, consisted in very high leaps, or vaultings, which the dancers frequently repeated, for the better using themselves occasionally to leap over a ditch, or spring over a wall. The tetracomos was the fourth and last part. This was a

square figure, executed by slow and majestic movements; but it is uncertain whether this was every where executed in the same manner. Lycurgus instituted a dance, doubtless of the military kind, being of opinion that it not only gave them strength and agility of body, but a vast expertness in the use of their weapons, and in the various evolutions of the art of war. It was accompanied with the singing of verses. It consisted of three choruses—the first of old men, the second of young men, and the third of boys. The old men began and addressed the youth in these words:

'We once were young and gay as you,
Valiant, bold, and active too.'

The young men answered—

'Tis now our turn, and you shall see
You ne'er deserv'd it more than we.'

Lastly, the boys cried out—

'The day will come when we shall shew
Feats that surpass all you can do.'

The Bacchic dances of the Greeks were consecrated to jollity, to amusement, and to pleasure. The muse Terpsichore was supposed to preside over them; and Comus was said to have invented them. The annual dances of the vintagers, in which they smeared their faces with lees of wine; and the theatric dances, which accompanied and relieved the choral odes of the dramatists; were both orgies of Bacchus.

Lycurgus instituted dancings in honour of Apollo: at one of these balls, Theseus saw Helen, fell in love with her, and carried her off. The old men at Sparta had an appropriate dance in honour of Chronos, or Saturn. Homer praises Merion as *the dancer*, Hippocleides lost his bride by a vain display of agility in dancing: his saying *what cares Hippocleides for that?* became a proverbial expression of dissembled contempt.

The Athenians had funeral dances, of which the movement was slow, the dress white, the garlands worn of cypress, the music solemn, and the occasional pauses filled up with sobs and howls of woe.

They had also dances distinguished by peculiar appellations, which employed a few, or two, or a single dancer. Demosthenes reproaches Philip with causing hornpipes (*cordax*) to be danced before him after dinner by naked boys. The *hormus* resembled a cotillion, and employed eight dancers, who frequently joined hands. The *emmeleia* sometimes resembled our menuet by its gravity and dignity.

The Romans imported the dances of

the Greeks: they were a more decorous people, and have left declamations and laws against dances, which the Greeks executed without a blush. Scipio Africanus entertained his guests with dancing. Mark Antony was censured for taking a licentious part in some religious dances. Under the reign of Augustus, Pylades carried the serious, and Bathyllus the comic pantomime to the highest perfection. The hymeneal dances began under Tiberius to assume so indecent a character, that the senate made a decree to suppress them, and to banish the dancing-masters from Rome.

The priests of Cybele travelled about, like our tumblers, to perform dances in public for hire. Lucian has left an entertaining account of these exhibitions.

The Goths, when Tacitus described them, had their dance of spears, in which young lads threw javelins at each other, and moved to and fro uninjured between the flight of darts.

The first christians, in imitation of the Jews, gave balls in their churches. On the eve of great festivals, and after the close of the love-feasts, the young people danced on a stage in the choir. Scaliger thinks that the bishops were called *præsules*, a *præsiliendo*, because they set up the dance. Father Heliot has collected curious particulars of these religious or ecclesiastical balls, which were suppressed by the council of Carthage, in 397, under pope Gregory. Since that period, the idea seems to have been continually gaining ground, that the happiness of man is displeasing to the deity, and that joyous rites may not form a part of public worship. This prejudice is injurious to the state.

Quintilian recommends dancing to the orator, and Locke to the gentleman; but its most important value is to the soldier. Because the French are a people of dancers, they carry agility and skill in the military exercises further than their neighbours. In proportion as the imminence of domestic defence increases, government ought to patronize among the common people a taste for dancing. Instead of roasting oxen whole, kindling bonfires, and distributing porter, a victory or a peace should be celebrated by a popular *hop*. Those cotton-mills and spinning engines, which inflict a sedentary and unwholesome confinement on the adolescent, ought in atonement to cater for their pleasures, and to attach a dancing-master to the establishment. The subscribers to Sunday-schools should pro-

vide, after mental fatigue, bodily recreation for their pupils, and engage a dancing-usher to marshal the sports of the children. Not only musicians but dancers should be attached to every regiment by the secretary at war, and stationed in every barrack, that cheap instruction in the art of dancing may every where be within reach. The physical education of the poor has too long and too inhumanly been neglected: we steep their youth in ceaseless azotic confinement, and rear a melancholy band of withered and distorted carcasses. Come back to our temples, ye Graces and ye Sports; joy, health and beauty are inseparable attendants of your train.

Few sections of Mr. Peacock's useful and agreeable book are employed about the literature of dancing. It is fuller of practical instruction, and is adapted to form the dancing-master for realizing the highest claims of his art. It will contribute to render that art more respectable, and to rank it among the fine arts, between music and design.

The observations on the Scotch red may be distinguished as among the most original and peculiar; such as are not to be found in Noverre, or other continental writers on this topic.

The seventh sketch relates to choregraphy, or the art of writing out dances in specific characters. Why will not Mr. Peacock, who displays much talent and good sense, revive the system imagined by Mr. Jeuliet? It is the complexity of his method which has occasioned its dismissal. He has not dissolved the dance into parts sufficiently elementary: his characters answer, like Chinese flourishes, to the words of the feet, not to the syllables, still less to the letters, which are the five positions, or, as Mr. Peacock proposes to innovate, the *six* positions. Between the second and the fourth positions there is an intermediate attitude of the feet, useful in oblique movements, which, in this author's opinion, ought to be recognized as a sixth position.

The observations on defects of the body, and the means of cure, by the mediation of postures and attitudes, deserve the attention of parents, whose children from bad nursing are become knock-kneed, or who have other more formidable deformities. These remarks have the sanction of long experience, the author being eighty-two years of age. His occupation seems alike to have prolonged his bodily and his intellectual activity.

Weaver's essay toward a history of

ancing, published in 1712, is, we believe, the most reputable English work on his department of the fine arts. We feel grateful to Mr. Peacock for enriching our literature with another, so well adapted to contribute to the more diffusive and more skilful tuition of the graces of motion. It has been well observed, that a complete ballet is the most beautiful spectacle which can be presented to human eyes. As much as the human form surpasses that of trees and rocks, does a groupe of dancers surpass a mountain-landscape. The timely sounds of the musician, the splendid colouring of the painter, the forms and attitudes of the sculptor are all enjoyed at once, and are

all felt to be but subsidiary pleasures to the tale which motion tells. Il est hon-teux (says Noverre in his *Lettres sur la danse*) que la danse renonce à l'empire qu'elle peut avoir sur l'ame, et qu'elle ne s'attache qu'à plaire aux yeux.

The Cynic Demetrius was denying the power of dancing to affect the passions: a pantomime dancer in the service of Nero was at table, and proposed to attempt his practical conviction. He got up, and without the assistance of music, represented a story in so striking a manner, that the philosopher broke out into loud delight: "I hear, as well as see; you talk with your fingers; you talk with your toes."

ART. VI.—*A brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century. Part the First; in Three Volumes: containing a Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts, and Literature, during that Period.* By SAMUEL MILLER, A. M. One of the Ministers of the united Presbyterian Churches in the City of New-York, Member of the American Philosophical Society, and corresponding Member of the Historical Society of Massachusetts. 8vo.

THE history of literature and science has not been cultivated in Europe with an attention proportioned to its importance and its usefulness. The progress of culture ought to be a higher concern than the adventures of a dynasty. We record the feuds of barons and the wars of kings, as if they were lessons of experience from which any thing could now be learnt: let them busy the vulgar, but let them be shunned by the cosmopolite philosopher. Celebrity provokes a repetition of the actions which it includes: it is well for the sailor and soldier to fancy they shall shine in history: but a nobler arena of competition should be indicated to the opulent and the sovereign classes, than the heaths of battle or the liquid plains of artificial shipwreck. Human merit is not confined to the handling of a firelock: nor is that the noblest patronage, with however strict a regard to excellence it may be distributed, which recompenses killing with plunder. Conflicts of mind are a purer source of national glory. The compilations of erudition, the embellishments of fancy, the exertions of intellect, endure from age to age with undiminishing splendour. The strong live at all times; but they die unremembered, where the bard and the orator are wanting: while the writer is sufficient to his own fame, and inscribes an epitaph coeval with his utility. Empires themselves are finally estimated by the crop of genius they grow.

The cities of commerce, the barracks of soldiery, the palaces of monarchs, all crumble into dust; but not the obelisks of literary art. Athens was less wealthy than Carthage, less military than Sparta, less wisely governed than Crete; but, having been the dwelling-place of learning, taste, and science, its language is still the toil, and its ruins still the pilgrimage of the accomplished.

We are glad to observe that the new world sets out with so few of the prejudices of the old; and that one of the most opportune books, which American literature has yet added to the stock of English reading, should precisely have been consecrated to the history of human improvement. In this retrospect of the eighteenth century we seek in vain for the pedigrees of kings and the carnage of warfare; we hear of no revolutions but those in the theory of science, of no achievements but those in literature and art. Happy the people to whose peaceful leisure such contemplations are chiefly dear; their emulation will be directed to the discovery of truth, to the production of beauty, to the realization of improvement; they will seek wealth from industry, not from pil-lage; fame, from mental, not corporeal vehemence; and happiness from the diffusion of comfort, not from the agitations of hostility. While Europe rebarbarizes under her Frederics and her Bonapartes, America may beckon to secure shores the

trampling virtues, the patient industries, the curious researches, and the forsaken muses.

The plan adopted by Mr. Miller for giving a convenient chronological account of the intellectual revolutions and improvements of the eighteenth century is to divide knowledge into the several classes of 1. Mechanical Philosophy; 2. Chemical Philosophy; 3. Natural History; 4. Medicine; 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Geography, Mathematics, Navigation, Agriculture, Mechanics, Fine Arts, and Physiognomy; 12. Philosophy of the Human Mind; 13, 14. Classical and Oriental Literature; 15, 16. Modern Languages, Theory of Language; 17, 18. History and Biography; 19. Romances and Novels; 20. Poetry; 21, 22. Literary and Political Journals; 23. Literary and Scientific Associations; 24, 25. Encyclopædias and Education; and 26. Literary History of the Nations newly civilized.

Under each of these heads, many of which are subdivided into various sections, an account is given of the men and books which have most affected the progress of each. The author's resources of intelligence are too exclusively British. Germany has been by excellence the literary nation of the eighteenth century, especially for the last forty years: but the knowledge of German literature here displayed is scanty, and always second-hand. The periodical publications even of Great Britain for the last decennium of the late century have not been enough consulted: the recent information being negligently incomplete. The distribution of matter is not without imperfection: there are too many classes for distinct recollection; and they are somewhat indefinite and confused.

The earliest characters whom Mr. Miller marshals before our notice in his introduction, as pioneers to the enquiries of the eighteenth century, are Newton and Locke, great but not rival names.

Newton is justly extolled. The reasoning power he displayed in the mathematical forms of syllogizing has seldom been approached, never surpassed. A striking instance of his *a priori* penetration is the inference from its refractive power that the diamond would be found inflammable, although he knew no method of exposing it to combustion. His use of words is less skilful than his use of signs. Such combinations of phrase as *vis inertiae*, where the terms are interdestructive and

of course unintelligible, occur in his writings. His chronology disappoints; it wants erudition, it wants sagacity; the very ground-work of the system reposes on authorities, which deserved appreciation, but not confidence.

Locke is excessively extolled. Almost all that is true or valuable in Locke pre-exists in Hobbes, whose metaphysical writings are far superior for observation, for originality, for precision, for clearness, for condensation, and for taste in illustration. Locke's is an artificial reputation, founded by the revolutionists of 1688 for party-purposes, and propagated over the continent on trust by Voltaire. Stæne, who had a clear head, attacked it indirectly in his *Tristram Shandy*; Hume, directly, in the first note to the second volume of his essays; and of these wounds the high reputation of Locke would have died, but for the American war, which gave a fictitious value to his supposed principles of government; and for the unitarian sect, which found an accommodation in the shelter of his authority. On what topic can a good dissertation be found in all Locke? We protest against the final awards of a literary tribunal, which presumes to rank him with a Hobbes, a Hartley, or a Hume.

Hutchinson and his school are treated with too much civility. These men have not in view the progress of information, but of error: they are systematic offuscants; not reasoners, but mystics. They should be classed, like the Alexandrian Platonists, among those who have made it their occupation to defer the advancement of knowledge, to puzzle with useless investigation, to darken the human intellect, to quench the torch of inquiry, and to divert from the pursuit of truth. Their erudite speculations are not to be recorded as innocent, but as infamous. O that such names could be wiped out of the annals of British literature!

The ensuing chapter treats of electricity. To Mr. Dufay of Paris is ascribed the first observation of a difference between what he called *vitreous* and *resinous* electricity. Dr. Franklin altered this nomenclature into *positive* and *negative* electricity: herein he delayed the progress of truth. He had, however, the great merit of ascertaining the identity of electric fluid and lightning: he also detected the unexplained operation of points; but he attributes to the water (page 37), of the Skuykil a conducting power

which surpasses that of an European river.

The section which treats of moving forces, or of that branch of philosophy relating to the structure of machines for abridging labour, might derive additional materials from comparing the specifications of our patents with the improved processes of the British manufactures. We advise the English mechanists to read this chapter, and to note its omissions in some of our magazines or public journals.

The eighth section concerning astronomy is still more defective. The discoverers of the new planets are not named. Whether the author's intelligence from Europe does not reach below the date of the completion of his *Encyclopædia*, or whether he undervalues this sublime field of speculation, the omission has demerit.

The chapter concerning chemical philosophy is executed well: it has obligations to Thomson's chemistry.

That concerning natural history invokes the aid of some American sources of intelligence: the paragraph in which Mr. Miller sums up the services of his countrymen to zoology, may deserve European notice.

"Though America, during the period under review, has not produced many distinguished enquirers in zoology, it can boast of some who rendered themselves conspicuous by pursuits of this nature. Mr. Catesby, and Dr. Gardén, before mentioned, though not native Americans, resided long in that country, and threw much light on the animal kingdom, as it appears beyond the Atlantic. Mr. Glover, a planter of Virginia, also communicated to the public some valuable information respecting American zoology. Mr. William Bartram, of Pennsylvania, an indefatigable and well informed student of nature, added considerably to the number of facts before known concerning the animals of the southern and western parts of the United States, and the adjacent territory. Still more recently Dr. Barton, professor of natural history in the university of Pennsylvania, has made very respectable additions to the zoological science of that country; and displayed a degree of genius, diligence, learning, and zeal, in this pursuit, which do honour to the rising republic, and bid fair to place him among the most accomplished and useful naturalists of his time. Beside the labours of these and other scientific inquirers of America, a large amount of information respecting the animals of that continent have been derived from intelligent foreigners, who have either visited and explored the interior of the country at different periods of the century

under review, or devoted themselves to the acquisition of knowledge, from various sources, respecting the new world. Among these, Gronovius, Sarragin, Kalm, Schoepf, Buffon, and several others, deserve to be mentioned with honour."

Geology is treated of in the fourth section of the third chapter. The protogæa was, we believe, inserted in a volume of academical memoirs about the year 1693: but as it was during this present century first included among the collective works of Leibnitz, and as it still forms the most concise, the most probable, and the most accredited system of geology, it deserved a prominent notice in the history of the cosmological enquiries of the age. Leibnitz is a Neptunist, Buffon a Vulcanist: it is so that those rival sects in cosmogony are now denominated, who maintain the original earth to have been a ball of water, or a ball of fire. A third sect is growing up, who, with Toulmin, maintain the eternity of the world; they might be called *Æonists*: Dr. Hutton has well urged the arguments of this class. Sufficient justice is not done to Pallas, whose travels in the Russian empire have thrown great light on the structure of mountains. Our author appreciates this set of writers not by their knowledge or talent, but by their orthodoxy. A lady went into a shop for a pair of spectacles. Will these suit, ma'am, said the shopkeeper, offering a showy pair? O yes, that I am sure they will, replied the lady, for they are in a shagreen case. It is quite as rational to choose eye-glasses by the case, as theories of the earth by their conformity with the book of Genesis. The cosmogony there preserved is a most precious remnant of Babylonian philosophy, and throws great light on what the primeval nations imagined concerning the origin of things; the author, like Thales, was a Neptunist, but many of his notions are demonstrably false. The heaven is described as a solid body, which keeps off from the earth the waters above: and the sun is described as subordinate and subsequent to the earth, which is lighted and produces vegetables before the sun is made.

In the chapter on meteorology notice is not taken of Toaldo. His theory of the weather is founded on a supposed lunar cycle; and he endeavours to prove that a revolution of the seasons is completed every nineteen years.

The section on the theory of physic celebrates the elements of medicine. The work of Brown may have been prepared

by Haller's doctrine of irritability, and by Fontana's book on the Iris (a work overlooked by Mr. Miller) but it forms an era in medicine. Brown has the great merit of dismissing jargon, of speaking intelligibly, and therefore refutably, concerning the phenomena of animal life: he has the clear head of lofty intellect, and has improved the art of reasoning on medical topics of speculation.

The fifth chapter of the second volume relates to geography: it narrates the progress of discovery by sea, and enumerates the more prominent naval explorers of coasts and islands; it narrates the progress of discovery by land, and enumerates the more celebrated travellers through ill-penetrated countries; the literary compilers and reconcilers of information thus collected are not forgotten. It is a chapter highly honourable to the British nation, which in this department of enterprise has contributed a vast share of exertion. We will extract what relates to America, conceiving those passages of this work to be here the most interesting which are not derived from European sources.

"Different portions of the southern and south-western parts of North-America have been visited and explored during the period under review, by Lawson, Bossu, du Pratz, Crozat, Charlevoix, d'Autechoche, Clavigero, Adair, and Bartram, whose publications abound with instructive and interesting narratives, concerning the territorial limits, the inhabitants, and the natural history of the districts which they traversed.

"Much information concerning the geography of the western parts of North America has been given by Boon, Carver, Hutchins, and others; particularly the Moravian missionaries, from whom some of the best accounts of the physical and moral condition of that portion of our continent have been communicated to the public.

The northern and north-western parts of North America have been visited, at different periods during the century, by Charlevoix, Curry, Long, Pond, Cartwright, Hearne, Henry, Turner, and Mackenzie. The last-named traveller has the honour of being the first white man who ever reached the Pacific Ocean, by an overland progress from the east. Some valuable information concerning this portion of the continent, has also been communicated by certain Moravian missionaries, who resided for a number of years in that inhospitable region.

"Beside the travellers who with laudable enterprise have done much toward exploring such parts of the country as were a few years ago wholly unknown, we are indebted to many other gentlemen for various publications which have served greatly to improve Ame-

rican geography. The *Geographical Essays* of Lewis Evans, published in 1755, together with the maps accompanying them, formed an important step in the progress of our knowledge of that part of America of which he treated. Dr. John Mitchell, an Englishman, who resided some years in Virginia, and whose name has been frequently mentioned in this work, contributed not a little to extend our knowledge of American geography. His map of North America, published about the year 1755, was, for some time after its publication, the best extant. The geography of Virginia has been well illustrated by Mr. Jefferson; of Kentucky, by Mr. Imbry; of New Hampshire, by Dr. Belknap; of Vermont, by Dr. Williams; and of the district of Maine, by Mr. Sullivan. But the most full and satisfactory work on American geography hitherto given to the public, is that by the Rev. Dr. Morse, whose talents, zeal, and industry, in collecting and digesting a large amount of information on this subject, are well known both in Europe and America, and have been very honourably rewarded by public patronage.

"The geography of South America, though far from being so fully and accurately understood as could be wished, has yet been much investigated and made known during the last age. At an early period of the century don Ulloa, who was before mentioned, visited and spent much time in Peru, Chili, the kingdom of New Granada, and several of the provinces bordering on the Mexican gulf. At the same period, and in the same part of the New World, Messrs. Condamine, Goda, and Bouguer, travelled for several years, and communicated to the public a great variety and a very valuable amount of information respecting the interior of those extensive countries. The travels also of Cattaneo, Helms, and Dobritzhofer, in Peru and Paraguay; of Bancroft and Stedman, in Guiana; of Armatour, in Cayenne; of don Molina, in Chili; and of Falkner, in Patagonia, have contributed greatly to enlarge the sphere of our knowledge respecting the southern division of this western continent. Don Maheppina, before mentioned, made an excellent survey of the coast, from Rio de la Plata to Panama. But the best geographical view ever published of a large portion of South America is exhibited in the *Mapa Geographica del America Meridional*, published in 1775, by don Juan de la Cruz, geographer to the king of Spain."

"At the beginning of the period under review, there was scarcely a map in existence of any part of the American continent that deserved the name. Since that time almost every known part, and especially the United States, have been delineated with accuracy and neatness. No general map of the United States, that can be called correct, has yet been published. That of Arrowsmith is the best, and is highly respectable. But, good

maps of most of the individual states have been presented to the public. Of these the following is an imperfect list:—New Hampshire, by Holland; Vermont, by Whitelaw; Rhode Island, by Harris; Connecticut, by Blodget; Pennsylvania, by Scull; and by Howell; Maryland and Delaware, by Griffiths; Virginia, by Fry and Jefferson; the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, by Hutchins, Imlay, Lewis, and Williamson; North and South Carolina, by Mouzon, Purcell, and others; and Kentucky, by Barker.*

The tenth chapter concerning the fine arts is ill executed: there is a deficiency of information concerning those who during the preceding century have excelled in art: there is still less power of appreciation and skill, in assigning to each artist and critic his relative rank in the scale of excellence. Goethe has superintended a periodical work, which offers a vast supplement of materials in this line.

A peculiar chapter is consecrated to physiognomy; it should have been classed with the natural history of man, with anatomy, physiology, and the medical sciences. Dr. Gall, the new quack in this line, is not mentioned. Natural science will be a gainer by the enquiries which are instituted for the purpose of reducing to just limits the daring pretensions of such men.

The first section of the fifteenth chapter considers the English language. Addison is bepraised with traditional servility. We are told (p. 296) that he displayed "*precision* in the use of terms." There is not any English writer of note, who more carelessly follows the accidental vicious usage of his own time: a vast proportion of his words have shifted their significations, and offend as improprieties. We are told, secondly, that "the harsh cadence and the abrupt close were carefully excluded from his pages." There are few modern writers, whose sentences so frequently terminate with a mere preposition, an *of*, a *to*, or an *on* idly lengthened into *upon*. We are told, thirdly, that "he deserves to be ranked among the most meritorious *reformers* of our language." Addison made no reforms, no innovations, as all great writers have done. Dryden long preceded Addison in the same line of

prose-writing, and composes with more purity and precision, with more ease and simplicity.

Pope's Homer is mischievously praised: it gives a thoroughly perverse idea of the original: the fine versification is no apology for the total transformation of spirit and manner. Cowper's Homer (to the account of which in our first volume, p. 538, we may venture to refer) surpasses Pope's; yet even Cowper has in other countries been excelled.

Among our historians, who pass in review in the seventeenth chapter, honourable mention ought to have been made of Orme.

The third volume begins with a twentieth chapter allotted to the discussion of the poetical achievements of the age. The short paragraph consecrated to American poetry deserves transcription.

"No poet of reputation had appeared in America prior to the eighteenth century. But since the commencement of this period, the western hemisphere, and especially that part of the continent denominated the United States, has given birth to several poets of respectable character. Among these the rev. Dr. Dwight, beforementioned, holds a distinguished place. His *Conquest of Canaan*, though a juvenile performance, and labouring under several disadvantages, contains much excellent versification,† and, in general correctness, has not been often exceeded. *Greenfield Hill*, a moral, didactic, and descriptive poem, by the same author, is also entitled to considerable praise, for exhibiting pure and elevated sentiment, just principles, and beautiful descriptions, in harmonious and excellent verse. The *McFingal* of Mr. Trumbull was mentioned in a former page, as doing high honour to the talents of its author. The *Vision of Columbus*, and other poems, by Mr. Barlow, are possessed of much poetic merit. To these may be added the various productions of Mr. Humphreys, Mrs. Morton, Dr. Ladd, Mr. Freneau, and several others, who, though far from being worthy of a place among the first class of poets, have yet manifested talents honourable to themselves and their country, and have been noticed with respect by foreign as well as domestic critics.

"From the statement contained in the last paragraph, it appears that New England, and particularly the state of Connecticut, has been more distinguished by the production of poetical genius, than any other part of our

* To this list may now be added a large and elegant Map of the state of New-York, published in 1803, by Simeon de Witt, esq., surveyor-general. This map does its author great honour; and is, probably, the best delineation that has yet been given of any part of our country.

† This is the opinion of Dr. Darwin, expressed in a note to his celebrated poem, *The Botanic Garden*.

country. Of the few poets to which North America has given birth, several of the most eminent are natives of that state."

Why does America, a new country and so far adapted for poetical purpose, not evolve her proportion of poets? For the same reason that Alexandria produced no eminent Greek poet. The writers, instead of copying from nature, copy from art. They have a stock of models with which they endeavour to vie; whereas they should paint directly from the phenomena before them, without heeding the track of European art. The most enduring popularity has been acquired by Shakspeare, who was little indebted to books. Of the book-made poets, Milton, and those who attended to Greek and to Italian art, have been most admired. German poetry, which is the best of the present century, has been chiefly indebted to the Greek and to the Italian schools. The Latin and French poetry, which Dryden, Pope, and the modern English have imitated, is less picturesque and poetical; it deals in allegory, in wise morality, in neat and condensed expression, but not in the lively delineation of natural scenery and manners. Dwight was formed by the study of Pope's *Iliad*, and versifies like Darwin, with all the stiffness and monotony of the successive borrowers of Pope's patent moulds.

On the subject of literary associations our author communicates novel information.

"The formation of literary and scientific associations in the United States began to take place in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Within that period many useful societies have been instituted which deserve some notice. The principal of these are the following:

"1. Societies and Academies of Arts and Sciences. Of this class there are several. 'The American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge,' was instituted in January 1769. It was formed by the union of two smaller societies, which had for some time existed in that city, and has been ever since continued on a very respectable footing. This society has published four quarto volumes of its transactions, containing many ingenious papers on literature, the sciences, and arts, which exhibit American talents and industry in a favourable light. Over this institution have successively presided, Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, and Thomas Jefferson. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, held at Boston, was established in May 1780, by the council and house of representatives of Massachusetts, 'for promot-

ing the knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country; for determining the uses to which its various natural productions might be applied; for encouraging medicinal discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical inquiries and experiments, astronomical, meteorological, and geographical observations, and improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and, in short, for cultivating every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honour, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and virtuous people.' This academy has published one quarto volume of its transactions, and several parts of a second, which will probably soon be completed. The contents of its respective publications afford a very honourable specimen of learning and diligence in the members, and furnish ground for expectations of still greater utility. The gentlemen who have presided over this association are James Bowdoin, and John Adams. The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences was formed in 1790, at New-Haven, 'for the purpose of encouraging literary and philosophical researches in general, and particularly for investigating the natural history of that state.' This society has existed so short a time, that no publication of its proceedings, of any extent, could yet be reasonably expected. The gentleman first elected president, and who yet remains in that office, is the rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale college.

2. Historical Society. The only association of this kind in the United States is in Massachusetts. It was instituted in the beginning of the year 1791, and the late rev. Dr. Belknap, the honourable judge Tudor, and the rev. Dr. Eliot, are more entitled to the honour of being called its founders than any other individuals. The design of this association is to collect and preserve all documents, either manuscript or printed, which have a tendency to throw light on the natural, civil, ecclesiastical, or literary history of America. It has already made very large and valuable collections, an important portion of which has been laid before the public, and it bids fair to be one of the most useful institutions in the country.

3. Medical Societies. Prior to the revolution which made the United States free and independent the physicians of that country afforded little instruction or aid to each other. Scattered over an immense territory, seldom called to confer together and compare opinions, and little habituated to the task of committing their observations to writing, each was compelled to proceed almost unassisted and alone. Soon after the confusion and devastation of war had given way to the arts of peace, attempts began to be made to remedy this serious evil. Associations for the purpose of improving medical science were soon formed, not only in Philadelphia, which had been for some years the seat of a medical school, but in almost every

state in the union. Few of these societies have made very large or important publications; but they have produced many lasting advantages to the individuals composing them, and to the interests of the healing art. They have brought physicians to be acquainted with each other. They have collected a large mass of facts, hints, observations, and inquiries, which, if not always given to the world, constitute a source of improvement to the associates themselves. They have instituted annual orations, which, in various ways, tend to promote their primary object. They have issued prize questions, and bestowed premiums, which awaken dormant powers, and excite a laudable spirit of emulation. In a word, they have contributed to raise the practice of medicine in America from a selfish and sordid trade, to a liberal, dignified, and enlightened profession.

“4. Agricultural Societies. Associations for the promotion of agriculture and the auxiliary arts and sciences, while they have been multiplied in every part of the scientific world, have also, during the latter half of the last century, become numerous in America. There is scarcely a state in the union in which an institution of this kind has not been established; and in some of the states there are more than one. The most conspicuous and active of these associations are those established in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. That in New York, denominated the Society for promoting Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures, has been particularly distinguished, and, it is believed, is the only one of this nature in the United States which has made a regular publication of its proceedings, and of the principal memoirs communicated by its members. The useful effects of these institutions are undeniably great in various parts of the country. They have excited a spirit of inquiry, experiment, and diligence, in agricultural pursuits, among a considerable portion of the citizens; they have contributed to raise the dignity and importance of agriculture in the popular opinion; they have collected facts and doctrines, from different districts, for more full trial and satisfactory comparison; and if they have encouraged in any cases a disposition for speculative and visionary farming, they have promoted, in a still greater degree, practical and valuable improvements.”

Might it not be wise for the various provincial associations of North-America to form one common committee by delegation, and to reprint in the form of national transactions the better memoirs scattered in their separate local collections of dissertations. Provincial is not national, nor is national European rank; but there are persons whose effusions only illustrate a province, when they might illustrate a country. The separation of the learned into local clubs may be favourable

to the diffusion, but it tends to conceal the intensity of the information possessed. From a passage at p. 113, one learns that Dobson's edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* published at Philadelphia contains much intelligence respecting the United States, which does not occur in the English edition. The twenty-sixth chapter, which treats of the nations lately become literary, communicates also, but with more detail than would be here desired, many curious particulars of the rise and progress of instruction in North-America.

On the whole this work comprehends a great mass of information, conveniently arranged and sufficiently proportioned. If there is little originality, there is little partiality of estimate. If insignificant names are too often introduced, this at least implies an approach to completeness. If leading names are too rapidly passed by, this at least implies an independence of authority. In general we have wished to hear more of the result, and less of the business of investigation: one forgets the main action, as in a German play, amid the multiplicity of the actors. The theories of science which have arrogated repute, the works of art which have asserted reputation, should form the links of interest in literary history: they are the events which the characters are employed in producing. Unless these are made the subjects of narration, one obtains but a biographical catalogue instead of a connected chronicle. Civil history would want its most powerful charm, if military affairs, senatorial meetings, naval enterprises, diplomatic proceedings, ecclesiastical persecutions, and popular seditions, were treated singly: if one skipped from Marlborough to Frederic and to Bonaparte; from England, to Sweden, to Paris, and to Poland; from Rodney to Nelson; from the peace of 1763, to the peace of Amiens; from the Sierra Morena to Wexford; and from Boston to Versailles; without attending to the preparatory causes and connective circumstances of the several incidents. This concatenation is also to be desired in the literary historian: without it his figures form a file rather than a groupe, a crowd rather than a band: he should know how to detect, in each web of inquiry, the main thread of pursuit, the chief knot of difficulty, and should bring out his champions in proportion to their zeal or skill in contributing to that specific unravelment. Mr. Miller might have infused more of

the body-spirit of each sect of students into his account of their occupations. But it were ungrateful to require perfection, where so much has been performed: it is flattering to Europe that the celebrity of

her authors should so speedily cross the Atlantic; it is honourable to America that her curiosity should be so alert and so comprehensive. Mr. Miller has deserved well of both worlds.

ART. VII.—*Essays on various Subjects.* By J. BIGLAND. *Author of Reflections on the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ:—Letters on the Study and Use of ancient and modern History;—and of Letters on the modern History and political Aspect of Europe* 2 vols. 8vo.

CONTRARY to the usual practice of writers, who are commonly studious to apologize for the defect, and enhance the merit of their performances, by representing the difficulties under which they have laboured, and the discouragements to which they are exposed, Mr. Bigland's remarks admit the facility of the species of composition in which he has been engaged, and its claims to a favourable reception from the public, from the novelty and variety which it always admits, and the exercise and the entertainment which it furnishes to the mind, by suggesting topics of thought, unattended by wearisome investigation, and which may be pursued or laid aside at pleasure. Much of these remarks is undoubtedly true. Yet in this, as in many other cases, some seeming advantages or facilities are balanced by opposite inconveniencies and obligations. Want of profundity must be compensated by variety and liveliness of thought, and polish of diction: light materials must receive their value from the elegance of the texture into which they are formed. The essayist, in short, must listen to the caution which Horace gives to the writer of comedy:

“Creditor, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere

Sudoris nimium; sed habet Comœdia tanto Plus oneris, quanto venia minus.”

These remarks, however, have been only incidentally suggested by the observations of Mr. Bigland's preface, and have no peculiar application to his own performances, which certainly possess intrinsic merit, and will afford entertainment and instruction to a numerous class of readers.

The subjects treated in the first volume, are—the universal pursuit of happiness—the absurdities of moral writers—the consolations of religion in temporal difficulties—national establishments in religion—universal liberty of conscience—ecclesiastical emoluments—the causes of the diversities of religious opinions, and the inducement which is thence afforded to

mutual toleration and universal charity—education—popular superstitions, omens, ghosts, and apparitions, scenery, &c.—in the estimation of character, and their modification by circumstances—the knowledge of mankind.

Our limits will not permit us to accompany the author in his investigation of each of these topics; we shall therefore advert to a few of the most remarkable.

The second essay, on the absurdities of moral writers, well exposes the folly of some declaimers (pardonable perhaps in the poet, but inexcusable in the moralist or philosopher) who descant at their ease, and with the utmost tranquillity on the pleasure and advantages of poverty. Poverty, under a proper regulation of the principles and feelings, is certainly a state from which content is not excluded, but to talk of its peculiar privileges and blessings, is an insult to the feelings of the sufferer, and to the common sense of mankind.

The subject of the third essay, on the consolations afforded by religion in adversity, admits perhaps of little originality. The views which it presents are just and pious, such as the understanding admits, while it is difficult, however desirable, to impress them on the heart.

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh essays, are devoted to topics of considerable importance, both in a theological, moral, and political point of view, the propriety of national establishments of religion, with the connected subjects of liberty of conscience, and mutual charity and indulgence amidst diversities of sentiment which are unavoidable. It will here be sufficient to state the opinions maintained by the author. The field is wide; and the full investigation of it scarcely falls within the province of an essayist.

The position on which the argument is made to rest, is the essential importance of religion to the preservation of social order, from which the author deduces the propriety of its superintendence by the civil magistrate, the appointed guardian of national interests. Bayle has contested

The former of these propositions, and without relinquishing any of his reverence for the religious principle, as important to the personal character of the individual, it may perhaps be admitted by the sincere advocate of christianity, that too much stress has been laid on this view of the subject. The degree of virtue which is requisite for the preservation of public order, is in fact very moderate, and such as the habits of social intercourse in a civilized country, and the salutary execution of good temporal laws are commonly sufficient to produce. We believe that among the Chinese, with all the absurdities of their pagan theology, theft and murder are as rare as in the communities of Europe, and if they cheat, with little scruple, the strangers who come among them, they are not perhaps much more guilty than the Europeans who make the slavery of the unprotected African a subject of traffic, and riot on the produce of his tears and groans. The importance of religion to the individual character, is a subject of perfectly different consideration; and it is also evident that the universal prevalence of christian virtue, if such a state is to be hoped for, would produce a modification of society as far superior to the present, as a principle of active charity is nobler and more beneficial than a rigid rule of justice, which furnishes no higher reference than to the decisions of human and positive law.

Too little seems also to be conceded to the power and evidence of religion when it is supposed to be incapable of maintaining its existence among men, unless supported by extraneous aid. But we are forgetting the limits which we had prescribed to ourselves. Returning therefore from this digression, we proceed to state, that with the character of a temperate advocate for national establishments of religion, Mr. Bigland unites that of an enlightened and zealous supporter of universal liberty of conscience, who will yield not only justice and freedom from civil molestation, but charity and friendship, to those diversities of speculative opinion, which are immutably connected with the operation of thought, and exercise of enquiry.

The eighth and ninth essays relate to the subject of education. In the former, the advantages and disadvantages of public and private education are balanced against each other, and the scale supposed to preponderate in favour of the latter. The succeeding essay is employed in delineating and recommending a plan of na-

tional instruction. If however the people are sufficiently enlightened to estimate the importance of education, its objects will perhaps be better attained by their voluntary exertions, than by any system subject to the controul of government, and exposed to those inconveniences and defects, which are usually incident to the minute departments of great public plans.

The subjects of the six following essays are nearly connected, relating to various modes of popular superstition, astrology, omens, apparitions, and the supposed arts of sorcery. It may perhaps be doubted whether a person can now be found, of education sufficient to feel any inducement to the perusal of these pages, who will need to be fortified by their arguments against the influence of the superstitions which they condemn. Yet as some of our recent popular writers have not presumed to treat with absolute unbelief, the doctrine of apparitions, it may not be useless to combat their arguments, however contemptible in the eye of reason.

The fourteenth is a very sensible essay on the estimation of characters, and their modification by circumstances. The following reflections on the character of Becket are just, though not altogether new:

"The characters and conduct of Henry II. and his inflexible opponent, archbishop Becket, so far as relates to their celebrated contest, have not, perhaps, been clearly represented by historians, nor justly estimated by many of their readers. The conduct of the archbishop is always exhibited as a complete specimen of over-bearing haughtiness and unparalleled obstinacy. Of these imputations, that celebrated prelate cannot, indeed, be exculpated by the voice of impartial judgment. The cause he undertook, however grounded on canonical institutions and established customs, was in the eye of reason and morality unjust; but considerable allowances are to be made for the times in which he lived. That was an age in which the church was in the zenith of its power, and high church notions prevailed in their fullest amplification and greatest extent. The exaltation of the ecclesiastical above the secular authority was the favourite maxim of the clergy, and the principal object in the view of the dignitaries of the church. Ambition was Becket's ruling passion, superiority and fame the objects of his pursuit. He had enlisted under the banners of the church, and was determined to support the interests, maintain the prerogatives, and increase, or at least confirm the authority and influence of the party he had espoused. This he did with an inflexible courage and a persevering resolution, which, in such a cause were, in that

age, calculated to procure him distinction and celebrity. The honours with which he was received on the continent, are demonstrations of the high esteem in which his undaunted fortitude was held. His sentiments and ideas naturally elevated, seem to have been somewhat influenced by the bigotry of the times, but his views were grand and extensive. He occupied the second station in the kingdom, and could not bear the controul even of royalty. His ambition prompted him to render the regal power subservient to his own authority. Martyrdom was in those ages thought the highest honour, and he was less desirous of avoiding the sufferings than of obtaining the glory. In his whole history, setting prejudice aside, we discover the great man, although we cannot avoid lamenting the perversion of such splendid talents to such pernicious purposes. A dauntless courage, an inflexible perseverance, elevated ideas, and a determined resolution joined to a boundless ambition, constituted his character; and his mind was evidently formed by nature for every thing that was great. The circumstances of the times unfortunately gave to his great abilities a wrong direction; and he rushed upon his fate, after having employed a turbulent life in disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom as well as of the church."

It is no unpleasant or uninformative employment, after having studied the history of such a man as Becket in a protestant author, to turn to a catholic martyrology, and observe the different colouring which is given to the same actions, and with what equal zeal and confidence the same man,

who is stigmatized by his enemies as a rebel and a traitor, is by his friends venerated as a saint, and admired as a hero.

The succeeding essay on the knowledge of the world, likewise furnishes many just and valuable reflections.

The subjects treated in the second volume are the following: on friendship, on company, solitude, and retirement; on industry and genius; on the passion for posthumous fame; on the right ordering of the mind; on religious melancholy; on the formation and combination of ideas; on the advantages of a well-cultivated mind; on exercise; on a city and country life; on emigration and colonization; on the advantages resulting from the use of letters; on the construction of language and the diversity of style; on the frequent absurdity of human prayers; on optimism; on the manner in which near and remote expectations operate on the mind.

The essay on a city and country life is illustrated by the introduction of a tale, a mode of composition in which, we think, Mr. Bigland does not appear so advantageously as in his character of an essayist.

These essays are, on the whole, marked by a philosophical and unprejudiced spirit of investigation on all subjects, and more especially by just observations on human life and manners, neither trite and trivial on the one hand, nor, on the other, romantic and paradoxical. The style is commonly easy and elegant.

ART. VIII.—*Free Disquisitions on the Sentiments and Conduct requisite in a British Prince in Order to merit the favourable Opinion of the Public.* By JOHN ANDREWS, L. L. D. 8vo. pp. 178.

NONE is so difficult to characterize as the more gentleman, who presents himself at the right time, pays his compliments to every one as is their due, talks with the ladies and the men with equal ease, pleasure, and propriety, and obtains, at retiring, that general smile of complacence, which seemed to prophesy the lamentations of regret, and only stifled the yawn of indifference. It is so with books. None is so difficult to characterize as a regular volume of disquisitions, which at the time when a British prince is beginning to take influence over public affairs, converses, with respectful propriety, about his obvious duties of behaviour in a manner unaffected, fluent, polished, easy, and elegant: and yet without any marked impression of eloquence, energy, or purpose. Do, gentlemen-writers, give us faults to find; we enjoy a pretext for

causticity; and always secretly retain a higher esteem for the stimulant and unusual, than for the quotidian accuracy of regular unexceptional composition.

A liberal frankness pervades this volume: there is merit in thus talking to a prince.

"If subjects acting constitutionally have been able to resist monarchs, these in their turn, by standing on the same ground, will certainly defeat all unjust opposition.

"But let an English monarch be persuaded, that unless his views are manifestly patriotic, he will, like such of his predecessors as have attempted to infringe the rights of their people, meet with a sufficiency of mortifications to convince him, that duplicity and sinister intentions are in their nature so perceptible, that no pretences will cover them from sight.

"The public in this country are hawk-eyed in whatever concerns their liberties. The sentiments inculcated on Englishmen from

their infancy, the lassitude and boldness of mind acquired by the free maxims that influence their education, the freedom of the press and of universal conversation, are such barriers, as no other nation could ever boast against the inimical designs of their rulers.

"The English perceive at once the drift of every measure proposed by their governors. History represents them as cheerfully submitting to those burthens which the necessity of times and circumstances imposed upon them, but spurning with indignation demands not requisite, or made upon them in the wantonness of authority.

"We are struck with astonishment at a people who, in the support of their honour, in every just cause that required and invited their exertions, could unreluctantly sacrifice such enormous sums, that it almost exceeds comprehension how means could be found to raise them.

"But our wonder increases when we recollect that there was a time when this same people could refuse twenty shillings to an administration, the conduct of which they disapproved.

"England is the only country where such an inflexibility of patriotism was ever found. immortal Hampden! With what regret we behold a noble historian representing the death of such a man as a national deliverance! How could Charles mistake the character of a people who laid before him such a specimen of their spirit!

"This spirit seems the traditional inheritance of Englishmen. It follows them inseparably wherever their name and power extend: they transport it with them to the furthest parts of the earth: after asserting it repeatedly in their own country, they maintained it with no less obstinacy in that fatal contest which deprived England of America.

"How dangerous to contend with a spirit which in its unhappy excesses has produced so many masters! Let us however reverence it as the parent, under auspicious guidance, of the noblest exertions. Equity and humanity are its natural attributes: it is no less attentive to the preservation of the local rights of abjected nations, than to the establishment of freedom at home: it extends its justice and compassion equally to the oppressed Indian, and the African slave. What honest and prudent prince would attempt the subversion of this invincible spirit, and of the principles on which it is founded, both so long and so profoundly rooted in the mind of so enlightened and brave a nation?

"It is chiefly among a people of this disposition, that a monarch will meet with men of abilities to second his laudable measures, and of resolution to refuse their concurrence to any other. Such only are the men whom he can safely deem worthy of employment. He should bear it continually in his mind, that the voice of the nation is decidedly against men of talents without the clearest probity, as being but a snare to those who

trust them, and that integrity is the main standard by which to abide in the choice of a statesman. It is an ingredient that will brighten the most resplendent capacity, and give weight to the most moderate. In England especially, from the native candour and ingenuous disposition that mark our character, middling talents, with an upright heart, are in the usual transactions of society, held in as high repute and confidence as the most shining capacity."

Against this last piece of advice, that "the voice of the nation is decidedly against men of talents without the clearest probity, as being but a snare to those who trust them; and that integrity is the main standard by which to abide in the choice of a statesman," we enter our caveat. Men of probity, without talent, make worse ministers than men of talent without probity. Would the mischiefs of the Addington ministry, which brought on the present war, have been incurred by men of talent? Would the American war have been incurred by a minister of talent? The improbity of lord Melville has been impeached; but his conduct of Indian affairs, while president of the board of controul, finds extensive admiration. Lord Bacon wanted probity; but we owe to him the union with Scotland. Does any one deny to the Frenchman Talleyrand, the character of a skilful minister for foreign affairs, of a man really useful to his country? Hume justly classes the talents among the virtues; high energies of intellect are much rarer than decorous morals; when they happen unfortunately to be disunited, one ought to rate highest the superior powers of utility. Vices do their mischief to our connexions, in our dwelling-place, during our lives; but talents extend their services to a whole country, and to a long posterity. A man's goodness can serve but a few; his wisdom may serve millions.

Another plausible passage is this; but it also wants precision in the criticism of merit.

"It is a disputable point, which of the two more merits execration, bigotry or ambition. Long and the French reason to curse the memory of their great Lewis, as they once styled him, for expelling the most valuable of his subjects on account of their differing from him in some points of theology. But to this infatuation he added another, that of being a conqueror: thus he united the two most dreadful scourges that can afflict human society.

"Bigotry, to use the revolutionary language, is no longer the order of the day: but

the thirst of territorial aggrandisement, and of domineering over conquered nations, is returned in all its fury. Before this can be repressed, much detriment will ensue to those that may for a while be unable to resist its violence. Those that are able to repel it, will probably be sufficiently indemnified for their expences and exertions, by the numbers of useful individuals that will fly from the scenes of plunder and oppression. Here in all likelihood they will chiefly seek refuge, where only, for a length of time, it will effectually be found.

"When a prince beholds, from this happy seat of peace and security, the tempests that are raging abroad, he will completely learn the causes that produce happiness or misery to a people. He will banish from his presence the votaries of persecution, whether in matters of church or of state; and if necessity compels him to draw the sword of national defence, he will return it to the scabbard, the moment that the honour and interest of the kingdom are out of danger.

"He will at the same time be studious to make the most of those advantages that necessarily arise from the confusions raging abroad. While justice and humanity prevent him from being accessory to the intestine calamities of any country, he will embrace every lawful opportunity of reaping those benefits from them, which, without being injurious to any party, may prove highly serviceable to his own people."

Here, at the beginning of the quotation,

ambition is enumerated among the vices. On the contrary, it is a virtue in a private man, in a sovereign, and in a nation. Individual merit vegetates useless and unknown without ambition. Sovereigns slumber in deedless insignificance without ambition. Nations lose their relative rank without ambition. It is the principle of growth in individuals and corporations: when ambition ends, decay begins. Some forms of merit, some claims to excellence, are constantly making their escape; others must be pursued and evolved to atone and to replace them. To youth and grace in the individual should succeed strength and acquirement: the sovereign should leave his country as he would an estate, stocked with a more numerous, or a braver, or a wealthier, or a wiser tenantry: the nation, which is not compassing aggrandizement, is accepting ruin. This truth the writer intuitively feels, and in his concluding paragraph in fact gives a lesson of ambition.

The turn of this volume is in one respect ingenious: it chiefly inculcates those virtues which are known to inhabit Carlton-house; and while it professes to be sketching a prince *as he should be*, it is in fact delineating the prince *as he is*. The idea of perfect conduct here recommended has not to await the creation of futurity: it is nearly realized already.

ART. IX.—*Improvements in Education, as it respects the industrious Classes of the Community, containing, among other important Particulars, an Account of the Institution for the Education of one Thousand poor Children, Borough-road, Southwark; and of the new System of Education on which it is conducted.* By JOSEPH LANCASTER. 8vo. pp. 211.

WE noticed the first edition of this work in our second volume (p. 451.) with due praise. The tract has now swoln to a volume; and, as Mr. Lancaster's institution has attracted so much attention, it is expedient in us to enter into a farther account of improvements which deserve to be generally adopted.

In the year 1798, Joseph Lancaster (who is a member of the very respectable society of quakers) opened a school for the instruction of poor children in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, at the low price of fourpence per week. The number of his scholars varied from ninety to a hundred and twenty. When he met with a child whose parents were unable to pay this little pittance for his instruction, he admitted him gratuitously. But these free-scholars became numerous; it was evident that many others stood in need of the

same charity, and two of Mr. Lancaster's friends, who were in the habit of paying for the education of poor children, assisted him in forming a small subscription for this purpose. "The subscription was quite of the nature of a contract: of every guinea subscribed, fifteen shillings *per annum* was considered as the price of each child's education; and the remaining six shillings were to be expended in books, rewards, and school expences."

Mr. Lancaster knew of no other modes of tuition than those usually in practice, of which he had a practical knowledge; and at first he retained an assistant. As the subscription enabled him to increase the number of scholars, he made many experiments as to the method of teaching them; some of course proved useless: "in other cases," he says, "I have often gone the wrong way to work, and accidentally stumbled on the very object I was in quest

of. The result has been a new and efficient system of education; the principle of which is not only adapted to large manufacturing districts, but, with little variation in the mode of applying it, to all the poor of the country, and to village schools."

The duke of Bedford and lord Somerville were the first persons who saw the importance of his improvements. They were the first who visited his institution, and entered closely into its details; and, had it not been for their repeated, timely, and liberal assistance, its success would not have been so rapid. They began a subscription for enlarging his school-room, and their names appear to every subscription for the farther extension of his plan. In the spring of 1804, the school consisted of 350 boys under his single care; a subscription was opened for doubling the number, and this was done in six weeks without occasioning the slightest disorder. They are to be increased to 1000, when the funds are sufficient. Two hundred girls are educated upon the same plan by Mr. Lancaster's sisters; they are to be increased to 300, and a subscription is also opened for training youth as schoolmasters upon this method.

Mr. Lancaster's improvements consist in saving time, saving tools, and making one part of the boys instruct the others.

"The whole school is arranged in classes; a monitor is appointed to each, who is responsible for the cleanliness, order, and improvement of every boy in it. He is assisted by boys, either from his own or another class, to perform part of his duties for him, when the number is more than he is equal to manage himself.

"The proportion of boys who teach, either in reading, writing, or arithmetic, is as one to ten. In so large a school there are duties to be performed, which simply relate to order, and have no connexion with learning; for these duties different monitors are appointed. The word monitor, in this institution, means any boy that has a charge either in some department of tuition or of order, and is not simply confined to those boys who teach.—The boy who takes care that the writing books are ruled, by machines made for that purpose, is the monitor of ruling. The boy who superintends the enquiries after the absentees, is called the monitor of absentees. The monitors who inspect the improvement of the classes in reading, writing, and arithmetic, are called inspecting monitors; and their offices are indeed essentially different from that of the teaching monitors. A boy whose business it is to give to the other monitors such books, &c. as may be wanted or appointed for the daily use of their classes, and to gather them up when done with; to see all the boys do

read, and that none leave school without reading, is called the monitor-general. Another is called the monitor of slates, because he has a general charge of all the slates in the school."

"The predominant feature in the youthful disposition is an almost irresistible propensity to action; this, if properly controlled by suitable employment, will become a valuable auxiliary to the master; but, if neglected, will be apt to degenerate into rebellion. Active youths, when treated as cyphers, will generally show their consequence by exercising themselves in mischief. I am convinced, by experience, that it is practicable for teachers to acquire a proper dominion over the minds of the youth under their care, by directing those active spirits to good purposes. This liveliness should never be repressed, but directed to useful ends; and I have ever found, the surest way to cure a mischievous boy was to make him a monitor. I never knew any thing succeed much better, if so well."

The first class consists of children who learn the alphabet. They sit at a desk; each has a compartment before him filled with dry sand, and in this they shape the letter with their fingers. Dr. Bell, of Madras, is the person to whom Mr. Lancaster is indebted for this Indian practice.

Dr. Tennant mentions it in his *Indian Recreations*. Pietro della Valle noticed it two centuries ago. "That I might profit by the time which these arrangements required," says this excellent traveller, "I remained in the vestibule of the temple, to look at some children who were learning to read in a very extraordinary manner; which I shall describe to you as a very curious thing. They were four in number, who had learnt from their master the same lesson; and now to inculcate it perfectly upon their memory, and to repeat their former lessons for fear they should forget them, one of them sung a line of the lesson; as, for example, two and two make four, and in fact a song is easily learnt. While he sung this part to learn it better, he wrote it at the same time, but not with a pen, neither upon paper. Not to consume these needlessly, he traced all the characters with his finger upon the floor whereon they were sitting in a circle, which for this purpose they had covered with fine sand; after the first had sung and written his lines in this manner, the others sung and wrote it also. The first then began again, taking the second line—as four and four make eight, and thus they proceeded regularly. When the ground was covered with their writing, they smoothed it with their hands, and began again; continuing to do thus

during the whole time appointed for their lesson. These children told me, that in this manner they learnt to read and write without paper, without pens, and without ink. When I asked who taught them, and who corrected them when they were at fault, as they were but learners, and I saw no master among them; they replied very reasonably, that it was impossible one difficulty should impede all four at once, without their being able to conquer it; and that for this reason they always practised together, that if one was at fault, the others might set him right."—Vol. 7. p. 116. French translation. Rouen, 1745.

Pietro della Valle clearly saw the advantages of this method; that part of it, however, which consists in setting the lesson to a tune, will not be adopted by Mr. Lancaster. We shall see that tuning is forewarned by him under a grievous penalty: yet, though he objects to a tune, rhymes may be permitted; and if that which must be committed to memory were delivered in rhymes, it would be more easily learnt, and more readily remembered.

The progress of the scholars is facilitated by teaching the letters in courses, according to their form; those which are formed wholly of straight lines, those which are angular, and those which are circular or curved. A printed alphabet is nailed before each boy: this is not considered as absolutely necessary; and in fact the alphabets are thus employed, because they were of no other use, but it contributes to expedite their progress. They look at it involuntarily while the monitor smooths the sand.

Another method of teaching the alphabet is by a large sheet of pasteboard, with large letters, suspended from the wall. The monitor points to a particular letter, and asks the first boy what it is, who, if he answers wrongly, is taken up by the second. The figures are taught in the same manner.

The second class are taught to spell short words in the sand, as the monitor dictates. They spell also words and syllables of two letters upon a card suspended before them, round, or rather half-round, which the whole class successively assemble in subdivisions of twelve.

"It will be remembered, that the usual mode of teaching requires every boy to have a book: yet, each boy can only read or spell one lesson at a time, in that book. Now, all the other parts of the book are in wear, and

liable to be thumbed to pieces; and, whilst the boy is learning a lesson in one part of the book, the other parts are at that time useless. Whereas, if a spelling-book contains twenty or thirty different lessons, and it were possible for thirty scholars to read the thirty lessons in that book, it would be equivalent to thirty books for its utility. To effect this, it is desirable the whole of the book should be printed three times larger than the common size type, which would make it equal in size and cost to three common spelling books, value from eightpence to a shilling each. Again, it should be printed with only one page to a leaf, which would again double the price, and make it equivalent in bulk and cost to five or six common books; its different parts should then be pasted on pasteboard, and suspended by a string, to a nail in the wall, or other convenient place: one pasteboard should contain the alphabet; others, words and syllables of from two to six letters. The reading lessons gradually rising from words of one syllable, in the same manner, till they come to words of five or six letters, or more, preparatory to the Testament lessons. There is a circumstance very seldom regarded enough, in the introductory lessons which youth usually have to perform before they are admitted to read in the Testament. A word of six letters or more, being divided by hy-phens, reduces the syllables, which compose it to three, four, or five letters each: of course, it is as easy to read syllables as words of five letters! and the child, who can read or spell the one, will find the other as easily attainable."

Two hundred boys may in this manner repeat their lessons from one card in the course of three hours.

In the second and subsequent classes each boy has a slate, on which he writes a word as the monitor pronounces it.

"The class, by this means, will spell, write, and read at the same instant of time. In addition to this, the same trouble which teaches twenty, will suffice to teach sixty or a hundred, by employing some of the senior boys to inspect the slates of the others, they not omitting to spell the word themselves; and, on a signal given by them to the principal teacher, that the word is finished by all the boys they overlook, he is informed when to dictate another to the class. This experiment has been tried with some hundreds of children, and it has been found, that they could all write, from one boy dictating the words to be written. The benefit of this mode of teaching can only be limited by the want of hearing distinctly the monitor's voice; for, if seven hundred boys were all in one room, as one class, learning the same thing, they could all write and spell by this method, at the dictation of one monitor. I appeal to the candour and good sense of every reader, justly to appreciate the benefit and

importance of this method of teaching. The repetition of one word by the monitor, serves to rivet it firmly on the minds of each one of the class, and also on his own memory: thus, he cannot possibly teach the class without improving himself at the same time. When we reflect, that by the advantage of this invention, a boy who is associated in a class of an hundred others, not only reads as much as if he was a solitary individual under the master's care, but he will also spell sixty or seventy words of four syllables, by writing them on the slate, in less than two hours: when this additional number of words, spelt by each boy daily, is taken into account, the aggregate will amount to repetitions of many thousands of words annually; when, not a word would be written or spelt, and nothing done by nineteen-twentieths of the scholars in the same time. Thus, it is entirely an improvement and an introduction to their other studies, without the least additional trouble on the part of the teacher; without any extra time of attendance being requisite from the scholar; without deranging or impeding his attention to other studies, as is usually the case with the study of extra lessons; at least, more than doubling the advances of each individual towards a proficiency, at the same time; and, possessing all these advantages, it prevents idleness, and procures that great desideratum of schools, quietness, by commanding attention: for, as it requires much writing, but few boys can write and talk at the same time. In this, nothing is wholly committed to the pupil or monitor. Some studies require a degree of mental exertion, that may or may not be made, and yet the omission remain undetected; but this is so visible, that every boy's attention to his lesson may be seen on his slate; and detection immediately follows idleness, or an indifferent performance! That a thing so simple in itself, should abound with so many advantages, is scarcely to be supposed at a first glance; but that it does, I am well convinced, by daily experience of its utility; particularly, the improvement it affords by so great a practice in writing.

The same boys who are in one class, according to their proficiency in reading, are in another according to their progress in arithmetic. The mode of teaching arithmetic is so easy, that all the boys who can read and write text-hand in four letters, are put in the first cyphering class. The monitor reads to them an addition-table, and, as he dictates, they write on their slates. They are grounded in subtraction, multiplication, division, and the pence and shillings table in the same manner.

The next is the simple addition class. The monitor reads from a book of sums, a sum, the manner of working it, and the

result; and the boys write as he dictates. Mr. Lancaster's principle is, that "*the frequent recurring of one idea*, if simple and definite, is alone sufficient to impress it on the memory, without sitting down to learn it as a task. By this means," he says, "any boy of eight years old, who can barely read writing, and numerate well, is, by means of the guide containing the sums, and the key thereto, qualified to teach the first four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound, with as much accuracy as mathematicians who may have kept school for twenty years; any boy who can read, can teach, although he knows nothing about it; and, in teaching, will imperceptibly acquire the knowledge which he communicated, of which he was destitute when he began. By this method every boy is told all he is to do, and his sole business is to do it so often as to become quite familiar with it. The boys are exercised by standing round a card on which a sum is written, and adding or multiplying there without assistance; he who makes an error being corrected by the one below him."

The boys are removed from one class to another, not at regular times, but when they are sufficiently qualified; a method which excites emulation, and saves much time. Every removal being thus the effect of merit is rewarded by a prize. The hope of reward is the main-spring of Mr. Lancaster's system; but for the detail of his prizes, and an account of his order of merit, we must refer to the work itself. The remarks which he makes upon nobility, in treating of this order, are utterly inconsistent with the principles of his society. The common school punishments he very properly rejects; it is time, indeed, that they were universally rejected; shame and ridicule are what he substitutes for corporal pain; a yoke, a shackle, a paper-cap. For some offences the culprit is hung up in a sack or a basket, while his fellows smile at the bird in the cage. If a boy be habitually dirty, a girl is appointed to wash his face in sight of the whole school. He who gets into a singing tone in reading, and cannot otherwise be cured, is decorated with matches and dying-speeches, and paraded round the school, while one goes before him imitating the hawkers' cries. Confinement after school-hours, by tying to a desk, so that no attendance on the master's part is necessary, is the heaviest of all.

The order of the school is admirable;

a Prussian army is not under more mechanical discipline. It is evident, that without strict method in the minutest cases, so large a number of boys could not possibly be managed by one master. To instance Mr. Lancaster's attention to little things, every one fastens his slate when he has done using it, to a nail on the desk at which he sits; they have therefore neither to fetch them, nor to put them away; and as the slates hang loose, they are little liable to be broken, because they fall back if accidentally touched. Every one slings his hat across his shoulders, as a soldier would sling his knapsack: with eight hundred boys in the school, this regulation saves sixteen hundred motions in the morning, and as many in the afternoon; and all mistakes and confusion, which would else be unavoidable, are prevented.

The school for girls is of later establishment: how far the system of tuition and emulation may be applied to needlework, and various other branches of industry, is the subject of present experiments. Mr. Lancaster particularly wishes, in pursuance of Mr. Corston's patriotic and benevolent project, to employ girls in plaiting split straw for hats and bonnets, a clean and not unhealthy employment; it is proposed that they should work at this between three and four hours a day, not longer: the labour of 60,000 children thus easily tasked, would amount in the year to

300,000*l.*, and this from a raw material comparatively of little value.

On the importance of Mr. Lancaster's improvements we need not dwell: the public are aware of it. Five-and-thirty hundred copies of this volume have been subscribed for, and many of the most respectable names in the country appear in the list: and among the contributors to the building, and to the fund for training youth as schoolmasters.

Are not some of these improvements applicable to the rudiments of classical education, so far as they economize time? Ten or twelve years are too much to be devoted only to Greek and Latin; the former of which is, in general, but imperfectly acquired at last. With more application, or better method, in less time, Latin might be acquired as familiarly as French, and Greek as familiarly as Latin. If some able man would direct his attention to this object as perseveringly as Mr. Lancaster, he also would confer a public benefit upon the country. Meantime one very useful alteration might be made by the concurrence of the head-masters of the public schools, that of altering our pronunciation of Latin, in conformity to all the other nations of Europe. Whoever has been obliged to converse in Latin with a foreigner, must have felt the exceeding inconvenience of our present method, which we are sure is the wrong, whatever may be the right one.

ART. X.—*Harvest-Home: consisting of supplementary Gleanings, original Dramas and Poems, Contributions of literary Friends, and select Re-publications, including Synopses, a Poem, revised, corrected, and enlarged. From the Eighth Edition. By Mr. PRATT. In three Volumes. 8vo.*

OF this gentleman's talents we have delivered our opinion in a former volume. The intellectual is like the natural palate, and for those readers who have no appetite for plain meat, for wholesome beef and mutton, Mr. Pratt produces good dishes of hashed calve's head.

The first of these volumes consists of gleanings, as they are called in Hampshire and Warwickshire. Under such a title any thing may be introduced, and some good anecdotes, and some good pictures in Mr. Pratt's peculiar manner, occur amid a great deal of rubbish.

For the strict fidelity of the following cottage picture, and cottage anecdotes, Mr. Pratt pledges himself; they will interest our readers.

"Imagine yourself, then, on the green summit, where it is placed, as it ought to be,

from its superior beauty, above its fellows: yet, though it overlooks, it seems to smile on them all. Verdure of different kind, and of unfading character, encompasses it round about. Each side is covered with laurels, that flourish even to the roof; and that roof is so well thatched, that not an irregular straw deforms its inviting softness. The centre is rounded into an arch of yew, which affords at once a porch and an alcove. The casements are of the true cottage size and construction: the body of the building is of the true cottage clay, of which however, you only see small patches, as if by stealth, through the intertwinement of the laurels, *au travers*. A little garden decorates the front; a fertile slip of orchard-ground runs to some length on one side; there is a screen of mixed laurel and yew round the well, and a neatly compacted quickset is its fence. The whole has been gradually and almost imperceptibly borrowed, or, more true to speak, purloined from the common; as, indeed, has the entire cottagery, bit by bit,

asomuch, that we might fairly say, the peasants and the proprietors, like opposed armies, have disputed and maintained their round inch by inch; and, when any new territory, which they added to their castles, cot and castle are the same things in England,) has been reclaimed by one party, the other has watched his opportunity to get it back with some advantages; till their right of possession, no longer contended for, is considered as a good, at least a sufficient title, and on such tenure enjoyed, if not admitted.

"But our curiosity on the outside excited no less degree of curiosity within. The inhabitants of the cottage now came into the arden. All the females, and of all ages, from the grandam to the latest born. The master of the mansion was at his labours in the forest. Except what remains in dialogue.

"A very pleasant cottage you have here, my friends.

"Yes, we have, Sir; it stands so in the delight, answered the mother of the group, whose name is Fonder.

"Rather bleak in the winter, I should say.

"Cold without, and warm within: and, standing so in the delight,' we can, in goodly weather, get peeps at folk going to Downton, and so seeing company. In wintry time we can spy them passing as we sit in the cottage. The girls here run about the lawn, and down into the bottom: but, for my part, I sometimes do not pass the wicket or half a year together.

"A sign of being happy at home, Mrs. Fonder.

"A true sign, sir, for I am. John Fonder, my husband, did all of this green work with his own hands; and, indeed, with help of neighbours below, now and then, made the whole cottage what you see it. Twenty-four years, and upwards, have we lived under its thatch; and, by giving us good seemings of substance, and wherewithal to get on, has got us credit, at a pinch, times. And many a day would these children have gone with next to nothing for their dinner, and with nothing altogether as to supper, but for the good-lookingness we have about us: for goodly seeming, in this way, it, gets trust. We crouch, to be sure, a tile on the common, and put fence a little narrower; then every now and then 'tis pulled down: but John Fonder ups with it again, so that the people grew tired at last: he hedge stands, and thus, by little and little, we get on.

"That's a good hearing, Mrs. Fonder; and I dare say you are all of you living in a friendly way, in that nice nest of cottages below.

"Nothing to complain of, as to that; as neighbourly and ready to do for one another as any set of bodies any where. Fallings out, now and then, to be sure; but soon made up again; and that, I suppose, is the

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case every where, as well as in Morgan's Bottom. Things go cross and wrong all the world over, and why should not we have our share?"

These volumes, however, do not contain much of this value; they are filled with matter as miscellaneous as the pages of a magazine: anecdotes, antiquities, sentimentalism, prittle-prattle, now a description, now a copy of verses, now a scrap of biography, arranged just as they come to hand. Yet if Mr. Pratt were to glean from his own gleanings, and throwing away nine-tenths, give us the tithe by itself, the little volume would be of real worth, and sure of a longer existence, than his shelf of octavos expect or deserve. We know not how to characterize his peculiar merit better than by saying that his descriptions are like Barker's pictures.

A singular family of travelling potters is mentioned, who, though possessed of some property, lodge by choice in the open air, summer and winter alike, under a rude tent, composed of two pieces of canvas, placed aslant against each other, and open at both ends. They took to this Scythian habit of life because the husband had feeble health originally, and found himself best in the open air; and thus they have lived six-and-twenty years, their children having all been born and bred in the tent. Being honest, industrious, and worthy people, they are well respected in their circuit, and made welcome to their favourite accommodations wherever they go.

The latter half of the volume relates to Birmingham; a town which might furnish some English Mercier with materials without end. The author and his correspondent Mr. Morfitt notice many of the peculiarities of this remarkable place; the head-quarters of mechanics and roguery. The darker shades unintentionally predominate. With respect to coining, Mr. Morfitt says, that, since the copper-coinage of Soho, the opprobrium of Birmingham is happily removed, and honour has succeeded to infamy; but he confesses, that the currency of all countries is still increased by his speculating townsmen, who manufacture flats for the English market, black-dogs for the West Indies, sequins for Turkey, and pagodas for Bengal. Of the forged assignats he says, that 'the aim of the fabricator was great, glorious, and patriotic, being no less than to demolish the whole fabric of the revolution, by destroying the basis on which it rested.' The artist,

3 B

It seems, like greater intriguers, was duped by his agents, and tricked out of his paper exchequer by a set of French swindlers.

Mr. Morfitt passes over with a jest the most detestable traffic of the place.

"You will smile when I inform you that guns, aye, and good-looking ones too, are made here at 7s. 6d. each. These, though formidable in appearance, have two *small* defects; the first is, that not being bored, except about an inch or two from the muzzle, they cannot be supposed to shoot very true; and the second is, that not being *proved* they cannot shoot at all. I beg pardon; they certainly undergo some sort of proof, but not by *powder*, (for that would be too rough usage,) but by *water*, which, if they are capable of holding, without permitting it to ooze through their pores, they are sufficiently qualified to discharge their duty; which is not to shed the blood of man or beast, but to decorate the habitation of some negro chieftain. Yet these instruments, though harmless and innocent, (except to the luckless wight who should load and fire them,) would be considered as guilty by the friends of humanity, as they are indisputably employed in the nefarious African traffic, and bartered for human flesh and blood."

"Harmless and innocent — except to the person who should fire them!" Does this gentleman suppose that the negroes purchase fire-arms *only* to decorate their habitations? The government should interfere, and interdict this nefarious manufactory.

An improvement in gun-locks is noticed, which deserves the attention of government. The flint presents every time a different angle to the hammer, and thereby, instead of wearing smooth, hacks itself, and never misses fire. The jaws of the cocker are made to slide on and off; the gun can thus instantly be rendered useless if necessary, in case of an apprehended mutiny, or a surrender; and sportsmen may carry it loaded without danger. Much curious matter is contained in this part of the work, but it is ill arranged.

The second volume contains three plays, of which the less that is said the better. Of the first, which is in ridicule of equa-

lity, Mr. Pratt says, that, in 1794, 'he sent the manuscript to several booksellers, of all the different hues that the political cameleon could assume. They were *feared to undertake, in a printed attack*, the loyal side of the question, particularly at a crisis when an invasion was hourly apprehended. One of the trade did not feel himself bold.' This libel upon the booksellers is easily explained; they did not choose to publish a good-for-nothing piece. A reference to the publications of the year would prove the futility of the accusation, if any proof were needed. The booksellers were intimidated; but it was by the government, not the French.

The third volume is full of verses by sundry gentlemen and ladies, friends of Mr. Pratt, with sundry 'copies of verses' by Mr. Pratt himself. Peace be to the race of bad writers! In one respect is the system of commerce like the system of nature, that the vilest things are of use in both. Many and many are the persons who derive as much benefit from the itch of writing in others, as the proprietors of the Caledonian ointment derive from an itch of another kind: from the collector of rags, and the printer's devil, up to his majesty's exchequer, and the foreign powers, who do us the favour to accept subsidies therefrom, how many trades and callings are supported by bad writers! How would Mr. Fry's types, Mr. Wharman's paper, Mr. Bulmer's presses, Mr. Stothard's pencil, and Mr. Heath's graver, be employed, if it were not for these literary gentlemen who favour the world with their poems? Were it not for bad authors, the Annual Review would shrink from its present partly proportions, and Falstaff-size, to the skeleton-like lankness of Master Slender. Peace be to them! we will not accelerate their destiny. Why should we throw stones at a drowning dog, or send out catamarans against foundering fishing-smacks?

Worthless writers have been compared to the dead who die in the Lord; for they die, and their works do follow them. This cannot, however, be applied to Mr. Pratt's poetical auxiliaries, for their works do go before them.

ART. XI.—*Light Reading at leisure Hours, or an Attempt to unite the proper Objects of Gaiety and Taste, in exploring the various Sources of national Pleasure; the Fine Arts, Poetry, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Dancing, Fashionable Pastimes, Lives, Memoirs, Characters, Anecdotes, &c.* 8vo. pp. 464.

YES, this is light reading, and more-over amusing, and of good tendency. But

is it not possible to render light reading subjective to solid instruction? Voltaire

and Wieland have composed abundance of light reading, which is often subservient to information, but they often inculcate what is amiss. Addison's light reading is pure in its tendency, though at times feeble, insignificant, and not instructive enough: it is ladies' ware. There is so much to learn now-a-days that even our amusers must teach, or we must be taught by those who do not amuse. We should gladly see the business of the pedant performed by the gentleman; but we cannot prefer the vague prettyisms of the mere gentleman to the substantial tuition of the mere pedant. Dr. Johnson was a more valuable companion than Lord Chesterfield.

Among all these essays, biographies, stories, and epistles, we are at a loss to indicate any which will spare the reader the trouble of recurring to the author's sources: there is not enough to satisfy of any one thing; the leisure is idled away which is spent on such perusal. However the author makes no pretensions; it were cruel to break the butterfly on a wheel. Let us glance over his topics with here and there an animadversion.

Of the Fine Arts.—Their merit or value is here placed, in their being followed by humanity, delicacy, and the social virtues. We doubt the fact. The age of Hadrian among the ancients, and the age of Leo X. among the moderns, produced the best remaining specimens of art. Neither humanity, delicacy, nor the social virtues, distinguished the courts, which bespoke these master-pieces. To be a judge of merit in art, as in writing, is an accomplishment; to excel in art, or in writing, a still greater: but there is no necessary connection between talent and virtue, between taste and humanity, between art and delicacy: Nero was a connoisseur; Leo X. inflicted the torture; David is a painter.

Of Poetry.—The main argument produced for liking it is that Virgil's Georgics gave a fashion to agriculture. Is its highest destination to teach the vulgar arts?

Of Painting.—In a quotation from Mason we hear of Correggio's *chastity of hue*. Why quote such trash? What is chastity of hue? Chastity is not a mean between two extremes, as some other virtues are, but a total abstinence from prohibited usage. Certain painters of antiquity employed only four patent colours; but Correggio knows nothing of any such restraint. In no imaginable sense can a metaphor

from chastity be rationally applied to his colouring, which is vivid, various, natural, and oscillates much more than that of Titian between the extremes of illumination and obscurity.

Of Sculpture.—In the dark ages, says this author, sculpture found an asylum even in the tombs of the dead. Where has it ever found so habitual, so expedient, so appropriate an asylum? The instances of Demetrius and of the great Pitt are narrated, as if the writer wished to prove sculpture useless to human celebrity.

Of Music.—That music is most useful of which the rhythm is most marked, which assists the half-skilled to dance, to march, to row, in time and in concert. Music is also well employed in public worship, to detain the attention on those moral hymns whose sentiments ought to be engraven on the memory; and in what may be called the worship of the country, to render audible and intelligible to vast crowds, the Rule-Britannia of patriotism, or the God-save-the-king of royalism. Music too is a source of much private and personal domestic delight. It affects both as a sensual pleasure directly, and by association indirectly: the greatest effects of music seem to depend on the latter principle. The air which revives a recollection of the tones of Mara; the march which fills the imagination with moving pictures of military parade and pageantry; the chorus which was first heard exquisitely executed among the splendid crowds so pompously arranged beneath the high Gothic arches of the Abbey; these are the pieces of music which become favourite. The lover cares for those tunes which his mistress was practising when he wooed; the wine-bibber for those songs which accompanied and consecrated the feast, when the cellar of hospitality was rifled of its tawniest hoard of wine.

There is perhaps a danger in nationalizing, and in carrying to much refinement, the taste for music. Adam Smith observes that cowards excel in the sense of hearing. From Vienna to Naples, singing enchants, and cannon terrifies. Shakespeare makes his fribble Lorenzo a panygyrist of music; but his Portia is so dull of ear, she thinks the nightingale no better a musician than the wren. Orpheus was killed by women; Themistocles could not fiddle; Nero was a great musician: Polybius relates of two contiguous nations in Arcadia, that the one which cultivated music was voluptuous,

mild, and effeminate ; and the other, which neglected music, was active, harsh, and courageous. Women care more for music than men. The cultivation of music must, by the nature of the attention it requires, gradually perfect and quicken the hearing ; the organs of sense descend to children with traces of the improved sensibility acquired by parents : it is not unlikely that some tendency to startle and to be alarmed should, as Adam Smith thinks, accompany or follow musicalness.

Music is liable to another charge. The love of song is, in some degree, a cure for genius. By causing the mind to dwell agreeably on one idea for the longest possible time, it gradually retards the process of thinking. Now it is in rapidity of combination that genius consists. There are persons to whom the slow enunciation of thought which takes place in song ought to be recommended : to all those, for instance, whose powers of intellectual combination are too rapid for their organs of speech, who hesitate or who stammer. It is strange that Desault, who is for curing every thing by music, who is for singing away pulmonary consumption as well as hypochondriasis, and the bites of venomous reptiles as well as the languors of lethargy, should never have classed singing among the remedies for defects of utterance.

ART. XII.—*Selections from the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, and Freeholder ; with a Preliminary Essay, by ANN LÆTITIA BARBAULD.* 3 vols. 8vo.

SELECTIONS have of late years been much the fashion ; and selections from standard authors, formed by the hand of taste, we shall ever be ready, in the multiplicity of modern books, to announce as valuable gifts to the public. In the present instance, the office of commentator has been added to that of selector ; and on the principle, ' let such teach others who themselves excel,' certainly the task could not easily have fallen into better hands.

In point of poetical richness, and brilliancy of allusion, aptness of remark, and sagacity of discrimination, the preliminary essay is not inferior to any of the critical pieces of its admired author ; and it will probably be regretted by the public that it is only destined to preface a selection from the works of others, instead of leading the way to a volume of original essays by the same superior hand. It opens with a concise enumeration of the causes which have tended to lessen the

Of Dancing.—This is a finer art than music, and ought to rank above it. The spectacle of a ballet is more gratifying than the sweetest concert : one gladly turns from graceful sounds to graceful movements, from Banti to Parisot. Grassini charms most by the very pantomimé she borrows of the dancer.

Then the national effects of Dancing.—It gives health, activity, vigour, to the body, ease and vivacity to the manners. The dancing nations are graceful at home, and warlike abroad. Their youths are plastic, their women cheerful, their old men do not petrify.

Of Cards.—Is it not known that the Portuguese brought them from Hindostan—that they were at first an almanac of the fifty-two weeks—were there consulted superstitiously by the nativity-casters about lucky days—and were at length converted into instruments for really influencing the fortunes of men ?

To these dissertations, which are partly borrowed from French books of little worth, succeed biographical notices, characters, anecdotes, stories, and epistles.

To have attained his end is high praise to the most aspiring writer : let it then content this compiler of light reading that he has listened to the counsel of Boileau.

"Voulez-vous du public mériter les amours ? Sans cesse en écrivant variez vos discours."

circulation of these once eminently popular, and still celebrated papers, and to render useful a selection from works formerly possessed entire by almost every reading person. Among others, the following remark particularly pleased us by its justness and originality :

"It is also to be considered, that the more efficacious these pieces have been, and no doubt they have had considerable effect in refining the taste and correcting the manners of society, the sooner will they be thrown by as antiquated or useless. Thus, the very success of a book may hasten the period of its being forgotten ; and the completion of an author's purpose may turn out to be the ruin of his fame. Addison was himself aware of this cause of a diminution of popularity, and says, in one of his essays, that those papers which attack the follies of the day will, in process of time, become like old plate ; the weight will remain, but the fashion will be lost."

An account is subjoined of the time

and order in which the different periodical papers appeared, and of the writers who contributed to each. Addison is thus beautifully and accurately characterized.

"Addison was one of a cluster of men of genius, who, flourishing at a time when the taste of the nation was forming itself, became in their different walks the standards of literary excellence. His peculiar portion was delicate humour, taste, and richness of imagination: these were all enlisted on the side of virtue and good manners. In these periodical papers he assumed the title of Censor; and no one was better qualified for so delicate and useful an office. Decency and sobriety of behaviour are every where inculcated: every offensive singularity, every outrage of the licentious upon the sober and defenceless part of society, is held up to reprobation: marriage, the constant butt of the wits and jest of the stage, is treated with just respect, and its duties enforced. Addison says of himself, that as Socrates made it his boast, that he had drawn down philosophy from the gods to dwell among men, so he shall be satisfied to have it said of him, that he had brought her from schools and colleges to the ex-table and the dressing-room. His talents were well adapted for an undertaking of this sort. His excellence lay not so much in the depth or extent of his ideas, as in his pleasing manner of communicating them; in the splendour he diffused over a serious—in the grace with which he touched a lighter subject. Addison had a large portion of the honey of Fenelon: nourished like him with the purest flower of classical literature, he possessed a like vivid fancy; a similar fulness and richness of style. But he also possessed the Attic air of Lucian: the manner of this author is so admirably imitated in his *Menippus*, that any person, with a slight knowledge of the Greek author, might easily be induced to believe the dialogue was really translated from that elegant satirist.

"Addison had a wonderful talent in working up a hint, and producing a most beautiful fancy-piece from a neglected fragment, a light outline, or an obscure tradition. Of his, his account of the nation of the Amazons, the Loves of Shalun and Hilpach, and the history of the Lovers' Leap, may be given as instances. Even where the substance is borrowed, as in some of the Eastern tales which he has condescended to illustrate, who is not struck with their different effect as clothed in his style, and as we read them in the bald translation of the Arabian Tales? Whatever he touches he turns to gold. If we compare him with the most distinguished of his contemporaries (for to the most distinguished alone can he be compared), we shall find he has more ease and simplicity than Pope, whose wit is not always free from affectation, and whose satire is frequently spleetic, sometimes malignant. Arbuthnot and

Swift had as much wit, perhaps a freer vein of humour; but Swift could not, like Addison, ally it to grace and soften it with amenity. The satire of Swift is caustic and contemptuous; that of Addison is so sheathed in urbanity, that it scarcely offends those whom it chastises.

"To be convinced of this we need only turn our thoughts to the different effect produced by the strictures of each upon the female sex. Both are perhaps in reality equally severe, and by their pleasantries betray a contempt for a sex they probably considered in a very inferior light: yet such is the charm of manner, that the Spectator has ever been the favourite of the toilette and the dressing-room; while it requires no common strength of mind in a lady, to overcome the disgust excited by the supercilious harshness of the Irish Dean, and to profit by lessons delivered with so much roughness. When Addison rallies, you see a satyr peeping over the shoulder of the Graces. His wit is refined; it is of a kind that requires and exercises penetration in his reader, who is to catch his meaning from the side views that are dexterously presented to him; for the author never laughs himself. The style of Addison is pure and clear; rather diffuse than concentrated, and ornamented to the highest degree consistent with good taste. But this ornament consists in the splendour of imagery, not in the ordonnance of words; his readers will seek in vain for those sonorous cadences with which the public ear has been familiarised since the writings of Dr. Johnson. They will find no stately magnificence of phrase, no triads of sentences artfully balanced, so as to form a sweep of harmony at the close of a period. His words are genuine English; he deals little in inversions, and often allows himself to conclude negligently with a trivial word. The fastidious ear may occasionally be offended with some colloquial phrases, and some expressions which would not now, perhaps, be deemed perfectly accurate, the remains of barbarisms which he more than any one had laboured to banish from good writing; but the best judges have doubted, whether our language has not lost more than it has gained since his time. An idiomatic style gives a truth and spirit to a composition, that is but ill compensated by an elaborate pomp, which sets written composition at too great a distance from speech, for which it is only the substitute. There is perhaps a little too much of what the French call *persiflage*, in the manner in which he conveys his advice to the female part of his readers: but it was the fashion of that age to address women in a style of gallantry, under which was often concealed a sly ridicule. Swift, in his surly way, used to say, 'Let him *fair sex* it to the world's end, I will not meddle with the Spectator.'

The selection itself is made with the

taste and judgment that will be expected from its author. We are compelled, however, to remark, that the omission of the mottoes has in many instances robbed the papers of a grace; in some, has rendered parts of them unintelligible; and that in selecting portions of a paper, sufficient care has not always been taken to make them hang well together. We now and then perceive that something is want-

ing which the context does not enable us to supply.

On the whole, this selection forms three very attractive little volumes, and we cannot but indulge the hope that it may induce many youthful readers to turn their eyes from the puny ephemera of modern literature, to contemplate with reverence and delight the long-lived and majestic offspring of the genius of our forefathers.

ART. XIII.—*Miscellanies, in two Volumes, by RICHARD TWISS. 8vo.*

ABOUT fifty pages at the close of the first volume are occupied with 'maxims and apothegms collected from many books in various languages.' This selection does greater credit to the sense and judgment of Mr. Twiss than do the productions of his own genius, if indeed we can assign any of these pieces to him with tolerable certainty. The majority of them have the signature E annexed; and in the preface we are told that such pieces are translations or imitations from the *Dutch Spectators of Justus Van Effen*. Whoever is the author of them, we envy not his feelings. There is scarcely an essay in either of the two volumes in which an opportunity is not taken to degrade the female sex: several of them are actually devoted to this ill-natured and indecent purpose, and are very offensive. Sincerely do we commiserate the misfortune of that man whose only acquaintance with the other sex is derived from the society of termagants, tittle-tattlers, and coquets. To have seen and be insensible to the graces and the virtues which adorn the female character, and render women the deserved objects of our love and our respect, would argue a coldness of heart and depravity of taste which we can suspect no man to be cursed with.

For the reason already given, we do not

presume to say that Mr. Twiss is the author of any of the sarcasms which grate so harshly against our feelings: he has, however, shown an activity and industry, for which we give him no thanks, in collecting and translating a number of pieces destitute of wit and humour, valueless compositions, and which seem to have for their principal object the bringing women into contempt, and matrimony into ridicule. Whether in a pretty little story, entitled '*Natural Courtship*,' Mr. Twiss intended to make the *amende honorable* for his multiplied misdemeanors against the ladies, we know not; if they forgive him, it is enough.

Some years ago Mr. Twiss published two volumes on chess: a third part of the second of those before us is occupied with additional information concerning the conduct of that game, celebrated players of it, and writers who have made it the subject of their pen. Similar information respecting the game of draughts, occupies about another third; whilst a few chemical experiments and arithmetical tricks, the former supplied by Mr. Frederic Accum, and the latter, we presume, by Mr. Twiss himself, together with a few poetical contributions, by various persons, complete the miscellany.

ART. XIV.—*Memoirs of the Life and Character of Gilbert Puring, younger, of Caernarvon: with Observations on modern fashionable Education; by an eminent Editor. 12mo. pp. 1.7.*

A QUIZ on modern fashionable education, in memoirs of no inferior a personage than a *tem cat*, who was notorious in

the tour of Caernarvon for the noisiness and number of his amours. We see very little wit in them.

ART. XV.—*Views in North Britain, illustrative of the Works of Robert Burns; accompanied with Descriptions, and a Sketch of the Poet's Life. By JAMES STORIE and JOHN GREIG. 8vo. pp. 61, and Sixteen Plates.*

THIS is a companion to the illustration of Cowper, published three or four years

since, by the same ingenious artists: and is intended to be followed by a similar illus-

stration of Robert Bloomfield. The engravings are unequal : we think also that Messrs. S. and G. have taken a disproportionate number of views from that scenery which is most difficult to be delineated

with freedom, force, and spirit ; namely, falls of water and surrounding rocks. The sketch of Burns's life (taken from Dr. Currie's work) would have been too meagre even for a magazine.

ART. XVI.—*The Confessions of William-Henry Ireland, Containing the Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakspeare Manuscripts ; together with Anecdotes and Opinions (hitherto unpublished) of many distinguished Persons in the Literary, Political, and Theatrical World.* 8vo.

AN hour for which there is no better employment may be whiled away amusingly enough over this volume. When Mr. Ireland thought proper to avow the fabrication of the Shakspeare papers, he made his avowal in a pamphlet of three-and-forty pages. This had become so rare, that a copy has been sold at an auction for a guinea, and he himself paid eighteen shillings for an imperfect one, being favoured in the price because he was the author. The present work is published instead of a republication of the pamphlet, because Mr. Ireland hopes to free his character "from the stigmas with which it has so undeservingly been sullied."

Mr. Samuel Ireland, the father, when collecting materials for a work upon the picturesque scenery of the river Avon, took his son with him to Stratford.

"In consequence of the various enquiries set on foot by Mr. Ireland during his continuance at Stratford-on-Avon, he was at length given to understand, by some of the oldest inhabitants, that a tale was formerly told indicative of some manuscripts having been conveyed for safety, at the time of the fire at Stratford, from New-place (the former residence of Shakspeare) to Clopton-house, situated at a little distance from the scene of the conflagration. In consequence of this intelligence, Mr. Ireland proceeded to the mansion in question ; which proved to be of great antiquity. In one chamber was a very curious carved bed-head of oak, with silk hangings. This, together with all the furniture of the apartment, was an heir-loom to the premises ; having been the gift of king Henry the Seventh to sir Hugh Clopton, who was one of the lord-mayors of London during the reign of that monarch. In this antique mansion were innumerable chambers furnished in a similar manner, many of them totally darkened to obviate the expence of the tax upon window-lights ; and in the cockloft were piles of mouldering household goods, all of the same remote antiquity : among the rest was an emblazoned representation, on vellum, of queen Elizabeth, the wife of Henry the Seventh, as she lay in state in the chapel of the tower of London, after having died in childhood ; which curious relic the then owner of

Clopton-house gave to Mr. S. Ireland, as a 'picture which was in his opinion of no service, because, being on vellum, it would not do to light the fire.'

"Near the cockloft just mentioned was a garret, the walls of which were adorned with rude paintings of scriptural subjects, hieroglyphical characters, and quotations from the New Testament. Among the designs, I recollect a large fish was delineated as being caught, and a hand drawing the string which was attached to the hook in the fish's mouth. Under this curious design were the following lines of rude poetry in black-letter characters ; they may be found in Weever's *Funeral Monuments*—

'Whether you rise yearlye,
Or goe to bed late,
Remember Christ Jesus,
That died for your sake.'

"From the inquiries made by Mr. Ireland, we were given to understand that sir Hugh Clopton, or his descendant, being a very staunch catholic, had gained permission to have this garret consecrated at the time of the Reformation, that the celebration of mass might take place in secret.

"Having thus far digressed in my statement respecting the antiquity and great curiosity of this mansion, I shall again revert back to the general subject, and say,

'If true, what a conflagration !'

"The person who occupied Clopton-house, and rented the lands belonging to the estate, was what is usually denominated a gentleman farmer ; rich in gold and the worldly means of accumulating wealth, but devoid of every polished refinement.

"On Mr. Ireland's arrival he introduced himself to Mr. Williams (for such was the gentleman's name) ; who invited us into a small gloomy parlour ; where he was shortly given to understand by Mr. Ireland, that the motive of his visit was a desire to ascertain whether any old deeds or manuscripts were then existing, in any part of the mansion ; and on a further statement, as to any papers of Shakspeare's being extant, the following was the reply made by Mr. Williams.—

"By G—d I wish you had arrived a little sooner ! Why, it isn't a fortnight since I destroyed several baskets-full of letters and pa-

pers, in order to clear a small chamber for some young partridges which I wish to bring up alive: and as to Shakspeare, why there were many bundles with his name wrote upon them. Why it was in this very fire-place I made a roaring bonfire of them."

"Mr. Ireland's feelings during this address, which were fully displayed in his countenance, may be more easily conceived than expressed: and it was with infinite difficulty he suffered Mr. Williams to proceed thus far; when, starting from his chair, he clasped his hands together, exclaiming

"My G—d! Sir, you are not aware of the loss which the world has sustained. Would to heaven I had arrived sooner!"

"As my father concluded this ejaculation, Mr. Williams, calling to his wife, who was in an adjoining chamber, and who instantly came into the apartment where we were seated (being a very respectable elderly lady), he thus addressed her:

"My dear, don't you remember bringing me down those baskets of papers from the partridge-room? and that I told you there were some about Shakspeare the poet?"

"The old lady immediately replied as follows, having, in all probability, heard Mr. Ireland's address to her husband:

"Yes, my dear; I do remember it perfectly well! and, if you will call to mind my words, I told you not to burn the papers, as they might be of consequence."

"Mr. Ireland, after expressing his regrets, requested permission to inspect the small chamber in question; which, however, contained nothing but the partridges. Having expressed a desire to go over the house, two lanterns were ordered up; when every chamber underwent the strictest scrutiny; during which research the before-mentioned furniture, chapel, &c. came under our cognizance; but as to Shakspearian manuscripts, not a line was to be found."

This is very curious, if true, to repeat the author's own expression of scepticism. This journey, Mr. Samuel Ireland's zealous admiration of Shakspeare (which the event proves was not according to knowledge), and a wish on the part of the son to gratify the father, led to the fabrication.

The history of the whole knavery would form a pleasant article in a *Shaksperiana*. Dr. Parr is said, on hearing the Profession of Faith read, to have said to Mr. Samuel Ireland: "Sir, we have very fine passages in our church-service, and our litany abounds with beauties; but here, sir, here is a man who has distanced us all." We doubt this story: the Profession is no better than might be expected from a boy of eighteen, of no extraor-

dinary talents: and Dr. Parr, though he may be no judge of old writings, can certainly distinguish between an empty rhapsody, and a prayer full of meaning. Other anecdotes bear stronger evidence of truth. Mr. Boswell asked for a glass of warm brandy and water, and exclaimed like old Simeon in the Gospel, "Well, I shall now die contented, since I have lived to witness the present day!" and then knelt down and kissed the volume. Mr. P*ws*n (here, as in Dr. *Warton's* case, Mr. Ireland spells by his ear, and spells erroneously) appeared so satisfied respecting the papers, that Mr. Samuel Ireland asked him to add his name to the list of believers in their validity: he replied "I thank you, Sir, but I never subscribe my name to professions of faith of any nature whatsoever." Mr. Ritson asked short questions, all to the purpose, delivered no opinion, and went away, convinced that the papers were spurious. Mr. Sheridan is said to have remarked, that, however high Shakspeare might stand in the estimation of the public in general, he did not for his part regard him as a poet in that exalted light, although he allowed the brilliancy of his ideas, and the penetration of his mind. This gentleman, however, seems evidently to have suspected the play which he brought out.

"Previous to the agreement's being signed respecting Vortigern and Rowena with the managers of Drury-lane theatre, Messrs. Sh*r*d*n and R*ch*rds*n waited upon Mr. Ireland, to inspect the fair copy of the play, which had been made from the manuscript as produced in the disguised hand. After having perused several pages, Mr. Sh*r*d*n came to one line which was not strictly poetic; upon which, turning to Mr. Ireland, he remarked, 'This is rather strange, for though you are acquainted with my opinion as to Shakspeare, yet, be it as it may, he certainly always wrote poetry.'—Having perused a few pages further, Mr. Sh*r*d*n again paused, and, laying down the manuscript, spoke to the following effect: 'There are certainly some bold ideas, but they are crude and undigested. It is very odd: one would be led to think that Shakspeare must have been very young when he wrote the play. As to the doubting whether it be really his or not, who can possibly look at the papers, and not believe them ancient?'"

Mr. Ireland's hatred of Mr. Malone is very naturally expressed, but not very judiciously. He talks of the *Malone faction*, of working like a mole, of stinging like a viper; and attributes the conduct of this gentleman and of the other commentators

on Shakspeare, to a determination "to crush that which would have proved so many of their labours of non-effect, had it passed current with the world." His own conduct, if all which he confesses is to be believed, appears in some instances like a sort of madness; such as promising his father a whole-length portrait of Shakspeare, and two copies of the first edition of his works with uncut leaves. Our good opinion of this gentleman is certainly not increased by the perusal of the present volume; for, though it may not at first have been his design to obtain

money upon false pretences, money certainly was so obtained: four hundred pounds from Drury-lane, besides what the large subscription volume may have produced. It matters not how accounts stand between him and his father; the fraud was practised.

The arrangement of the book ought to have been chronological; at present it is very confused, and we almost suspect that it has been made purposely so, because the more plainly the story is told the worse it appears.

ART. XVII.—*An analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste.* By RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT, 8vo. pp. 500.

THERE are many words which are perpetually used, although seldom understood; of these, one of the most noted, is that which forms the subject of the work before us. What gentleman or lady, what milliner or hair-dresser, in the united kingdom, would be supposed ignorant of the principles of taste? yet what philosopher has hitherto been able to determine its nature, or to discern in what it consists? Mr. Knight has, however, undertaken to resolve the difficulty; it remains for us to inform our readers in what way he has attempted the investigation, and how far he has been successful in it.

The work commences with an introduction, containing what is called, "a sceptical view of the subject;" in which, after observing how much our ideas of taste are influenced by fashion or imitation, and how various have been the standards of taste in different ages and nations, we are led to inquire, whether there be any real or permanent principle of beauty, or any certain combination of objects which are invariably gratifying to the mind, or pleasing to the organs of sensation. This inquiry induces some observations on the meaning of the word beauty, in which our author endeavours to prove that it is as strictly applicable to intellectual as to physical qualities, in both cases being used to express the result of proportion. Taste, as is well known, is appropriated to two distinct meanings; its first and original sense refers to the impression made by certain substances upon the tongue and palate; in its more enlarged sense it is defined by Mr. Knight, "a general discriminative

faculty arising from just feeling and correct judgment implanted in the mind of man by his Creator, and improved by exercise, study, and meditation." We think this definition incorrect, both because its different parts contradict each other, and because it appears to us not to meet the view which he afterwards takes of the subject. When it is said that taste is a faculty "implanted in the mind of man by his Creator," we must suppose it an instinctive principle, produced by impressions immediately made on the organs of sense, yet this is incompatible with its arising from just feelings and correct judgment; and, if we mistake not, a main object throughout the treatise is, to show how much more taste depends upon intellectual cultivation than upon mere impressions on the organs of sense.

The work is divided into three parts; of sensation, of the association of ideas, and of the passions. In the first part we are presented with some observations upon the five senses, to each of which a chapter is allotted. We apprehend the main object of this part of Mr. Knight's work is to ascertain how far ideas of taste are acquired immediately from our sensations. He does not, however, adhere very scrupulously to his subject, but frequently digresses from his main purpose, and discusses a variety of topics connected with the different branches of literature. When treating upon the sense of touch, he ridicules the idea entertained by Burke, that pleasure is derived from the sensation of smooth surfaces. Such gratifications, he conceives, were confined to that celebrated author.

"I have never heard of any person being

addicted to such luxuries; though a feeling-board would certainly afford as cheap and innocent a gratification, as either a smelling-bottle, a picture, or a flute, provided it were capable of affording any gratification at all."

It is indeed acknowledged, that we occasionally attach ideas of a pleasing kind to objects that possess smooth surfaces, but this pleasure depends upon mental associations connected with the object. This circumstance leads our author to offer some remarks upon the connection between ideas and the objects exciting them; it is confessed that they bear no resemblance to each other, and yet Mr. Knight will not allow that the ideas can exist independent of the objects.

Every one knows that our pleasures, both sensual and intellectual, are increased by what is usually called contrast; this, so far as respects the impressions upon the senses, our author ascribes to an "inverted action of the nerves." Of the existence of such an action we can form no conception, nor does the author bring forward any proof or explanation of it. But although we may not rest satisfied with the hypothesis, we shall admit the justice of the illustrations brought forward in the following paragraph:

"From this inverted action arises the gratification which we receive from a cool breeze, when the body has been excessively heated; or from the rocking of a cradle, or the gentle motion of a boat, or easy carriage, after having been fatigued with violent exercise. Such, too, is that which twilight, or the gloomy shade of a thicket, affords to the eye, after it has been dazzled with the blaze of the mid-day sun; and such, likewise, is that, which the ear receives, from the gradual diminution or boudness of tone in music; and it is by alternately ascending and descending this scale, that what is called (by a metaphor taken from painting) the chromatic in that art, is produced."

In the chapter on hearing, the pleasure derived from music naturally comes to be considered; this, as it appears, may be distinctly referred both to a sensual and an intellectual source; the first depending upon the combinations of tone, many of which are naturally agreeable; the second upon that kind of sentiment which is connected with feeling and associations. There is likewise a third source of pleasure, derived from the skill of the performer or composer, which is experienced by the scientific proficient in the art.

"The first of these is a sensual, and the second a sentimental pleasure: while that, which is peculiarly felt by the learned, may be properly called an intellectual pleasure; for this likewise is really a pleasure, and one that may be as reasonably and properly cultivated as either of the others; as I shall show in treating of the pleasures of the understanding."

Mr. Knight adds, with more candour than is usually displayed on such occasions:

"It is one, indeed, which I am utterly incapable of enjoying; but that is no reason why I should treat it with contempt, according to a too common practice; which, however, always indicates a narrow, or an uncultivated mind; and generally both."

The connection which has been thought to subsist between music and poetry, leads our author to consider the sources of that pleasure which is so generally produced by this latter art. We are disposed to agree with him in the opinion,

"That the most melodious versification affords very little, if any at all, of mere sensual gratification; the regularity of metre or rhyme being rather calculated to assist memory and facilitate utterance, than to please the ear."

This opinion is supported by observing, how little effect the metres of the dead languages produce when imitated in our own tongue; and farther, what different impressions are conveyed to the minds of different nations by the same modulation of verse.

Although the sense of sight is that from which a great part of our enjoyments are ultimately derived, it appears that the pleasures which are produced immediately by sensible impressions upon the eye, are but few and unimportant. The qualities which we admire the most in visible objects, would convey no corresponding ideas to the mind, if the eye were neither guided by experience nor corrected by the information derived from the other senses. The conception of visible magnitude is not gained, as Burke supposed, by the space which the object occupies on the retina; for, according to this principle, a sheet of paper held close to the face has more effect than a mountain when viewed from its base. In the same way objects which are smooth do not give pleasure to the eye from any direct effect

which their smoothness produces upon the nerve, because in reality their outline and their shadows are often peculiarly bright and sharp.

After thus pointing out the defects of Mr. Burke's system, our author proceeds to point out his own ideas of visible beauty.

"This consists, according to the principles which I have endeavoured to establish, in harmonious, but yet brilliant and contrasted combinations of light, shade, and colour; blended, but not confused; and broken, but not cut, into masses: and it is not peculiarly in straight or curve, taper or spiral, long or short, little or great objects, that we are to seek for these; but in such as display to the eye intricacy of parts and variety of tint and surface."

The characters which are here assigned to visible beauty, are almost exactly those which Mr. Price has pointed out as constituting the picturesque. It appears indeed that Mr. Knight totally dissents from the opinion of the last-mentioned author, and he labours with much perseverance to prove that there are no distinctive marks by which the picturesque can be separated from the beautiful. To review all the illustrations that are brought forward upon this subject would carry us far beyond our limits; we cannot but acknowledge that in several instances he has been successful in demonstrating the fallacy of Mr. Price's hypothesis, but we still must adhere to it so far as to maintain that the picturesque is a distinct mode of beauty, which in many cases may be accurately discriminated, though it is frequently impossible to mark its limits.

After viewing the operation of the senses, as connected with taste, our author proceeds to consider the effect of the association of ideas; a faculty to which the greatest part of our intellectual pleasures seems to be referable. The pleasure which arises from mere imitation is confessed to be considerable, yet our highest intellectual gratifications are derived from a nobler source, and proceed from that improved perception, which is gained by exercising the senses, and applying the understanding to any particular object. Upon this principle we see a reason for the preference which is given to an original painting over the most exact copy of it.

The pleasure which we derive from painting and sculpture is ultimately founded upon the resemblance of the pic-

ture or statue to the objects which they represent; yet, except to the most vulgar mind, the pleasure is of a nature far superior to that of deception. The idea of the artist's ability enters into our feelings, and adds to our gratification. Hence we are not pleased with painted statues; and subjects which are disgusting in nature, may form subjects for the most beautiful paintings. Another reason may be assigned for this last circumstance: the disgust which the objects excite may be in consequence of some unpleasant impressions which they make upon the other senses; these are excluded from the picture, when the form and colouring is all that is presented to us.

The ideas which we acquire of poetical melody are perhaps still more dependant upon association.

"In a just and skilful application of the variations of rhythm and prosody, such as arises from just feeling only, does the melody of language consist: but, nevertheless, this melody affords no gratification to the mere organs of hearing; but is solely perceived and felt by mental sympathy, as appears from our feeling it, when we read inwardly, and without any utterance of sound; and also from its varying with the habitual variations of idiom in different languages: for, if it were a pleasure of organic sensation, it must necessarily, as before observed, be the same in all languages."

The chapter concludes with some observations on English versification, and particularly on that of Pope and Milton. Our author coincides with Dr. Johnson in his severe judgment on the *Paradise Lost*. He finds its perusal tiresome and harassing; and thinks not only the *Odyssey* and the *Æneid*, but even Tasso's *Jerusalem*, more interesting. The repulsiveness of Milton he imputes to the peculiarity of his versification, and even to that circumstance which is frequently esteemed its appropriate excellence, the variety of the pauses. We apprehend many of our readers will, like ourselves, dissent from Mr. Knight's decision.

Continuing to treat upon the same subject, but proceeding in his usual digressive manner, our author again attacks Mr. Price's notions respecting the picturesque; he points out the original meaning of the word, and endeavours to shew that subjects the most opposite in their visible qualities, strictly belong to this class. We cannot, however, assent to the aptness of these illustrations: the term picturesque, in its most commonly received accepta-

tion, we do not think by any means applicable either to the apostles of Raphael, the pine of Claude, or the horse of Wovermans. Upon the first we should be inclined to bestow the appellation of sublime, and in the last beauty is certainly the most prominent characteristic.

Following our author along his amusing, but desultory track, we have next some observations on Gothic architecture; it is properly divided into two kinds, the one employed in the construction of castles, the other of churches or convents. With respect to the Grecian orders of architecture, the ideas which we at present entertain are derived, in a great measure, if not entirely, from an association of authority for the classical ages. It is properly remarked, that

“There is no reason whatever in the nature of things, or in the analogy of the parts, why a Corinthian capital should be placed on a slenderer shaft than a Doric or Ionic one. On the contrary, the Corinthian, being of the largest, and consequently of the heaviest proportion, would naturally require the column of the largest dimensions, proportioned to its height, to sustain it.”

The general effect produced upon the mind by the Grecian and the Gothic buildings is, in many respects, very different; and it is probable that the objects respectively aimed at by the artist were equally different. Symmetry and proportion appear to be the grand characteristics of the former, contrast and striking effect of the latter. Whatever may be our opinion of the general merits of these rival modes, we cannot but admit the justice of the following remark, and we deem it the more worthy of attention, as it deviates from the view which is usually taken of this subject.

“In the cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, all these are, of a gigantic size, taken from a given scale, proportionate to that of the building; and I have often heard this rigid adherence to uniform proportion admired as a very high excellence; though all allow that the effect of it has been to make the building appear much smaller than it really is; and if it be a merit to make it appear small, it certainly was extreme folly to incur such immense expence in building it large.”

From architecture we are led to gardening; and we meet with some spirited, though unnecessarily severe observations, upon the method of adorning grounds that is usually adopted in this country. Mr. Knight condemns the practice of depriv-

ing the house of those accompaniments which it possessed in the ancient style; he finds fault with the naked lawns that are spread around it, and the clumps and sheets of water that compose its prospects. We cannot altogether coincide with the views of our author: what has been called English gardening, we consider as one of the happiest applications of taste to a practical purpose that the world has ever experienced; but it does not follow that all those who profess to ornament grounds are qualified for their profession; and it is still more frequently the case, that the bad taste of their employers leads them into absurdities of which they would not otherwise have been guilty. It has been found by experience that, in spite of the revolutions of fashion, there are certain combinations of natural objects which have at all times been admired: the aim of English gardening is to imitate such scenery; it is no argument against the practice that it is often ill executed.

We now proceed to dramatic exhibitions. Mr. Knight strongly argues against the idea that actual deception is ever produced, even by the most perfect of them; deception indeed is not the object either of the writer or the actor, and for the most part its occurrence would destroy all our pleasure. Entertaining this view of the subject, our author agrees with Dr. Johnson, that unity of action may be safely dispensed with, provided we preserve unity of subject; and consequently that many of Shakspeare's irregular dramas, which exhibit the gradual progress of the same story, during a period of some weeks or months, are better adapted for fixing the attention than the exact French tragedies, where, although the action is finished precisely in twenty-four hours, yet the mind is distracted by a kind of double story.

Invention is admitted to be one of the highest mental powers; it is, however, one particularly apt to run into excess and extravagance. This the author instances in the case of Michael Angelo; a name which we have been taught to look up to with feelings almost of veneration, but which Mr. Knight boldly ventures to assail. After remarking the simplicity that prevailed in the works of the most celebrated ancient artists, a simplicity which almost bordered upon uniformity, he proceeds:

“But, in the figures of Michael Angelo, all is directly reversed. The characters, though remote from ordinary or individual nature, are oftener below than above it, in dignity of

expression; but then their attitudes and gestures are such, as ordinary nature never does display, under any circumstances; except such as influence it in a painter's or sculptor's study, or academy. Even in representing sleep, he could not employ a natural or easy posture; but has put Adam into one, in which, all the narcotic powers of opium could scarcely have enabled him to rest."

We now come to the third part of the work, on the passions; this is divided into three chapters; of the sublime and pathetic, of the ridiculous, and of novelty. In conformity with his former opinion, our author attempts to prove that our interest in tragedy is always accompanied with an idea that the scene before us is fictitious, and that we should cease to derive pleasure from the representation, were we to conceive it a reality. There are indeed some exhibitions, such as the gladiatorial shows of ancient Rome, and the elegant amusement of boxing in our times, where the tragedy is evidently no fiction; but in these instances Mr. Knight contends, that the source of gratification does not arise from the sufferings endured by the combatants, but the skill and courage which they exhibit in their defence. This view of the subject leads Mr. Knight to dissent from the celebrated dogma of Aristotle, that terror and pity are the fundamental principles of tragedy; he also warmly contends against the position of Burke, that terror is a cause of the sublime.

"All sublime feelings are, according to the principles of Longinus, which I have here endeavoured to illustrate and confirm, feelings of exultation and expansion of the mind, tending to rapture and enthusiasm; and whether they be excited by sympathy with external objects, or arise from the internal operations of the mind, they are still of the same nature. In grasping at infinity, the mind exercises the powers, before noticed, of multiplying without end; and, in so doing, it expands and exalts itself, by which means its feelings and sentiments become sublime.

"The same effects result from contemplating all vast and immense objects; such as very spacious plains, lakes, or forests; extensive ranges of extremely high mountains; mighty rivers; unbounded seas; and, above all, the endless expanse of unknown vacuity."

In this view of the subject we feel much disposed to acquiesce.

We have extended this article to so great a length, that we shall be under the necessity of hastening to a conclusion. We cannot, however, pass over the following remarks on the use of the fine arts: they will probably be found less enthusiastic than might have been expected from so warm an admirer of them, yet we apprehend it will upon reflection be found to contain a very rational view of the subject.

"The only moral good, that appears to result from either poetry, music, painting, or sculpture, arises from their influence in civilizing and softening mankind, by substituting intellectual, to sensual pleasures; and turning the mind from violent and sanguinary, to mild and peaceful pursuits. The lovers of these arts seldom or never disturb the tranquillity either of kingdoms or families; and, if their lives are not very useful, they are always harmless, and often ornamental to society. The human mind cannot subsist without occupation, even during its intervals of relaxation from useful or serious employment; and if it has no intellectual amusements to soothe its lassitude and inquietude, during those intervals, it will fly for relief to ruinous dissipation or gross sensuality. It is true, that excessive attention to any of these arts often withdraws the mind from the study or cultivation of others more important and beneficial: but it oftener withdraws it from indulgences, which are more criminal and destructive, both to the individual and society. The frequenting of theatres, and reading of romances and novels, often occupy time, which *might* be more profitably employed in the active pursuits of life; but which probably *would* be more profusely wasted in the more frivolous amusements of the coffee-house or assembly-room, or in the more ruinous indulgences of the tavern or the brothel."

In our observations upon this amusing work, we have touched only upon a few of the topics which are discussed in it; we have rather aimed at giving a sample of the materials, than a complete catalogue of them. The reader who expects to find a regular treatise upon taste, in which its principles are methodically laid down, and metaphysically scrutinized, will, we apprehend, be disappointed; but he will find a volume stored with instruction and judicious remarks upon a variety of topics connected with literature and the fine arts, highly creditable both to the candour and abilities of the author.

ART. XVIII.—*Typographical Marks, used in correcting Proofs, explained and exemplified for the Use of Authors.* By C. STOWER, Printer. 8vo. pp. 14.

A very useful little work, which we recommend to all young authors, as well

calculated to save trouble both to themselves and their printers.

CHAPTER XIV.

MILITARY AND NAVAL TACTICS.

THE military works in this chapter are manuals intended for the use of the volunteers, and are for the most part very meritorious publications. On the subject of naval tactics, Mr. Clark's Essay is extremely interesting, not only to professional men, but to the general reader, as containing the principles on which almost all our splendid victories during the last and present war have been obtained.

ART. I.—*An Address to Volunteer Corps going on permanent Duty, being a short and compendious Address to the several Ranks of Officers, non-commissioned Officers, and Privates, of Volunteer Corps, preparatory to marching, and whilst remaining on permanent Duty.* By Lieutenant-colonel GORDON. 8vo. pp. 64.

THE practice which volunteer corps have pretty generally adopted of undertaking regular service for a short time, is certainly the best mode of informing them of their duties as soldiers: they become by this means acquainted not only with the regular field-duty, but with the other and not less important parts of the service. But as both the officers and privates are in general equally unacquainted with the regular duty of a regiment in a garrison town, much inconvenience must have arisen from the want of a work of this sort. General Dundas's book is amply sufficient to direct a commanding officer in his field duty; but it contains no information respecting the internal management, the "smaller minutie and interior duty," of a regiment. Colonel Gordon's little publication will therefore be found extremely

useful to all volunteers who are on permanent duty, and to commanding officers in particular. The directions which it contains are plain, concise, and correct; and the hints which it gives are serviceable and important. The duty of every man, from the colonel to the private, is described with clearness and accuracy; and the rules and regulations for the different parades and musters, as well as for the mounting and relieving guards, &c. are detailed with precision and correctness. The forms of the different rosters and returns will be found serviceable to the young officer or serjeant.

We think colonel Gordon entitled to the thanks of the volunteers in general, for his very correct and useful manual, and have no hesitation in recommending it to general notice.

ART. II.—*Instructions for the Formation and Exercise of Volunteer Sharp-shooters.* By Captain BARBER, commanding the Duke of Cumberland's Sharp-shooters. 12mo. pp. 126.

AGAINST an invading army good riflemen are the most formidable troops that can be employed. The requisites to form a good rifleman are great and many. Activity of body, muscular strength, quickness and clearness of hearing and sight, joined to cool intrepidity and presence of mind, are indispensable: these, added to

a skill and certainty in firing, which shall insure his hitting the mark he aims at, combine to make the rifleman a most dreadful enemy. In general our volunteer rifle-corps are not composed of that class of men who would be found in case of actual service the most useful. Gamekeepers, marksmen, and sportsmen, who

are in the constant practice of firing, are, beyond a doubt, the men who should be pitched upon for this arduous and important duty. A body of men of this sort, acting in that part of the country where they reside, knowing every road, hedge, wood, and covert, in the neighbourhood, would be able to annoy an invading army more than a similar number even of the best regular troops. The men who form the corps of volunteer sharp-shooters in the metropolis, as well as in other large towns, must be for the most part inexperienced marksmen. The art of wounding or killing with certainty, like every other art, is not learnt without considerable experience, nor kept up without constant practice. This practice and experience the inhabitants of towns are not very likely to obtain; it is not therefore reasonable to suppose that they can become perfect marksmen. Still, in the present state of tactics, the advantage of possessing a number of men who have been well instructed in the duty and exercise of light troops is very important; for, as it is justly observed in the tract before us, "they have little to apprehend from cavalry: the enemy can bring but a small number into the field; and in so intersected a country as England, a common degree of caution will be sufficient to prevent their falling within their reach. From artillery also they have nothing to fear, as cannon cannot be pointed at men scattered asunder, and seen only at intervals. Against troops regularly formed they are completely an overmatch; for the quickest manœuvres of a battalion cannot keep pace with the independent movements of light troops." p. 125.

We should think it a very advisable plan to train the small volunteer corps which are scattered all over the kingdom to the light-infantry duty, as in their present state they must be entirely useless if brought into regular service. For a body of rustics, wholly unacquainted with the discipline, or even the appearance of a regiment, cannot with the practice of an hour or two in the week be brought to a tolerable degree of perfection in the common exercise of a battalion; and it is completely impossible for a corps, consisting, as a vast number do, of not more than one hundred men, to perform any one manœuvre of a regiment. Bring troops like these to brigade with those of the line, and they would be found to be as ignorant of their duty as a company of recruits who have been only a week in the drill ser-

jeant's hands; but teach them to act independently, instruct them to conceal themselves behind hedges, trees, or inequalities of the ground, and from thence to annoy the detachments and convoys of an enemy, or use them to cover the movements and positions of troops of the line, and you make them of the most important and essential service.

But it is time to come to the more immediate consideration of the work before us. The first part of the book treats of the rifle, and practice of firing. The different kinds of rifles are explained, and their several advantages and defects noticed. The directions for target-firing are very good, and merit the attention of all volunteer riflemen, as well as the rules to be adopted in fixing the sights, &c. We shall give a short extract from this part of the work.

"As a sharp-shooter is obliged to take a different level at his object, at various distances, it is evidently essential, that he should be a good judge of distances, in order that he may know which sight to make use of, or what allowance will be necessary in taking his aim. He should, therefore, be accustomed to step all sorts of distances within the range of a gun. It is an advantageous practice, for a platoon to be formed into a single rank, and for an officer, pointing to a distinct object to which they can march, to ask every man's opinion of the distance, proceeding from one end of the rank to the other. They may then be ordered to step out in ordinary time, and marched to the spot, and the measure thus ascertained. Two objects are in this way effected by one operation."

"A rifleman should practice firing in all positions:—standing, kneeling, sitting, lying on the ground, on the belly and the back; for the precise terms of these different attitudes, he may chiefly consult his own ease and firmness; but it appears to me, that when standing, the position is firmest when erect, and the feet only about twelve inches asunder, the left elbow in the sling; when kneeling, the position should incline to be extended, the elbow on the left knee: when sitting, a position something like that of a tailor's, I have found very steady, with an elbow on each knee: in laying on the belly, the fore part of the gun may rest on the man's hat, and be drawn close to it by pulling the sling with the left hand: when on the back, the sling should also be held tight, or the toes may be endangered: other positions may be occasionally resorted to, but whatever they be, ease and firmness are indispensably requisite. Loading whilst lying on the ground should also be practised; but

this can scarcely be done, except with cart-nidge."

Part the second treats of the exercise and manœuvring of sharp-shooters. The duty is here very correctly and fully detailed; it will be found particularly useful

to the young rifleman, and may be studied with advantage by all light-infantry troops. On the whole we think captain Barber's one of the best manuals that we have seen, and we have no hesitation in giving it our entire approbation.

ART. III.—*The Duties of Riflemen and Light Infantry in the Field, compiled for the Use of the Volunteers of the United Kingdom.* By JOHN KIRKE, Commandant of the Retford Volunteer Rifle Corps. 12mo. pp. 103.

IN his introduction to this work, captain Kirke has stated a fact which very much tends to confirm an opinion we advanced in reviewing the last article, that a large proportion of the volunteer force is not by any means so effectual as it might be rendered. He says, "It is very much to be lamented that so small a proportion of our volunteers are armed with rifles, since it appears, from a list of their number, that out of 460,000, there are not more than 5000 riflemen, and most of them armed at their own expense." As we have before fully stated our opinion on this subject, it is unnecessary to repeat it; we shall only add, that it is a subject which government ought to notice; for, as immense sums of money have been, and must continue to be, expended for the establishment and maintenance of the volunteer force, that force ought to be rendered as efficient as its nature will allow.

Captain Kirke's book relates principally to the field-duty of light troops, and their various uses as piquets, advanced guards, patrols, skirmishers, &c. which are all stated with considerable attention and accuracy. In the 16th chapter he treats of the duty of light infantry in an engagement. We shall extract a part of it, as affording a specimen of the author's military skill and information.

" Battles are won and lost by a variety of movements. The manœuvres of light infantry in these cases must always be regulated by the movements of the line.

" In movements to the front, the light infantry is to take care to cover well the flank of the march. If the flank be attacked, the light infantry must keep its ground, protecting itself by hedges, trees, houses, and every thing which will enable it to resist. It must check the enemy at any risk, and not think of its own safety.

" If no enemy present himself on the flank, to attack the troops which march, the light infantry will join their efforts to those of the line, in its attack to the front. If a village, a wood, or entrenched height, be the object of attack, the light infantry will endeavour to turn its flank. An inconsiderable body show-

ing itself to the rear, is sufficient to produce a great effect; and experience proves, that retrograde movements are catching.

" As soon as the light infantry perceive the enemy retreating, it is to be the signal for a spirited pursuit. He must be thrown into complete confusion, and not allowed time to rally at a short distance. Light infantry, however, must halt before it enters on open ground, where it might meet with cavalry. It is not to proceed, until it be ascertained that there is none at hand. Cavalry, in an open country, is as destructive to light infantry, as light infantry is to cavalry in a covered country.

" The true defence of infantry against cavalry is the use of the bayonet, and in the force of a thick and immoveable body of men, pressed together on *en masse*. Horses can neither support nor push each other on, and the force of one horse may be checked by the united power and weight of seven or eight men.

" As the fortune of battles can be equally balanced but for a short time, if part of the line be broken, and thrown into confusion, it would be requiring too much from the light infantry to suppose that it alone could restore order, and renew the conflict: dispersed among the inequalities of the ground, these kind of troops are not capable of a decisive effort.

" It is from the nature of the ground that light infantry, under critical circumstances, must look for resources. The commander must observe the storm, examine upon what ground the enemy advances, his own people retreat, and seize upon the first opportunity to rally and resist; for the first events of a battle are not always decisive, and fortune is often pleased to change sides several times within a few hours.

" On every occasion, in all dispositions and situations, the commander of light infantry must keep in reserve a certain proportion of his men. With this reserve he will proceed to the spot where he hopes to be able to make a stand, and will cause the retreat upon himself to be sounded. The first duty of light infantry is to discern the proper time to advance, to resist, and to retire. It is not to allow itself to be thrown into confusion.

" A battalion which charges another with the bayonet, either throws the enemy into confusion, or falls into confusion itself. The attacks of light infantry are of a different nature)

It fights at open order and scattered, but without disorder or confusion. As it never comes to close-quarters with the enemy, it ran and ought always to preserve the power of executing whatever manœuvres may be commanded by the bugle-horn. As the whole of the corps of light infantry is never engaged at once, it can more easily retreat or advance, according to circumstances.

"Light infantry, acting parallel with the troops of the line, must resist to the utmost.

In advancing, it must advance with them, and cover their wings; and if they be forced to lose ground, it must check the enemy at every hedge, wood, and passage, occasioning him as much loss as possible. Thus, the light infantry of a defeated army must endeavour to join together, and gain a woody height, village, or defile, where it may stop the pursuit of the enemy, and cover the retreat of the line."

ART. IV.—The Drill of Light Infantry and Riflemen, as arranged for the Cumberland Rangers. By H. HOWARD. 12mo. pp. 129.

AS this work treats on the same subject as the two preceding ones, we shall only observe that the duties of light troops are detailed at considerable length, and we

doubt not it has been found particularly useful to the corps for which it was drawn up.

ART. V.—The Duties of the Light Cavalry in the Field, compiled for the Use of the Yeomanry of the United Kingdom. By JOHN KIRKE. 12mo. pp. 117.

THE English cavalry has been long and deservedly celebrated, but the introduction of light cavalry is of recent date. The appearance and discipline of a regiment of dragoons is completely changed within a few years. The alteration which has taken place in the system of military tactics is no where more apparent than in our cavalry, for with them, as with every other species of troops, speed and activity are the grand desiderata. This is sufficiently apparent from the addition to the number of our light troops, from the complete change which has taken place in the artillery duty, as well as in the equipment of the regiments of dragoons. The first regiment of light cavalry in the kingdom was raised by General Elliot, and their great superiority was so apparent, that the use of heavy horse has since that time gradually decreased. The yeomanry cavalry of this kingdom are all equipped as light horse, and it is for their use that the present little work has been written. Captain Kirke, in this, as well as in his other publication, has shewn considerable knowledge of the subject, and has compiled for the young light horseman a very useful and compendious work. We extract the concluding chapter, which contains some useful hints to officers of yeomanry cavalry.

"Officers of the yeomanry cannot pay too much attention to the riding of the men under their command. During the winter months, when perhaps frost and snow will prevent their meeting so often as usual, they should be constantly exercised in the riding house, with striped saddles, and without stirrups. Some I have no doubt will ridicule the

idea of learning to ride, but it is impossible for any person to ride like a dragoon without being properly instructed.

"A large barn with the floor covered over with saw-dust, will answer the purpose of a riding-school perfectly well.

"Every troop should also have a leaping bar, and the men should be made to ride over it frequently; when they have acquired the proper dragoon seat, they must by all means ride across the country in a straight line, from one point to another; this would be amusing to the men, and imposing a small fine upon those who performed worse than the best would create emulation.

"Horses that do not stand fire well, may be soon made to do so by firing a pistol two or three times when their corn is given to them.

"I have before observed that the yeomanry cavalry should by all means be armed with rifles, and drilled on foot as well as on horseback.

"The barrels of rifles for the cavalry need not be more than twenty-one inches in length, and the spiral should make about a quarter turn. The ramrods should go through a swivel fixed at the muzzle of the rifle, so that when drawn out the ramrod cannot fail to go into the barrel, nor can it by any accident be lost, except the swivel should break.

"It is impossible to fire with any degree of certainty unless the proper quantity of powder is always used. The cartridges furnished from the ordnance are generally filled with too much powder, both for the carbines and pistols; it will not be much trouble to open the top, and leave only the proper charge in each, there can then be no mistake.

A man must practise with ball continually to be a good shot either with the rifle or pistol. Firing with blank cartridge I am very well convinced does harm, except to accustom the horses to stand fire.

"When a recruit can handle his arms with a tolerable degree of ease, he should be made to fire at a mark, and when he has got a proper seat, he must fire from his horse with the pistol, first standing still, then at full speed, advancing, retreating, and galloping by, for firing with blank cartridges can never make a man a good shot.

"The sword exercise must also be attended to: running at the ring, and cutting at potatoes on the tops of sticks, cannot be too frequently practised.

"It is very advisable that some of our yeomanry cavalry should have light field-

pieces attached to them, and trained in the same manner as the royal horse artillery. We have few volunteer artillery, except in some of the seaport towns, and they are trained to heavy guns.

"I have no doubt that if the French effect a landing in this country, they will bring with them a large quantity of light artillery. The field-pieces which General Humbert took to Ireland in the last war, were light three-pounders; they were worked by few men, and drawn by two bad horses even over the worst roads."

ART. VI.—*A Treatise on the Science of Defence, for the Sword, Bayonet, and Pike, in close Action.* By ANTONY GORDON, A. M. Captain of Invalids, retired. pp. 66. 4to.

THE science of defence is a subject so interesting and important, that a work which can give any new ideas upon it will not fail to command some degree of attention. Captain Gordon's theory, according to his own account, has met with the approbation of some officers in the army, and among the rest of General Burgoyne. But if this officer could give implicit credit to the assertion of Captain Gordon, that "this science doubles the number of the forces in all times and places of close action, and that it invigorates each man with an addition of power *twenty times greater than his natural force*," he must possess a much larger portion of credulity than it falls to our lot to enjoy. This by the bye does not at all appear from General Burgoyne's letter on the subject, which is printed at the end of the volume.

That our readers may know what the author's pretensions are, we shall examine his book rather fully.

In his introduction he expresses the surprise that he felt when he first joined his regiment, at finding "no exercise for close action;" he then enquired what was the mode practised on the continent, but there he was astonished to find the same system, or rather the same want of system, universally prevalent. Then, with all the exultation of an alchemist who had found the philosopher's stone, he tells us that "at length he was gratified with a sight of the exercise in question, which still remains dormant in the magazines of antiquity; in those magazines which are stored with gold and diamonds, from which great kings, philosophers, orators, poets, and historians, have illumined themselves and their countries." The subject of this rare discovery, which it should seem was reserved for captain Gordon to make, he obligingly consents to lay before the public.

The first section opens with "the pro-

gress of arms," and contains some useful information for young ladies and gentlemen respecting certain shows formerly celebrated among the Greeks, which were called Olympic and Isthmian games. This is followed by a description of the gladiatorial combats at Rome, equally novel and interesting as the former. The captain, we suppose with a view to astonish his unlearned readers, has plentifully bedecked these pages with quotations from Horace, Vegetius, Cicero, and Homer: at length he ventures to draw the following conclusion: that "the loss of the science of defence, and of all discipline, concurred in accelerating the fall of the Roman empire." The next line transports us to the year 1575, when we are told the first effort was made to recall the science of defence by Charles XI. of France; but it seems "the reformers," as Captain Gordon calls them, were not quite so well acquainted with the power of the lever as he is; "it is therefore no wonder that science should have retrograded, or remained stationary for a long interval."

In the four following sections are described the different guards, thrusts, and cuts, which are used in fencing, accompanied with appropriate and well-executed plates. An itch for Latin quotations seems to have so possessed the learned captain, that he is determined to bring them at any rate, in defiance both of sense and reason. Thus, for example, in the following passage:

"Suppose your adversary will not advance, but rather wait, for the purpose of timing you in your first movement. He stands guarded in tierce to allure, you engage his blade in *quarte*, that he may time you with his *quarte-over*, as you advance, from the *point volante* in tierce, and his foible will be precisely applied to your fort; from this position hurl down a

vertical cut; end your cut in a thrust along his blade, over the arm. If you succeed in this stroke, as you must if you do your duty, you may continue to pour in thrust after thrust incessantly till he submits. For you are to carry in your mind the memento of Virgil.

"Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

"Which," says the captain, "is thus elegantly translated by Mr. Dryden.

"To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free;

These are imperial arts, and worthy thee."

He then goes on. "If, however, your antagonist bath recovered quickly, and parried your assault by the *pointe volante*, which seems to be the only parade adequate to the purpose, the assault may be continued." p. 27.

The captain thus opens his next section.

"Reader—in the preceding sections you have a sketch of these elements, the cultivation of which rendered the Romans invincible in close action. Should you perceive symptoms of languor either in the writer or yourself, from too close an attention to rigid principles, you are recommended to lay down the treatise and vary the scene." p. 28.

Were we to consult our own inclination merely we should cordially take his advice, and "lay down, this treatise" without the probability of being tempted to take it up again, but our duty, as reviewers, calls upon us to go through with the task we have undertaken, and we shall therefore spend a few minutes more with the captain.

He confesses himself that he is "a little fatigued," and by way of recreation proposes "a little excursion," in which he begs for the honour of his reader's company. "It cannot be unpleasant to review some small portion of those flowery fields which are sown with golden grain. If it be a deviation, it will not be an unprofitable one, to pay a short visit to the father of the established exercises. You will be sure to find him always at home." p. 29. It is not till after another quotation from Virgil, and another elegant translation by Mr. Dryden, that we are informed who this domestic old gentleman is. He turns out to be Homer, who, it appears, was the most able tactician, and the best instructor in the art of war, that ever existed. Of course, a long eulogium is

called forth from captain Gordon. The following extract from it will probably amuse our readers.

"Are any modern returns comparable to that of Homer, either in beauty, accuracy, or in the magnitude and importance of the information contained? Can you with such a model before your eyes, find it difficult to make a return of the strength of a few battalions? and to observe "whether or not their formation is according to order, the proper distances in column and echelon are preserved, the wheelings just, the formations into line true," &c. &c. &c.; but unluckily, he has left no return of the accurate mode of engaging and of fighting your troops in close action; no mode of defence or offence; no mode of making accurate thrusts, cuts, and parades; and as you have no practice of that kind, you can have no returns. Your returns and observations must be confined to the movements, which are only preliminary steps, subservient to the action; but these go no farther, they enter not into the science of attack or defence; they cease unluckily, in the crisis of action! the crisis which calls the loudest for science and dexterity,

Had Homer, the father of the established exercises, existed at this moment, how enraptured must he have felt himself in witnessing that divine enthusiasm which animates every bosom from the one extremity of the empire to the other. Now might he exclaim,

"To count them all demands a thousand tongues,

"A throat of brass, and adamantine lungs."

"You see that his style in marching the phalanges in review before you, in slow and quick time, has never been paralleled. His idea was that they should move in a perfect line, without either opening, swerving, floating, doubling, or pressing; that in every cadenced step, they should strike the ground, so as to make it resound, and, as it were, tremble and burn beneath their feet; nor is it possible to give any idea of it in any other words than his own:

οἱ δ' ἄρ', ἰσάν, ὡς τὴν γὰρ χθὲν παρὰ νῆμοισι
ταῖα δ' ἤκουον αὐτοῦ,

The vigour of this line is beyond the power of any translation. Although you cannot equal, it is laudable to imitate his precision in dressing and marching."

"It is evident, from every line in Homer, that if he had a fault, it consisted in his excess of accuracy in marching and dressing the forces square to the front. If a single man stood on parade; or marched, with any part of his face or shoulder half an inch out of the line, he considered the whole line deranged. The moderns have adopted his ideas as to dressing; but the officers having been once posted, he would permit no changing of their

positions; he would not permit the captain, for example, on the right to change to the left, and from that to the right, four times in the course of a few minutes.

"Instructed by the precepts of Homer, Philip of Macedon reformed his phalanx, and subverted the liberties of Greece. This same discipline enabled Xenophon to perform wonders. This great, perhaps greatest of generals, and writers, took all his military ideas from Homer: with a mere handful, never exceeding 13,000 men, he surmounted every difficulty of rivers, mountains, and superior and surrounding enemies, and effected his famous retreat, after a march of 1155 leagues. Fired by these glorious exploits, and confident in the superiority of his military system, Philip projected the plan of overturning the Persian empire; fate prevented him from executing this project, which, of course, devolved upon his son. By the means of Homer, which he carefully placed under his pillow every night, Alexander readily accomplished what his father had so ably projected."

We now come to the most important part of Captain Gordon's book, in which he proposes a new method of attack and defence with the bayonet. He wishes that our troops should be instructed in a regular and scientific use of that weapon. As far as relates to single combat this is all very feasible, but to suppose that a charge of bayonets can be rendered more irresistible by a knowledge of the rules of fencing, betrays a considerable portion of credulity. In the tremendous shock of two contending armies, the skill of the swordsman can avail nothing; muscular strength must determine the contest: a soldier will then have neither opportunity nor power to practise any of the fourteen rules which Captain Gordon has laid

down. A charging army is like a violent and rapid torrent, which by its weight and velocity bears down every thing before it; if the line therefore be at once compact, firm, and swift, nothing can withstand it, for common experience will teach every man to make his thrust in the most powerful and effective way. Captain Gordon's rules for the defence of infantry against cavalry, especially where they encounter in small bodies is deserving attention. Individual skill and personal activity will go far towards deciding the contest.

In the appendix Captain Gordon attempts to prove the assertion that by the adoption of his plan "the number of forces would be doubled in all times and in all places." That a disciplined army has an evident advantage over an undisciplined one, no one, we believe, will attempt to deny, but that any degree of skill can give a man "an additional power twenty times greater than his natural force," requires such an uncommon stretch of our credulity, that although the captain triumphantly concludes with *quod est demonstrandum*, we must beg leave to withhold our belief.

Captain Gordon has adopted a new theory, and like all other men in a similar case, he cannot be content with praising it as it deserves, but he must attempt to prove that it will perform impossibilities. We wish for his own sake, as well as that of his readers, that he would have given his book to the world in a more simple and modest garb, for the affectation of great learning, where only plain and simple language is necessary, is of all the kinds of pedantry the most disgusting.

ART. VII.—*An Essay on Naval Tactics, Systematical and Historical, with explanatory Plates. In four Parts.* By JOHN CLERK, Esq. of Eldin, Fellow of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Second Edition. 4to. pp. 303. 52 plates.

IF it is true (as indeed there seems no good reason for doubting) that the splendid success which has crowned every general action in which the British fleets have been engaged, from Lord Rodney's victory on the 12th of April, 1782, to the battle of Trafalgar, has been owing in a great measure to the theory of naval tactics laid down in the book before us, no doubt can exist of its high importance and real intrinsic merit. Deeply impressed with this sentiment, and anxious that the author should have every possible justice done to him, we reserved his work for our present volume, in the hope of being able to prevail

on some of our naval acquaintance to favour us with such a critical and professional review of it as the magnitude of the subject may justly demand. In this hope, however, we have been disappointed: the exigencies of the public have put swords into those hands into which we would gladly have placed the pen, and by requiring from them practical comments on Mr. Clerk's theory, have deprived ourselves and our readers of the benefit of their criticism. Nothing therefore remains for us but to give a short analysis of this valuable "essay."

The volume before us is divided into

four parts: of these the first was printed separately in 1781, not for the purpose of sale, but of being distributed among the naval friends of the author. It was again reprinted by itself in the year 1790; but it does not appear that the other three parts were published previous to 1804, the date of the present edition.

The general introduction is for the most part historical, and is intended to show that notwithstanding the acknowledged bravery and general naval skill of our seamen, and notwithstanding the success that had usually attended us in rencounters of single ships, yet not a single general action had been fairly fought on equal terms with decisive effect against the French, or French and Spaniards combined, from Matthews's affair in the Mediterranean, in 1744, to admiral Graves's action off the Chesapeake, in 1781. But if the British had on these occasions taken no ships from the enemy, neither had they lost any, so that in this point of view the two contending parties were nearly equal. With regard, however, to another very important circumstance, a very material difference subsisted between the French and English. The former being a continental power, and accustomed to make war by means of its army, considered its navy as principally useful in giving protection to its trade, and co-operating occasionally with its military forces. Hence the French commanders by sea naturally adopted a defensive system of tactics; while the English, on the other hand, placing their chief reliance for active warfare on their fleets, have bent all their attention to the manœuvres requisite for compelling the enemy to close action. This difference in the naval character of the two nations has been constantly increasing, so that now it seems to be completely understood by both parties that the British must be the assailants, and that the greatest advantage which the French can ever hope for is, to escape from the field of battle with as little damage as possible. Hence Mr. Clerk's book is not, properly speaking, so much a system of naval tactics, as of that branch of them which treats of the most decisive method of conducting an *attack*. On the science of defence he is wholly silent; but we trust that the time will never come when the British navy shall have cause to regret this deficiency.

The first part relates to the attack from the *windward*, as practised by single ships and by fleets. The author shews that in the former case it has always been the

custom for the commander of the attacking ship to make his approaches in such a manner as to be on equal terms with the enemy during the whole of his course. A ship may be brought to close action by a superior sailer to windward in three ways: first, by running down astern and getting nearly into the wake of the enemy, and then coming up close alongside; secondly, by shooting ahead then wearing and running down on the weather-bow of the enemy, forcing him to bear away to leeward; or thirdly, on coming parallel to the enemy, to bear down directly endwise till the two vessels are sufficiently near for close action. In the two first cases it is obvious that whenever the ship receiving the attack can bring its broadside to bear, the ship making the attack can also do the same, and therefore that they are on equal terms; and it is equally manifest that in the third case the attacking ship, during the whole time that she is bearing down, is exposed to a raking broadside from her antagonist, to which she has nothing to oppose but her two bow-chases: hence it must necessarily happen that the attacking ship will be more or less damaged in her rigging, before she has an opportunity of commencing the action, in consequence of which her antagonist may generally take the option of sailing off without injury, or of commencing a close action under very favourable circumstances.

From the combats of single ships, Mr. Clerk proceeds next to the method of bringing fleets into action. In almost all these cases the British have been the assailants, and by attempting too much have very generally failed of their object. The aim of the British admirals, in conformity to the fighting instructions, has been to detain and bring to close action the *whole* of an enemy's squadron: in conformity with which the van ship of the British has been directed on the van ship of the enemy, and so of every other ship in succession. But this can be done only by bearing down endwise, ship for ship upon the enemy, or forming the line abreast, or else in the *lusing* method in which the line is formed ahead, and directed in a slanting position on the enemy. In the first of these cases, an engagement between two fleets may be considered as a combat between several pairs of ships, in which the assailants make the attack in the most disadvantageous manner possible, as already shewn in the case of single ships. In the second method, it is obvi-

ous that the less slanting, or the more perpendicular the line of attack is, the more it approaches to the first case, and is liable to the same objections: and in proportion as the course is made more slanting, it is manifest that a longer line must be described before the van ship of the assailing squadron can fetch the van of the enemy, during the whole of which course the van ships being exposed to a heavy fire from nearly the whole of the enemy's line, will suffer proportionably, and be more or less disabled. But if even a single ship in the van of the attacking fleet is materially injured, her course will be retarded, as also will be that of every ship in her rear: hence the headmost ships will be separated from the rest, and exposed to an unequal combat with the enemy. If the damaged ship is unable to proceed, or if her second astern is impatient to join the van, the wounded ship must be passed either to windward or leeward: in either of which cases time is lost, and the line runs a great risk of being broken: not to mention that each ship which passes to leeward is subject to be raked fore and aft, while performing this manœuvre. Another circumstance decisively in favour of the fleet thus attacked, is that the ships composing it present their windward or starboard broadsides to the enemy, and therefore their shot takes a much longer range than the larboard batteries of their adversaries, and this in proportion to the force of the wind at the time. Hence it appears that a fleet to windward joining battle with another to leeward in the manner described, even if both parties are equally willing, must suffer severely, especially in its rigging, before it has an opportunity of retaliating; and where the fleet receiving the attack is not disposed to come to close action, it may readily retire under cover of the smoke of both fleets from an adversary already crippled. Such was the relative state of British and French naval tactics during many years: the former aiming at the entire destruction of the enemy, made the attack as described; in consequence of which the van of the British was always more or less crippled, and separated from the rest of the fleet, and thus began the action with the van of the enemy unsupported, and to great disadvantage; in the mean time the van ships of the enemy, after a short action, wore in succession, and passed to leeward, while the rest of their fleet making sail ahead, filled up the vacancy, and thus discharged

the fire of the whole line on the British van, before the centre and rear divisions could come up to its support. Thus the enemy was enabled to form a new line, unmolested, two or three miles to leeward of the former, in readiness to repeat precisely the same manœuvre, if their adversaries were at all disposed to hazard a second attack. So entirely were the French convinced of the efficacy of this system of defence, that they often voluntarily yielded the wind to the British, and as often gained the advantage in the subsequent battle, as far as withdrawing unhurt and damaging their adversaries can be called an advantage.

Having thus explained the old system of naval tactics, both of the British and French, as far as regards the attack from the windward, Mr. Clerk proceeds to cite, in confirmation of the objections which he has made to this mode of proceeding, the battles of admiral Byng off Minorca, admiral Byron off Grenada, admiral Arbuthnot off the Chesapeake, and admiral Rodney off Martinico; in all of which the British line being disordered while at a distance, the van has been separated from the rest of the fleet, and has had to sustain the whole fire of the enemy ship by ship, as they passed in succession, to form a new line to leeward.

The mode of attack proposed by Mr. Clerk to supersede that, the disadvantages of which he has thus demonstrated, is the following: let the attacking fleet, instead of forming one long line, be arranged in three parallel divisions or columns. When the headmost ships of the fleet have got within the distance of three or four miles from the rear of the enemy to leeward, let one of the divisions be detached to force an attack on the three or four rear ships of the enemy, by falling in their wake, and coming up alongside, while the rest of the fleet forms a line by divisions to the windward, in order to observe that part of the enemy's squadron which is not engaged. This being done, and the wind still continuing in the same quarter as at first, one of two things must necessarily happen: either the enemy must abandon the ships in his rear that are already engaged; or he must return to their support, and come into action to a disadvantage, and as close as his adversary pleases. Having laid down the general plan of attack, Mr. Clerk proceeds in the subsequent sections to examine the different methods by which the remainder of the enemy's fleet may attempt to dis-

engage their rear ships. They may attempt it in four ways, by tacking to windward in succession, or all at once, or wearing to leeward in succession, with the van ahead, or at once with the rear ahead. But in none of these cases, as the author shews by diagrams, can the enemy succeed without coming, at a disadvantage, into close action with the reserved part of the adverse fleet.

If the commander of the enemy is aware in time of the meditated attack upon his rear, he will endeavour to avoid it by wearing and endeavouring to pass to leeward of the other fleet on the contrary tack; but the time requisite for this will enable his adversary to obstruct the line of his course, and either bring him to close action, or force him directly to leeward: in which latter case he must sustain a cannonade on equal terms, and will probably lose any ship that happens accidentally to be crippled.

The concluding sections of the first part are occupied in demonstrating what would be the modifications of the attack from the windward in case of a change of wind during the action.

The second part relates to the attack of fleets from the leeward. This may take place when the two opponent squadrons are on the same or on opposite tacks. Of the first case, or the *simple* attack, there are very few examples, the French always preferring to receive battle to leeward, or on contrary tacks to windward. This latter, called by Mr. Clerk the *cross* attack, used to be thus conducted: the leading ship of the leeward fleet fetching the enemy as near the van as possible, the two squadrons were brought parallel, and continued under easy sail, exchanging broadsides till they had entirely passed each other. By this manner of proceeding the hostile fleets engaged indeed on equal terms; but the action was necessarily of such short duration, as to prevent any thing decisive from taking place. Suppose the rate of sailing in each fleet to be no more than two miles and a half an hour (a motion absolutely necessary to give the rudder a good command of the ship), then the time during which any two ships can be in direct opposition to each other does not exceed half a minute, and the space between any two contiguous ships in the same line will be passed over in one minute and a half, if the ships are drawn up with the usual intervals between each other. Therefore, in order that each ship should give and receive only as many

broadsides as there are ships in the opposite squadron, every broadside must be prepared in a minute and a half, and discharged in half a minute.

In order to make the attack from the leeward more decisive than it has hitherto been, Mr. Clerk proposes the manœuvre of cutting the enemy's line. This can only be done when the two fleets meet on opposite tacks; and the most simple manner of effecting it is for the van ship of the attacking squadron, instead of ranging parallel with and to leeward of the enemy, to pass through the first interval that occurs, and thus lead the line directly across that of the enemy. In consequence of this the van of the leeward fleet will be to windward of the enemy's rear, while its rear will still be to leeward of the enemy's van: thus the attacking squadron will preserve its own line entire, while that of its adversary will be cut in two. Further, the ships in the rear division thus intercepted having their progress obstructed, are very likely to crowd one upon the other and get into confusion, in which state they must be forced to leeward.

If the line of the enemy is cut within three ships from the rear, these ships must necessarily be forced so far to leeward, that the admiral of the attacking fleet, having detached a sufficient force to compel them to a speedy surrender, will be able to form the rest of his squadron in line of battle between the main body of the intercepted rear of the enemy; the consequence of which will be, that these ships will be secured before the enemy's van can be brought to their assistance, nor can he possibly recover them without previously defeating in close action the interposed line of battle.

When the line of the enemy is cut near the centre, all the ships astern of the interval through which the attacking fleet has past will be retarded and forced to leeward: in the mean time the van of the assailants ranging to windward, and their centre and rear coming up, the enemy's rear will be forced to put before the wind, and will probably lose all their heavy sailing vessels before their van can give any assistance.

Similar consequences will ensue if the line of the enemy is cut so as to separate the rest of the fleet from the van; but in this case the attack being made on the combined rear and centre of the enemy, the success will not be so certain.

Another mode of attack from the leeward is, for the van ship of the attacking

squadron, followed by the three next astern, to range under the lee of the enemy; while the fifth ship, with all the rest astern, passes across the enemy's line and thus cuts it in two. This mode, like the preceding, divides itself into three separate cases. If the attack is made on the four sternmost ships of the enemy, the four leading ones of the attacking squadron range close under their lee, while the rest pass between the fourth and fifth from the enemy's rear, thus completely separating these four ships from their friends, which being vigorously attacked both on the windward and leeward quarters, and also ahead, must necessarily be taken. If the enemy's line is cut about the centre, in the manner just described, the success is more doubtful, as the four ships detached to leeward will have to sustain unsupported a cannonade from half the enemy's squadron. Still greater will be the risk of failure when the line of the enemy is cut between the van and centre; so that upon the whole Mr. Clerk is of opinion that this mode of attack should be directed only upon the enemy's rear.

A third modification of attack from the leeward is, for the attacking admiral to fetch the centre of the enemy's fleet with his leading ship, to range with the van and half the centre to leeward of the enemy, and to pass across his line with the remaining half of the fleet. By this means, if the two fleets are of equal force, say 24 sail each, the 12 rear ships of the enemy will be separated from the rest at the very time in which they are engaged with an equal squadron to leeward. The headmost ships of this rear division will be forced to leeward by the ship which cut the line, and will be pressed still further and further down the wind as the rest of the attacking squadron comes up. In the mean time, the leading ships of the division which passed to leeward having ranged beyond the enemy's rear, will put about in succession to obstruct his passage to leeward on the starboard quarter, while the rear ships of the windward division will bear down on the larboard. In these circumstances the intercepted division of the enemy must put about to go before the wind, and in effecting this will be severely raked by the van ships of the windward division, with the certainty of having all his crippled ships picked up by the

vessels that are closely pressing on his starboard and larboard quarters. At the moment of cutting the line the van ship of the enemy will be at least two miles ahead, and the distance will have considerably increased before any measures can be taken to assist the intercepted part of his fleet; so that they will be able to give little or no molestation till the crippled ships of his rear are secured by the assailants.

The last mode of attack investigated by Mr. Clerk is the *perpendicular*, or the attack at right angles. Suppose a numerous fleet, formed in an irregular line abreast, extended to a great length from windward to leeward, and let a much smaller hostile fleet be observed, as the fog clears, steering in a contrary direction to the larger fleet, with the line of battle formed ahead, at a few miles distance. In this situation of affairs (as actually happened in the morning of the battle off Cape St. Vincent), it is plain that the larger fleet may be defeated with the loss of his windward ships. The smaller fleet must push on to windward, and divide the enemy's line between the fifth and sixth ship to windward; then the whole fleet tacking at the same time, a sufficient force from the rear must be detached to carry the intercepted ships, while the van forms a line to leeward of the divisions now engaged in close action, in order to prevent the rest of the larger fleet from working to windward, and disengaging the division thus cut off.

The third part of this work consists only of a few pages written in a very desultory manner, and applying the principles laid down in the two former parts to the engagements of Matthews and Byng.

The fourth part is entirely historical, and narrates the gallant action of Sir Samuel Hood, in Basse Terre roads, St. Christopher's, February 24, 1782. Admiral Rodney's battle of the 12th of April, 1782, and the two actions in the East Indies, between Sir Edward Hughes and Suffrein, on the 17th of February, and the 12th of April in the same year.

The style is plain and clear, and the numerous diagrams render the various descriptions sufficiently intelligible even to those who are but very superficially acquainted with naval tactics.

ART. VIII.—*Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain from 1727 to 1783. By ROBERT BEATSON, Esq. L. L. D. 6 vols. 8vo.*

THE work before us is intended as a sequel to Dr. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, and accordingly commences where that useful publication terminates. It is divided into two parts or series, of three volumes each; of which the former part, which concludes with the peace of 1762, was first published about sixteen years ago, and is reprinted without any material alteration in the present edition.

The arrangement of these memoirs is chronological, and in the form of annals: the first, second, fourth, and fifth volumes are historical and narrative; the third and sixth volumes are appendixes to the two parts, and are occupied by various useful documents, which could not without inconvenience have been introduced into the narrative.

The account of the naval transactions is full and compleat; giving a particular account not only of the combats of fleets and squadrons, but noticing every action fought by single ships in the public service, and the more remarkable of those in which privateers have been engaged. The military transactions are "only such as have a relation to maritime affairs, or are connected with naval services." But though this is the declaration of the author in the preface, yet the interesting events of the revolution war in America have in many instances seduced him to deviate from his original intention; for we know not by what latitude of construction the surprise at Trenton, and the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, can be considered as in the smallest degree connected with naval transactions.

The pen of Dr. Beatson is so generally characterized by fairness and impartiality, that we are both surprised and concerned to find him still bestowing on the American republicans the appellation of rebels, and in many instances declining to confer

on Washington, Gates, Lincoln, and the other leaders, the title of general. The display of such a petty party-spirit, is a proof of bad taste and illiberality, and is no more justifiable than it would be to call the royal house of Brunswick a dynasty of usurpers, and the convention that decreed the expulsion of James II. an assembly of rebels and traitors.

The frequent want of success attending our general naval actions with the French, previously to the great victory on the 12th of April 1782, is not attributed to a defect in our system of naval tactics, but to the imperfect state of our naval signals: it may, as appears to us, with great propriety be charged to both causes.

Another instance in which Dr. Beatson differs from received opinion, is in representing the division of the enemy's line of battle by admiral Rodney, on the 12th of April, as the effect of accident and the wind, and not of a preconceived plan. In part perhaps this may have been the case, but as the British admiral, before he sailed from England, was certainly acquainted with Mr. Clerk's essay on naval tactics, in which this manœuvre is proposed; as he also had expressed his approbation of it, and his resolution to practise it on the first opportunity, it is surely reasonable to conclude, that, although accident may have created the opportunity, yet some credit is to be given to the admiral for availing himself of it.

Dr. Beatson has performed the task which he has undertaken so well, that we trust he will consider himself as in some degree bound to undertake the naval history of the last war, and record those splendid triumphs of our maritime forces, which have been equalled by no country, and in no age, and to which Britain is so deeply indebted both for her glory and her safety.

CHAPTER XVI.

AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL ECONOMY.

IN this important department, the last year furnishes us only with three articles. The "Communications to the Board of Agriculture," considered as a whole, is most abundantly superfluous, yet contains a few papers of sterling value. Mr. Lawrence's *Treatise on Cattle* is entitled to the merit of practical utility; and Mr. Luecock's work on the nature and properties of wool, contains matter of high interest both to the grazier, the wool-stapler, and the general reader.

ART. I.—*A General Treatise on Cattle, the Ox, the Sheep, and the Swine; comprehending their Breeding, Management, and Diseases. Dedicated to the Right Hon. Lord Somerville, by JOHN LAWRENCE.* 8vo. pp. 650.

MR. LAWRENCE is author of the "New Farmer's Calendar," a "Treatise on Horses," and other works connected with agriculture, which have great reputation for utility. He has joined to very extensive personal experience and observation the result of the experience and observation of many of the best writers, ancient and modern, who have treated on cattle and the comparative excellencies of the various breeds of them. A large body of facts and opinions as to their management and diseases are brought together in these pages; they are related with perspicuity, and reasoned on with judgment. We consider Mr. Lawrence as a writer of good sense and extensive observation, and as being exempt from those vulgar prejudices which ignorance has generated and obstinacy perpetuated on the general treatment of cattle, and particularly on their diseases. In his humorous and spirited attacks on quack medicines and quack doctors we heartily join, and cannot but express our surprize as well as regret, since *stock* of every description is bred with such care, and reared to such perfection, that the value of them has of late years incredibly increased; yet we have few or no persons professionally conversant in their diseases, or regularly educated in the investigation of them. Mr. Lawrence may see, by a reference to the An-

nual Review (vol. I, p. 755), that the necessity of some such plan as he now proposes for the education of a number of persons in comparative nosology, to be afterwards distributed over the country, had before impressed itself upon our minds, and that we suggested it to the consideration of a worthy baronet, who has for many years evinced great zeal in the interests of agriculture. Mr. Lawrence's proposal is, that

"The affair of providing the country with regular-bred surgeons, for the practice of cattle medicine, be immediately undertaken by the agricultural societies; at least, that the experiment be made by some of the most considerable, each society engaging a gentleman of that description, at a sufficient and respectable annual stipend. The contract may run in such form, that should the surgeon's annual emolument from practice, come short of the stipulated sum, the deficiency should annually be made good by his patrons the society. No person to be engaged on any pretence, but who shall have received the usual education of a surgeon, and have attended the hospitals the usual length of time. A selection of veterinary text-books to be made, and the books purchased for the use of the surgeon, but to remain the property of the society. This may consist of Gibson's last edition, 2 vols. Bracken, Bartlett, Osmer, Layard, with our late writers; and La Fosse and Bourgelat from the French, with whatever may have been published since their

time, by authority of the French veterinary schools. All the members of the society and their connections, as far as their influence may extend, to entrust the care of their diseased animals to the surgeon appointed, at a fair and liberal charge for his attendance and medicines. The surgeon to keep a regular history of all the cases which shall come under his inspection, including the presumed causes and symptoms of the disease, with the probable methods of prevention; his mode of treatment, a particular detail of the medicines prescribed, their operation, with every relative and useful remark which may occur. A clear written copy of such veterinary transaction, to be delivered annually, and on a certain day, to the society, to remain at their disposal."

After endeavouring to impress strongly on his readers the belief that *all infallible receipts are infallible nonsense*, Mr. Lawrence says,

"There is only one view, in which I can give them hopes, but those are of the most brilliant kind, and well worth their utmost attempts to encourage; I mean the hopes, or rather complete certainty of success, from the infallible receipt of prevention, singly worth more than all the infallible cordials and medicines ever advertised. It should be considered, that animals living in a state of nature, regulated by the reason and experience of man, would be almost exempt from disease. That their appetites, unlike our own, may be held under a constant controul. That their diseases result purely, even in the case of hereditary defects, from the negligence or erroneous treatment of their owners. They are either exposed too much to the rigours and changes of the weather, or they are gorged with food, denied a sufficient quantity, or supplied with such as is unwholesome. Here we have the chief causes of their maladies, learn to prevent them, instead of undertaking the tedious, unsuitable, and hopeless task of learning to cure them. Of all things, let the proprietors of cattle renounce for ever the insane folly, of offering premiums for specifics to cure incurable diseases! and the hope of providing medicines, which, by a miraculous operation, will enable men to continue in the habit of exposing their animals to the constant risk of such diseases; for example, sheep in those situations, which nature has decreed shall for ever rot them."

Concerning the *rot*, doctors, sheep-doctors, have long disagreed: it has been attributed to various causes; and lately with much confidence to the *fluke*, the embryo of which, it is supposed, being taken internally by the animal with its food, produces the disease so called. Mr. Lawrence suspects the effect to have been mis-

taken for the cause, and demands of those who suppose them to have been received from without "in the state of eggs or seed, to demonstrate by what route such seeds could possibly arrive at and enter into the substance of the liver and brain, or the blood-vessels of an animal body; and farther to exhibit specific patterns of those insects living upon the earth without the body. It is mere assertion (he continues) that real flukes have been found adhering to plants and stones, nor do the worms bred in the animal body bear any certain specific similitude to earth-worms, or any other insect." But if these fasciæ are not received from without, whence do they originate? Mr. Lawrence, we fear, has entangled himself in a more difficult problem than that which he offers so triumphantly for solution. The exploded doctrine of spontaneous vitality and equivocal generation was revived by Dr. Darwin,* and seems to be embraced by Mr. Lawrence, who in the choice of two evils has not used his ordinary judgment.

A curious fact is mentioned in the Sussex report, namely, that eighty ewes, from Weyhill fair, being turned into some fields adjoining a watered meadow, twenty of them broke into the meadow one night, and were taken out in the morning and kept till they lambed: they produced twenty-two lambs, all which lived, but every one of the ewes died rotten before May-day. The remaining sixty made themselves fat, nor was there a single rotten sheep among them. Mr. Lawrence attributes the malady to cold caught by the animals and afterwards neglected, not to their feeding for a few hours on crude watery herbage, although a continuance on such food he believes would infallibly produce the disease, Catarrh, followed by glanders, he says, is a very common cause of the rot, having himself witnessed the progress of the disease in a great number of instances: sheep are very subject to catarrh, and its most malignant effects are very speedy with this species of animal. The remote cause of rot then, according to Mr. Lawrence, is long exposure to stagnant moisture and its effluvia, or too great and continued humidity of either air, earth, or food: the effects of the rot are *fasciæ hepaticæ*!

Surely the anecdote of Mr. Bakewell cannot be true: we should be sorry to see it authenticated, as it would lower him very much in our estimation.

* In one of the notes to *The Temple of Nature*.

Although the publications of lord Somerville, sir Joseph Banks (in the *Annals of Agriculture*), Dr. Parry, Mr. Bartley, &c. and the practice of these gentlemen, together with that of his majesty, have at length in a great measure overcome the auspicious prejudices of the wool-buyers against the introduction of Spanish sheep into this country, for the purpose of producing our own fine wools; yet we consider the large collection of facts which Mr. Lawrence has brought together, disproving the alleged degeneracy of the Spanish breeds when exported from their own country, as by no means superfluous or inopportune offered to the public. It appears from a history by Mr. Lasteyrie, of the introduction of fine-wooled Spanish sheep into the different states of Europe and the Cape of Good Hope, that the breed is universally diffused over the continent, and that so far from having degenerated, the naturalized merinos have in some places exceeded in size and strength those bred in Spain, and the fleeces lost none of their quantity, fineness, or elasticity. In this country we have of late years manufactured home-grown Spanish wools into superfine cloths and kerseymeres from the flocks of his majesty, lord Somerville, Dr. Parry, and others, and they have been acknowledged by impartial judges to be in no respect inferior to cloths made from the imported wools. The objection urged against the Spanish cross, that carcase is sacrificed to wool, a smaller quantity of mutton being fattened per acre is futile in the extreme: in point of flavour no mutton is finer than the Spanish, nor is any breed more disposed to fatten, or in proportion to the bone produces a larger quantity of flesh. If the breed is smaller in any given degree, by

one-fourth for example, than that of the old flocks we are accustomed to graze, the obvious remedy is to increase by one-fourth the number of the new flock: this is the plain system of compensation. Another remedy presents itself, that of engrafting the Spanish stock upon some of our larger breeds. With this view Mr. Lawrence recommends the Dorset, as they have been found to produce the largest half-breeds from the Spanish ram. Should this be inferior to the Ryeland cross, (brought into fashion almost exclusively by lord Somerville and Dr. Parry) in respect to fineness of wool, "an additional dip of the Spaniard would probably level them in that respect." Mr. Lawrence suggests that the mild and docile character of the Spanish sheep would correct the wildness of our Welsh and heath sheep: the best adapted breeds to engraft on he thinks are the Ryeland, South Down, Dorset, and Cheviot, with the smaller varieties Cammock-heath, Morf, Forest, Welsh, Dunfaced, and the Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Norfolk, if indeed these latter are worth preserving.

We cannot take our leave of Mr. Lawrence without passing a well-merited encomium on the general spirit of humanity which pervades these pages. It is universally indeed allowed, that among all animals gentle treatment and abundant food induce docility and thrift: at how great variance is our practice from our theory! a false notion of economy, an inhuman and unprofitable parsimony, prompt us to expose much of our stock to the inclemency of seasons and a scarcity of food, whilst violence is employed instead of gentleness, and blows instead of caresses, in breaking in to the collar the passive ox and the spirited colt.

ART. II.—*Communications to the Board of Agriculture; on Subjects relative to the Husbandry, and internal Improvement of the Country.* Vol. IV. 4to. pp. 446.

IN this heavy volume there are very nearly two hundred articles, many of them extremely insignificant and cumbersome. Farmers are dull, prosing fellows, with a great deal of vanity. Each fancies his own mode of slicing turnips, or chopping straw, better than that of his neighbours, and of such inomentous consequence is it to the country that his superior management should be made public, that if honest John Trot has had a good schooling, and can write and read, he sets to work and honours the Board of Agriculture with

his communication, or their agents who compile the county surveys.

Really the task of selection, if there is any selection at all, is confided into very injudicious hands; we should not otherwise see, as we constantly do, the same dry detail over and over again in publications which are issued under the sanction and patronage of the same society. But let not our readers take the alarm: we have no intention to lay that merciless contribution on their patience, which when imposed on ours it is a duty to submit to.

We shall only notice those papers which merit remark, or offer curious and valuable information.

The first sixteen papers treat on the management and cultivation of different sorts of soils, and doubtless some of them may be referred to with advantage by novices who have such soils in their occupation. Here, as in all other professions, we find the doctors disagreeing: within half a dozen pages of each other, we hear Mr. Best disapproving the use of the scythe for one or two years after land has been laid down with grass, and stating bluntly that a neighbour of his actually killed all his grass plants by such an injudicious system; whilst Mr. Cotton tells us that "experience has convinced him beyond doubt that it is far preferable to mow the grass on the first year after laying down;" and from a fear of injury by the treading of animals, he would on no consideration suffer a cow or a sheep to pasture on his grass land till the first crop had been mown!

On the subject of draining, Mr. E. Savory, junior, of Downham, Norfolk, has sent a communication in which he strongly recommends the use of a steam engine for the drainage of the fen countries. A steam engine having a twenty-horse power, and capable of discharging as much water as a mill with a forty-feet sail in full velocity, would cost about 1500*l.* and the consumption of fuel would doubtless add very much to the expence; Mr. Savory, nevertheless, does not shrink from it:

"The advantages that are to be derived from steam to the fen country are almost incalculable. In case of intense frost, the uniform velocity, with the opportunities of communicating heat, would prevent the engine from freezing, to which, from the uncertainty of winds, the other engines are very much subject. The consequence is, that a great fall of snow coming at the same time, as the mills have not been in a state to prepare the ditches to receive the waters which it occasions, an inundation very gradually takes place in the fens; and as the waters rise very rapidly under these circumstances after a thaw, it frequently occurs, that when the mills are set at liberty from the effects of ice, they are for some days incapable of throwing against the head in the rivers, owing to the freshes from the high country preventing a discharge of water from the small into the great rivers.—On the other hand, by adopting the means of steam, the engines would be working in full effect during the continuance of a frost, if necessary, and therefore the ditches would be in a state adequate to the reception of the

waters upon a thaw, as what they previously contained would be discharged into the rivers and at sea and at the time of its taking place; and as they usually are low in the continuance of a long frost, the circumstance affords another advantage, until a power can be commanded at will for the drainage of the fen country, it can never attain its full prosperity. Whether the motion is acquired by the power of steam independently of wind-mills, or by attaching steam engines to those of wind, (which I am informed is very practicable) to work only when the weather is calm—I must assert it, as my positive opinion, (which experience and observation daily strengthens) that the benefit to the public will never be equal to two-thirds of what it would be from this description of country, as if the means of steam were resorted to for the drainage of it. As to a district of country which requires draining without any engines upon it, at the time of its being undertaken, it is a matter of doubt in my mind, whether it could not be drained more economically by steam, than by the means usually adopted, although the expence of fuel must certainly be very great. Taking the average of winds, the mills in the winter season do not throw so much water in a week, as they would in one-third of the time, if they went in all the velocity of which they are capable. It follows, that one steam engine, with equal powers, would do as much execution in the course of a season as three wind-mills; and, consequently, a great saving would accrue in the first expence, and afterwards in attendance and repairs."

We find no less than twenty-seven communications on the subject of paring and burning: they all agree in recommending the practice, and form an irresistible body of evidence that the objections arising from an apparent waste of vegetable matter are totally unfounded. Its efficacy on various soils is established, the modes of practice adopted in different districts explained, and such subsequent courses of cropping recommended, as experience has shown to be profitable. The most scientific communication, indeed the only one among them which has any pretension to that title, is by Mr. Morris Birkbeck, who reasons upon the chemical effect of paring and burning vegetable matter with great clearness and precision. His communication was worthy of insertion for the theory, and one or two others might have been selected for an explanation of the practice and a proof of its success: the rest might have been spared.

Twenty scraps are inserted on the subject of manures: the powerful operation of caustic lime as a menstruum of dead vegetable matter is so generally known, that the application of it is very prevalent on

new broken-up lands. The only article we find here worth noticing is by Mr. William Curtis, of Lynn, Norfolk, who states in a clear and very encouraging manner the good effects which he derived from burning the stubble on new broken-up land: where stover is plentiful this plan will save the farmer a great deal of trouble and expence in mowing, carting, &c. If he takes advantage of a favourable wind and dry season, he may with a candle and lantern spread over his field a surfate of ashes, which will be found extremely beneficial to succeeding crops: it is by no means among the slightest advantages of burning, that it destroys the weeds which are left after the crop is taken off, and probably also many of their seeds which had been shed, and would germinate in the following season.

Passing over a long list of extracts from the motley mass of matter which the Board of Agriculture received relative to the conversion of grass land into tillage, we come to that more interesting portion of the volume before us which contains the "miscellaneous papers:" these are very properly introduced by Lord Carrington's speech on his retiring from the Presidency in 1803. In this speech his Lordship brings to the remembrance of the Board some of the leading particulars of their transactions, and vindicates them from charges of a very grave nature, which had been urged in the senate.

The exertions of the Board in collecting reports of the state of agriculture in all the different counties of the kingdom have been indefatigable: the knowledge thus derived was an essential preliminary to any extended plan of improvement, and soon pointed out a resource against the distress of scarcity, which the friends of humanity did hope would have been recurred to in time to have averted the evil; namely, the inclosure and cultivation of waste lands. The fate of the bill which was brought into Parliament in the year 1797 is well known: it passed the commons, and was thrown out in the house of lords.

In the spring of the year 1800 the state of the country with respect to wheat-corn became a matter of very serious and general apprehension. The Board instituted enquiries in different parts of the kingdom, and their fears were confirmed in the fullest extent. Lord Carrington had previously consulted with some of his majesty's ministers, who in consequence made such communications to the

India company as led to an agreement on their part to allow the importation of rice from India duty-free; but with specific directions to their servants, "that (whether individuals should engage or decline embarking in these speculations) they were by no means to send any on the company's account." The Board, fearing that such a restriction would destroy the efficacy of their project, expressed their apprehensions to government, who seemed to listen with attention: no alteration, however, was made by the directors in the orders sent to India, nor did the letters conveying these orders bear date till the 28th of August: the parliamentary bounty also on rice was suffered to expire on the 2d of October. The scarcity grew more urgent: parliament, too late, renewed their bounty on the importation of rice; nineteen thousand tons were imported from India, which arrived—after the abundant harvest of 1801! The article in consequence became a mere drug, and government was called upon to pay three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in performance of the parliamentary guarantee to the importees! Thus much for the confidence placed in the judgment of the Board by government; one is almost tempted to ask, for what purpose was it instituted, if so little deference and respect are paid to its opinions and reports?

The year 1800 seemed a well-chosen season to revive the enclosure bill: the Board accordingly sent circular letters to grand juries throughout the kingdom at the summer assizes of that year, enclosing a copy of certain resolutions on this very subject which had been unanimously voted, without any communication with the Board, by the grand jury of the county of York. One of these resolutions, however, stated that, "the want of a fair and permanent compensation to the proprietors, in lieu of tithes in kind, is one of the greatest obstacles, not only to enclosure, but to due improvement of agriculture." When Lord Carrington, in the spring following, as chairman of a committee appointed by the house of lords on account of the dearth of provisions, prepared a bill for enclosing waste lands, a formidable attack was made, not upon the bill directly, so much as upon the Board of Agriculture, whose conduct was represented as inimical to the church establishment, and whose only object was, under the pretence of enclosing waste lands, to attack and destroy the institution of tythes. The bill was withdrawn, and

since that time no measures have been taken to renew it. This want of perseverance is to be regretted; and we can by no means admit the excuse that, because at so critical a period as that at which the last bill was proposed the measure was rejected, it would therefore have no chance for adoption now the pressure of past circumstances is forgotten. This is acting on presumption that public opinion is totally disregarded in the parliament of the nation: let the subject be constantly kept before us, let it be examined in all its bearings; discussion and the statement of exports and imports will make the necessity of the measure more and more clear, will make us familiar with very important facts and reasonings concerning it, and if any sinister and sordid motives operated to the suppression of what shall be acknowledged a public benefit, those motives will be exposed, and the individuals who have been influenced by them held up to contempt and detestation. The voice of the public reaches parliament, and the opinion of the public is not without its influence. On this ground we are desirous to see the question again brought to issue.

The next paper is an essay on the management of forests by Mons. Pannetier d'Annel, translated by sir John Talbot Dillon. When the forest laws of France and the ordinance of 1669 were revised, it was deemed expedient, for the purpose of insuring a future supply of timber for the navy, and for architectural purposes, to suffer the forests to remain unmolested during a great length of time, and the trees to grow up in masses in a state of reserve. M. Pannetier d'Annel was appointed to the care of the noble forest of Compeigne in the year 1771, and the pernicious effects of this system were so evident, that he adopted the practice of making periodical falls of timber, and reserving a succession of young trees, which by this means had room for expansion. That trees growing in large masses injure each other is very well known; and we believe that the practice recommended in this memoir is generally adopted in this country.

Two or three articles on irrigation are useful on account of accompanying maps, which are illustrative of the operation.

Mr. Curwen has communicated his method of steaming potatoes, and given a ground plan and section of the apparatus for that purpose; his horses are fed entirely on this root, with the addition of cut straw; they eat neither hay nor corn,

and stand their work remarkably well. Mr. C. was in the habit of cutting annually 300 acres of grass, and generally found the stock of hay produced from that surface of land inadequate to his annual consumption; one acre of potatoes he estimates as equivalent to four acres of hay, and under proper management the ground will be in as good condition for wheat as if it had lain fallow.

Mr. Pierrepont recommends baking potatoes, and has given a section of the ovens which he employs for that purpose.

Mr. Humphrey Davy, in a communication on the analysis of soils as connected with their improvement, has described those methods which appear most precise and simple, and most likely to be useful to the practical farmer: this very intelligent and valuable communication is accompanied with the engraving of an apparatus for performing the analysis.

Dr. Pearson has a scientific and ingenious paper on the use of green vitriol, or the sulphat of iron, as a manure; in which he endeavours to shew that much of the efficacy of paring and burning depends on the oxyde of iron contained in the ashes.

Mr. Estcourt's account of the result of an effort to better the condition of the poor in a country village does great credit to his judgment and his feelings. The plan adopted with such happy consequences in every point of view, was to allow every cottager to become the tenant of a small quantity of arable land at a fair rent: no individual was permitted to occupy more than his family could cultivate without improperly interfering with his usual labour. The quantity of land varied according to the size of the family, no share exceeding an acre and an half. It was stipulated that the rent should be 1*l.* 12*s.* per acre, and that the land should be granted for fourteen years if the tenant required it: the lease to be terminable before the expiration of that period, by the desire of either party, on a previous notice of three years. The land is held under certain restrictions: one-fourth part in each person's occupation is to be annually manured, and planted with potatoes; the remaining three-fourths to be managed according to the will of the tenant, provided that no two exhausting crops of corn are taken in succession. The lease is to be forfeited if this agreement is violated; it is also to be forfeited if the tenant is lawfully convicted of felony, &c.; or if he receive any relief from the poor-rates except in case

of sickness. Mr. Estcourt assures us that this very wise and humane provision has produced the most beneficial effects in the habits, morals, manners, and condition of the peasantry, and has almost annihilated the poor-rates. The amount of the poor-rate from October 5, 1800, to April 5, 1801, the six months immediately preceding the adoption of this measure, was 212*l.* 16*s.* of which sum 200*l.* 8*s.* was applied to the relief of the poor. The amount of the poor-rate from October 5, 1803, to April 5, 1804, was 12*l.* 6*s.* of which 4*l.* 12*s.* only was applied to the relief of the poor: that is to say, that of two old and infirm widows who are not tenants of any land; so that it may be affirmed of their provision, that it *has annihilated the poor-rates of the parish!* We should like to see this communication printed on a single sheet of paper, and circulated throughout the kingdom.

The next communication that we shall notice is "a short account of the causes of the diseases in corn, called by the farmers the blight, the mildew, and the rust, by the Right Hon. sir Joseph Banks, K. B. &c." Without the assistance of the plates which accompany this ingenious paper, we shall scarcely be able to do justice to its contents. Botanists, says sir Joseph, have long known that the blight in corn is occasioned by the growth of a minute parasitic fungus or mushroom on the leaves, stems, and glumes of the living plants. Of this fungus, in its different stages of growth and maturity, Mr. Bauer has made drawings, very highly magnified, from the original, representing its destructive agency; in order to understand which, it is necessary to premise that the striped appearance of the surface of a straw is caused by alternate longitudinal partitions of the bark, the one imperforate, and the other furnished with one or two rows of pores, shut in dry, open in wet weather. The final cause of this arrangement is, no doubt, that whatever moisture is suspended in the atmosphere may be imbibed by the orifices when open, and afterwards that it may be retained by having the mouths of them closed. Through these pores it is presumed that the seeds of the fungus gain admission, and at the bottom of the hollows to which they lead, germinate, and probably push their minute roots into the cellular texture beyond the bark; where it is supposed they draw their nourishment by intercepting the sap which was intended by nature for the nutriment of the grain. The corn

becomes shrivelled in proportion to the fungi, and as the kernel only is abstracted from the grain, while the cortical part remains undiminished, the proportion of flour to bran in blighted corn is always reduced in the same degree as corn is made light.

Sir Joseph goes on to observe, that the leaf is probably first infected in the spring, or early in the summer, before the corn shoots up into straw, and that the fungus is then of an orange colour; after the straw has become yellow, the fungus assumes a deep chocolate brown. Each individual is so small, that every pore on a straw will produce from twenty to forty fungi, as may be seen in the plates, and every one of these will no doubt produce at least an hundred seeds. If each of these therefore branches out into the number of plants which are represented at the bottom of a pore in one of the plates, the increase must be incalculably great, and a few diseased plants scattered over a field must be sufficient to infect a whole parish. The seeds being very little heavier than air, are wafted by every breeze, and are attached by the slightest moisture to the devoted plants. Such is Sir Joseph's hypothesis concerning the cause of mildew or blight in corn: there seems room for suspicion that it may not be perfectly correct. Has not Sir Joseph, *ab incipio*, mistaken an effect for a cause? on the surface of all diseased or putrid vegetable matter a mucor or mouldiness is formed; in wine vaults, in rotten timber, and decayed trees, fungi are always to be found. Would Sir Joseph hazard the assertion that the tree became decayed and diseased because a fungus was attached to it? Would he not rather suspect, that because the tree was decayed, *therefore* it became the recipient of the fungus? There are difficulties on both sides, but Sir Joseph's hypothesis has some serious objections to encounter. How comes it to pass that the mildew, blight, call it what you will, should be so partially distributed, that of two adjoining ridges in the same field, one shall be entirely exempt from the disease, and the other severely suffer from it? Every farmer knows that this is no imaginary or even uncommon case: the track of the mildew is oftentimes remarkably distinct, which it would hardly have been if the air had been impregnated with this prolific dust. Go into a hay-field when the anthers are shedding their pollen: see the cloud of virility which is diffused over the whole surface of the field

by every undulation of the air. Sir Joseph thinks it probable that the leaf is first infected in the spring, or early in the summer, before the corn shoots up into straw. But how is this to be accounted for consistently with the hypothesis? The increase of these fungi is allowed to be incalculably great, and the period of their pubescence and maturity, reasoning from analogy, must be short. As the summer advances, therefore, the air must be more and more heavily laden with these seeds, and one could suppose that the size of the cuticular orifices of the straw increasing with the growth of the latter, the seeds of the fungus would find more room as the summer advances, and the mischief extend with an immeasurable rapidity. The fact certainly is as sir Joseph states it: the leaf is first infected in the spring, or early in the summer, but no one fears a mildew after the blossom is set. The season of flowering is indeed a critical one: heavy rains and blasting winds may wash away, and so disperse the pollen, that impregnation may be very inefficient.

Another observation occurs: wet lands are most subject to mildew, and if in any field one spot is wetter than the rest, that spot will be the first affected. How is this to be accounted for on sir Joseph's hypothesis? If the atmosphere is charged with the seeds of these fungi, which must float there like the dust of a puff-ball, one would suppose that they would be indiscriminately scattered, and no one spot be more affected than another; the first shower of rain, or the first fog that fell, must precipitate the seed with even vengeance, and attach it to every straw in the field. We cannot but suspect, therefore, that the plant is diseased before the fungus seizes on it, and that those stems which are in sound health resist its advances, or counteract its activity.

Fungi, as we have before remarked, find an appropriate nidus in diseased and decayed vegetable matter, and particularly if it remains in a state of moisture: the wood-work of vaults, and indeed their walls, is always covered with them; rotten timber and the hollow trunks of trees are rarely free from them. Nature suffers no fit recipient for animal or vegetable life to remain void; microscopic beings of both kingdoms are always ready to seize on every thing which can afford them subsistence.

But if mildew is not caused by these parasitic fungi, to what is it to be attributed? We believe that the disease so called is the immediate effect of these fungi, and

that they act precisely as sir Joseph Banks has suggested; but, at the same time, we suspect that the remote cause is some disease in the plant, probably arising from an interrupted circulation of its sap: and totally unconnected with mildew. Are we required to state what this disease may be? It is impossible with any degree of confidence. But let us notice one or two facts: spring corn, sir Joseph truly remarks, is less damaged by it than winter corn: the spring wheat of Lincolnshire was not in the least shrivelled in the harvest of 1804, though the straw was in some degree infected. Now it is obvious that spring corn is totally free from the frosts of winter, and much more so from those of spring than the corn which is sown in autumn. Wheat is a very hardy plant, but it suffers probably more severely from the vernal than the winter frosts. If the season is mild, the vessels of the young wheat begin to fill with fluids as early as the latter end of February or the beginning of March: a frost at this time, which in the winter would be perfectly innocuous, is very likely to burst its tender vessels (as we often see to be the case with the shoots of early trees), and so materially injure the plant as to render it an unresisting prey to the ravages of this fungus.

It will be recollected that sir Joseph says, "the leaf is probably first infected in the spring, or early in the summer, before the corn shoots up into straw," which, consistently with the truth of his hypothesis, ought not to be the case; for the quantity of the fungus-seed must be infinitely greater in summer than in spring, and the size of the orifices into which it finds admission must also increase with the increased size of the straw, and thus afford a larger surface for attachment.

But the mildew is partial in its ravages: is frost? Persons who are accustomed to the management of wall-fruit know how slight a screen is sufficient to protect them from its effects. Three or four trees standing together in a hedge-row might so mitigate the severity of frost on the ridges which it screened, that the plants on those ridges, if injured at all, would soon recover their vigour. Again; we have before observed, that if there are any spots in a field particularly wet, there the corn is sure to suffer most. The greater the quantity of moisture which a plant has imbibed, and the more succulent it is, the more susceptible must it obviously be of injury by frost: the fuller the vessels are, the more liable are they to be

ruptured. Farmers, whose fears are always alive, anticipate a mildew from the continuance of a raw and foggy air: nor are they often mistaken. In such a continued state of atmosphere the grasses open their innumerable orifices, and imbibe a great quantity of moisture; if a biting frost immediately succeeds, much mischief may reasonably be apprehended from the rupture of those vessels in which the circulation was carried on.

It is with great diffidence that we have ventured to substitute an hypothesis for that of sir Joseph's: it requires a much closer observation to confirm either his or ours than we can profess to have given. Sir Joseph's explanation of the action of the fungus is ingenious, and, accompanied with Mr. Bauer's accurate plates, very satisfactory.

It is said that wheat in the neighbourhood of a barberry-bush seldom escapes blight: sir Joseph supposes that the parasitic fungus which oftentimes attacks the barberry, as well as the wheat, is one and the same species, and that the seed is transferred from the barberry to the corn. The plan which he proposes for preventing the disease will excite a smile; it is to search diligently in the spring for every infected plant, and to extirpate it! The age of Hercules is gone!

We cannot take our leave of sir Joseph Banks without stating a few remarks on another subject, on which he has ventured to offer some very hazardous advice in a very peremptory tone. He says that, although the seeds of wheat are rendered, by the exhausting power of the fungus, so lean and shrivelled that scarce any flour fit for the manufacture of bread can be obtained by grinding them, these very seeds will, except perhaps in the very worst cases, answer the purposes of seed-corn as well as the fairest and plumpest sample that can be obtained. The use of the flour of corn in furthering the process of vegetation, he continues, is to nourish the minute plant from the time of its development, till its roots are able to attract food from the manured earth; for this purpose one-tenth of the contents of a grain of good wheat is more than sufficient. Sir Joseph goes on to say that the selection of the plumpest grains for seed is an unnecessary waste of human subsistence, and advises that what is usually set aside as dross, and given to the farmer's poultry, should be employed for that purpose. In supporting this advice we are referred to an experimental paper in the *Annals of*

Agriculture, by Mr. Mackie, which we have not had the satisfaction of seeing.

We must take the liberty of remarking that advice, pregnant with such momentous consequences, ought not to be given without the utmost caution, without the utmost certainty of its security. Sir Joseph has taken upon himself a responsibility only to be justified by a long and careful series of experiments personally conducted by himself.

It is one thing to bring children into the world, it is another to rear them. Adam Smith remarks of the Highland women that they frequently bear more than twenty, and have not two alive. Poverty does not prevent generation, but it is extremely unfavourable to the rearing of a progeny. Are we to expect a vigorous and thriving child when we are pressing the dry, milkless breast of a famished mother? Flour is to the infant plant what maternal milk is to the babe; if the corculum, the speck of vitality, not injured, a seed will invariably generate. The cotyledons seem to be mere organs of nutrition, communicating a farinaceous substance of which they are composed to the young plant: if this nutritive substance is liberally communicated, which we suppose to be the case when the cotyledons are large and plump, the plant surely must thrive better; it will grow more rapidly, than when the cotyledons, shrunk and shrivelled, distribute a parsimonious mucilage. The deficiency in this latter case may doubtless be in great measure supplied by imparting an additional fecundity to the soil, as a mother without milk may bring up her babe by feeding it with pap. The cases are very analogous; in both, the offspring exchanges its natural for an artificial and vicarious food. It is much to be apprehended, that although shrivelled kernels might very well answer the purpose in a garden-pot or in a very rich soil, they would frustrate the expectation of the farmer if employed on an extensive scale and without an extraordinary measure of manure. On heavy lands the progress of infant vegetation is always languid and reluctant: when a seed first germinates, the plumula and the radicle must, it is plain, be much longer in struggling through solid clods of earth, than when they have only to insinuate their easy courses through pulverised unresisting soil; and at the time of year when our wheats are usually committed to the ground, the difference of a few days only in the time of sowing,

sometimes succeeded by a difference of weeks in the first appearance of the crops. November may be considered as the commencement of our winter: the season now grows cold and rainy, and the wheat which at that time remains in the ground, or but just peeps through the surface of a heavy soil, has many sad vicissitudes of weather to encounter in its first feeble state, and lies a long time exposed to the depredation of birds and insects. We suspect that on such soils particularly, and at such a season, to retard vegetation would be a most perilous experiment; and that the young plant requires all the nourishment which the plumpest kernel can supply, in order to preserve its existence, and enable it to bear the rigours of the season during a protracted infancy.

We have been farmers in our day, and personally tried some experiments on the germination of seeds. The harvest of 1799 was the wettest that had been known for many years: farmers brewed beer from barley which the rains of heaven had malted. It was the general opinion that black or even discoloured barley was very unsafe to be used for seed. Maltsters found that it would not sprout on their floors with all the advantages of constant moisture and artificial heat. We tried the vegetative powers of barley in different tints of discoloration, and with different degrees of farinaceous substance in the kernel; and found, as we expected, that they had nothing to do with the process of germination. Twenty kernels, the most thin and meagre which could be selected, were planted in some very rich mould, and kept in a warm room: every one of them germinated, though tardily; and having plenty of pap, though very

little milk, the radical fibres spread, and the plants grew luxuriantly. Some of the blackest barley which could be found was afterwards placed in the garden; a large proportion of it grew, and was healthy; the corculum of some few kernels had been injured, probably rotted by excess of rain, and those kernels made no effort to germinate. The following is a curious fact: the writer of this article picked from the floor of a neighbouring maltster sixty kernels of barley which had been nineteen days on the heap, and totally refused to germinate: they certainly never would have germinated there. He planted them in his garden; out of sixty, forty-five grew as rapidly and vigorously as any barley he ever knew. It was evident, therefore, that warmth and moisture, however essential to germination, were not of themselves sufficient to produce it.

In some other experiments it was found that barley will grow even after an incipient germination had taken place in the ear as it lay on the ground. Here is a complete suspension of vitality during several months without the destruction of it. It is time to take our leave; we have been a long while with sir Joseph, but his company is too agreeable and instructive not to make us happy in the opportunity of enjoying it.

The last paper (on the form of animals) we have to notice, and that with which this volume closes, is from the masterly and scientific pen of Mr. Cline: it admits of no abbreviation, and as every line of it will be found useful to graziers and farmers, we shall refer our readers for it to the volume itself.

ART. III.—*The Nature and Properties of Wool illustrated, with a Description of the English Fleece.* By JOHN LUCCOCK, *Woolstapler.* 8vo. pp. 300.

THE wit is proverbially said to go a woolgathering, when it wanders with desultory attention from one circumstance to another, and picks up, without method or order, every fluttering wisp which can be braided into connection with the object of its research. Such has been precisely the occupation of the author of this agreeable volume, which is drawn up with simple elegance, but with an inconvenient neglect of purpose and arrangement.

Archæological anecdotes of the feeding and breeding of sheep, and of the invention and progress of the woollen-manufacture, occur. Practical remarks on the method of choosing, and the means of

mending, saleable wools, abound. Geographical accounts of the patria of each sort of fleece are given. Statistical calculations of the quantity and value of the woollens manufactured, are attempted. But all is so intermixed, so felted together, that one knows not where to seek for each specific sort of information. Had the materials been distinctly grouped, the repetitions and redundancies would have been perceived and avoided, and the deficiencies would more easily have been supplied. The woolstapler has his bins for this tod and for that; so should the author.

Where is the patria of the sheep? No doubt, in Tibet; that is the highest land

of Asia; thence the largest rivers of the Old World descend in all directions: it was consequently first left dry by the progressive desiccation of the ocean, and habitable before any other land. The sheep of Tibet have black faces and legs, and white fleeces: they are active, and resemble the Dutch and Norfolk sheep: this therefore is probably the original stock, whence other races are varieties. Mr. Luccock suspects (p. 29) that the original sheep was brown; but the passage in Genesis (xxx. 32.) proves rather, that the piebald and the brown did not constitute the mass of the flock: they were given in dower, as a portion that would not be missed; but Jacob knew how to increase the births of that sort.

Sheep in a state of nature yearly shed or moult their fleeces, and rub them off in hot weather against the trees and shrubs. Men imitated the process of nature, and plucked off the first fleeces: *tellus* is derived from *rellere*. This practice still prevailed under Vespasian: so new is the art of shearing sheep.

Columella tells us that his uncle, who was a farmer near Cadiz, having seen at an exhibition there in the amphitheatre some African sheep, crossed his own breed with the Barbarian breed, which greatly improved the wool of his flock. The fine Spanish wool is itself of more southern origin.

Pedro IV. who ascended the throne of Castile in 1250, imported a flock of sheep from Barbary, which has been the great basis of the Spanish breed. Cardinal Ximenes again caused the armies of Ferdinand to capture and bring over some African sheep. The expedition of these modern argonauts founded the celebrity of the Segovian wool.

Mr. Luccock thinks that the first sort of woollen cloth was a species of felt, like that described by Arabian travellers as employed for the covering of tents: the Tartars manufacture a similar covering. This is highly probable; felting is a much simpler process than weaving, and would almost result from trampling the fleeces for the purpose of cleansing them. Pliny (lib. viii. c. 46.) notices the various uses made of felt in ancient times. In the paintings at Herculaneum there are representations of hats apparently of felt like our own.

The first ropes or cords are likely to have been made of bindweed: the first spinning of thread must have been an imitation or refinement of the process of

the rope-maker, one person being employed to join the staple, and another to twist it. At the origin of Greek mythology this division of labour still subsisted; for the first Moira, or Parca, is represented as supplying the material, and the second as twisting the thread. These distinct offices of the *lanificæ* sisters, as Catullus calls them, were afterwards transferred to the distaff and the rock; by means of which machines for supplanting human labour, a single person could complete the operation of spinning.

A braid of three threads may be considered as the elementary tissue: the art of plaiting rushes into flat bands, and into mats, may have suggested the first attempts at tape and cloth of thread. Basket-work, in the disposition of the wythes, approaches still nearer to the work of the loom. The first webs were wrought by darning. Accordingly, the instrument long since improved into the shuttle, was in old times called *radius textorius*, the weaver's needle. The warp, or longitudinal thread, was measured, as is still done in coarse work, by stretching it on pegs in the open air; and the shoot, or cross-thread, was inserted with a needle, which alternately passed over and under the several threads of warp.

The heavel, which is a row of loops fastened to a spline, serving to lift or leave every thread of warp, must have been invented before the shuttle, and was no doubt lifted by an assistant weaver, until the method of lifting it by *treadels*, or foot-staves, was contrived. If the inventor of the spring-shuttle, a benefactor of society who flourished in our own age and country, be unknown, or at least uncelebrated, no wonder that the inventor of the old shuttle, who flourished in remote antiquity, is unknown also. Clemens Alexandrinus, who enumerated with much solicitude the authors of useful arts, and who has not been enough consulted by modern technologists, does not notice the shuttle. Etymological arguments point to the Gothic north as the patria of this invention. The French denomination *navette*, from the Italian *navetta*, a little boat, intimates that the shuttle had already attained a boat-form, when it was first introduced among the French manufacturers. The Italian denomination *spola* means a coil or bottom of thread, a ball of wound shoot; the Italians therefore were accustomed to weave by handing across the shoot wound on a rod, before they knew the use of the shuttle. The word

shuttle, being derived from to *shoot*, in all the Gothic languages, must be coeval with the swift motion which this instrument first realized. In the Icelandic ode preserved by Bartholinus, and Englished by Gray,

'Shafts, for shuttles, dipt in gore,
Shoot the trembling cord along,'

makes a process far more accelerated than Virgil's,

'Excussi manibus radii revolutaque pensa:'

from which description it seems as if the rock or spindle, on which the thread had been coiled by the spinster, was handed athwart the separated warp by the weaver, and unwound in its progress. The word *telum* would have superseded *radius*, if the shuttle had been *thrown* by the Latins. The shuttle may more easily have originated among linen-weavers, than among woollen-manufacturers, as the tort and smooth threads of flax and hemp facilitate the employment of a gliding utensil. The Icelandic word *skutul*, a shuttle, is etymologically connected with to *scud*, and to *skait*: to a skait the shuttle bears some resemblance, and may hence have been imagined in the north.

Mr. Luccock justly observes (p. 37) that the first wool-cards were made of the heads of the fuller's teasel, or *dipsacus fullonum*. The wool-comb he attributes, consonantly with tradition, to bishop Blaise. This is a mistake. Bishop Blaise wrote a Latin hymn, which Ronsard translated into French rhyme, in which the flocks are peculiarly recommended to the care of Providence. This hymn it was customary to perform or chaunt in the churches at Laminas. Hence the opinion that bishop Blaise was a friend to the fleece, and his consequent popularity among the wool-combers. The ancients gave the name *pecten*, or comb, both to the slay, or file of reeds, with which the weaver approximates the threads of shoot, and to a machine with which fleeces were scribbled and prepared for the spinster. Yet this last machine must have been a wool-card, and not a wool-comb; for Claudian's *moderator pectinis unci* shews that its teeth were crooked, and not straight. The wool-comb being essential to the spinning of worsted yarn, to the manufacture of stuffs in contradiction to cloths, must have reached Europe with the stuff-manufactory, which is said to have been brought first by the Arabs into Spain. Stuffs are better adapted for clothing the people of Asia

than of Europa *braccata*; and *camel*, the primary sort of stuff, is still called after the camel, of whose hair it was originally made. Almahoza, the Spanish name for the wool-comb, is an Arabic word. It seems probable that the wool-comb derives from Arabia, and was first constructed to prepare the hair of the camel for the spinner: it must be of great antiquity. Damascus traded with Tyre for white wool (Ezekiel xxvii 18); of course, there were already in the time of Darius Hystaspes manufactures of stuffs, or cloths of wool, which were died (v. 24) blue: most likely they were stuffs; both because the wool of which stuffs are made being longer and stronger, is far easier than cloth wool to spin and to weave, and because the produce is better adapted to oriental wear.

With the practical part of this work it will not be prudent for us reviewers to meddle. If Mr. Luccock says that the English manufacturer is distinguished (p. 136) for the superiority of workmanship, what authority can we oppose to that of so experienced a judge? We have, however, paid draper's bills in France and in Spain. We deny having ever been able to obtain cloths so fine or so durable of British manufacture, as the best cloths of French, and even of Spanish manufacture. It is true ours are less costly. Our manufacturers, as they ought to do, pursue cheapness rather than excellence; and endeavour to clothe to their taste the numerous rather than the select classes of society. This is the proper course for extensive demand: the manufactures of luxury are overthrown by any accident of war or bankruptcy, which compels parsimony among the people: they are, for a country, the worst investitures of capital and skill. Lyons and Louviers have fallen beneath the poverty of Paris; but Lyons and Louviers surpassed, in superfine articles, Spitalfields and Leeds. Where are cloths of Vicuna wool (*aîné de vigogne*), the tawny Peruvian wool, to be bought? Of the mercers who smuggle them over from Abbeville. Mr. Luccock mentions with some just encomiums the new breeds of sheep. We, who are mutton-eaters, and not wool-growers, are partial to the Norfolk sheep. We have tasted the coarse-grained mutton of Lincolnshire, the tallow lax flesh of the Bakewell breed, and the rank and goatish muskiness of the South-downs, which somewhat approach the uneatable mutton of southern Europe; but we prefer the pure and venison-like flavour of the aboriginal Tibet race. Let

the manufacturers learn to employ and to prefer its wool. What can they give us in the form of stronger lasting, or of softer kerseymere, which shall atone for the deterioration of our legs of mutton? The palate of man is more sensible than his skin; his food is more important than his dress. Far from our social tables, which they conspire to empoison, be banished, except on mutton-days, these useless patrons of fat carcasses and skeletons of wire!

A table is attached to this work, in which the total quantity of wool grown in England is estimated at 137,000 packs of long wools and 245,000 packs of short wools. The average weight of the fleece is said to be four pounds and a half.

An useful appendix to this work would have been an examination of the subsisting laws concerning wool, which are tyrannical, absurd and mischievous in no common degree. This country does not grow wool enough for its own manufactures; in consequence of which wool fetches a high and monopoly price. What is the remedy? Certainly to transplant our best breeds of sheep into Upper Canada, and there to grow the wool requisite for our clothiers. But the ridiculous statutes against *owling* have made it an offence to transport sheep out of this kingdom. He would deserve a public premium who should land on the banks of lake Ontario a well-assorted flock of the best-woolled English sheep; but he would be liable (by the 8 Elizabeth

c. 3) to forfeiture of goods, to a year's imprisonment, and to the barbarous mutilation of having his left hand chopt off. Not only the exportation of sheep, but that of wool and of yarn, ought to be permitted: it is of great importance to know what use foreigners can find for our wool and our yarn, which should enable them to work it up to more advantage than ourselves, and to bid higher for it in the domestic market. We should then apply ourselves to these new arts of manufacture, and in our turn supersede the foreign mechanic. This country might become the great emporium of wool, might grow in its colonies the choicest quantities, twist them by means of its engines into worsted and woollen yarn, and supply the whole continent with the materials of tissue. There is little doubt too that all the wool of Europe would come here to be twisted into worsted and woollen yarn, and in that state return to its patria, if the trade in wool and yarn was thrown entirely open. How immense is the benefit which the machines for spinning cotton have already derived from the permission to export twist! A like advantage would accrue to the machines for spinning worsted yarn from a like liberty. The system of restriction is not less pernicious to the mechanic than to the grazier: we shall rejoice when a chancellor sits on the wool-sack who is disposed to rip it open.

CHAPTER XVII.

NATURAL HISTORY.

THE British press, during the course of the past year, has been remarkably unproductive of original works in this department of literature. Dr. Skrimshire's *Essays* introductory to the study of natural history, sir Joseph Banks's pamphlet on the Blight of Corn, and the two *Botanist's Guides*, are all the books of this description which we are able to present to our readers. There are, indeed, several periodical publications which continue in a state of progress, and others which have lately commenced, which it has not hitherto come within our plan to notice: but arrangements will in future be made to give an annual review of their contents. In our next volume we shall also have the pleasure of analyzing another volume of Dr. Shaw's *General Zoology*, which came out too late in the year to afford us an opportunity of bestowing upon it that degree of attention which is due to its merit. The translations of Willdenow's *Principles of Botany and vegetable Physiology*, and of a collection of miscellaneous botanical tracts, though not properly new productions, are, in their present state, valuable additions to the British stock of natural history.

ART. I.—*A Series of Essays introductory to the Study of Natural History.* By FENWICK SKRIMSHIRE, M. D. lately President of the Natural History Society of Edinburgh, Author of a Series of popular chemical Essays. In Two Volumes. 12mo.

AS we have formerly, on more than one occasion, expressed an earnest desire to produce a general taste for natural history, especially among those young persons of both sexes who are destined to move in the higher ranks of life; and a regret that some of the elementary books which come before us are very imperfectly calculated to answer the purpose; we naturally felt much satisfaction on taking up a work of this kind from a man of science, and a member of a liberal profession, who appears to have paid particular attention to the subject. The author, indeed, cautions us in his preface against expecting a system of natural history, or even what can be properly called an elementary work. His only object was, "to make his readers acquainted with the full extent

and important advantages of natural history: and, by selecting many useful as well as interesting topics of enquiry, to instil into the reader's mind a thirst for further knowledge, and for a more intimate acquaintance with the science." The materials which he has employed, and some others which have been previously presented to the public, "were originally collected with a view of delivering a course of lectures on chemistry and natural history; but that design having been frustrated by professional engagements, he has thrown them into the form of essays."

A writer of essays does not conceive himself tied down to a fixed method, or obliged to pay equal attention to every part of his subject, so as to make a complete and well-proportioned whole. He

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with his claws, and bespatter him with his ordure. Such a mischievous return is natural enough in a baboon; but it is not the part of a man.

We do not accuse Dr. Skrimshire of going all this length: but he has certainly favoured a representation which originated in the envy of a man, who was in many cases more of a declaimer than of a naturalist; and has given currency to an objection which we have often heard made to the disciples of Linnæus, and which we have almost as often suffered to pass in silent contempt, from a full conviction that the persons who made it were incapable of understanding the proper answer. "The study of natural history," he tells us, "has been unfortunately confined by many to the mere classification of natural objects; and to obtain a knowledge of the distinctive character of individual productions, has been thought to constitute the whole object of the naturalist's pursuit."—"Many," he adds, "who call themselves naturalists, and wish to be considered as such by the world, have confined their pursuits to the collection and arrangement of their plants, their birds, their insects, or their shells."—And again, "The naturalist first learns that the sheep, for instance, is in the class mammalia, being one of those animals that suckle their young; in the order pecora, because it is hoofed, and has no cutting teeth in the upper jaw; and that it is distinguished from other animals of the same order, by its having several blunt wedge-like incisive foreteeth in the lower jaw only, hollow reclined horns, and no tusks. This information would satisfy many who call themselves naturalists." We can say nothing in reply, but that we are acquainted with no such naturalists.

Eight of the essays, which constitute about three-fourths of the work, are devoted to zoology; two to botany; and one to mineralogy. The classes and orders in the first two kingdoms, as they were established by Linnæus, are explained in an easy and pleasing manner; but no critical investigation is hazarded, nor any notice taken of the alterations and improvements that have been suggested by other writers. In the mineral kingdom the system of Werner is preferred and briefly detailed; but in so superficial a manner, that, as the author confesses, it was evidently subjoined "rather for the purpose of completing the series, than with the expectation of conveying any important instruction." The classification

of the different subjects is succeeded by a concise and perspicuous view of their physiology and various uses: and the whole, though it does not comprize all we wish, or completely satisfy us as to the manner in which it is conducted, is well calculated to give valuable information to the general reader, who is totally unacquainted with the subject, and wishes to gain some knowledge of it without aspiring to extensive researches or minute accuracy.

Our review of it, we are apprehensive, may not be thought to be altogether favourable; but we speak our honest sentiments when we assure our readers that, notwithstanding its imperfections, we know of no work better fitted to make a right impression on the youthful mind, and to warm the unperverted heart to a rigorous admiration of visible nature, and a religious reverence for Nature's God. Dr. Skrimshire possesses a happy talent for clear and striking illustration: his style for the most part is natural, and sufficiently elegant, but sometimes a little careless, and rather too declamatory and diffuse: his statements also are generally just, though, in the haste of composition, he has suffered some errors to escape him. Des Cartes, for instance, was not an atheist, as is insinuated in vol. i. p. 16. The *dionæa muscipula* does not catch flies by a contraction of its petals, but of a curious appendage to its leaves. *Horns* ought not to have been placed among the essential characters of the order pecora: every child who is possessed of a common picture-book of animals, knows that a camel has no horns. The opinion prevalent among sailors, that the shark spares the pilot-fish in gratitude for his services, is now believed to be false. *All* papilionaceous flowers do not belong to the class diadelphia of Linnæus: a rigid regard to his artificial system compelled that naturalist to place three genera with such flowers at the head of the class decandria, because their filaments are all distinct.

These oversights will doubtless be corrected in a future edition. The present is evidently a juvenile performance, but it gives promise of much better things; and we shall be glad to meet the author again, when he has paid a little more attention to another well-known precept of Horace, though we do not wish to confine him to the rigid strictness of its literal meaning.

Entomology appears to be his favourite branch of natural history, and it is indis-

seem to be a single scale; whereas that of the lepidopterous caterpillar consists of two. One nest of these insects will soon thus strip a whole bush of its leaves. When laid down they return to the earth, remain there many days, and then a second brood appears; they deposit their eggs in the same manner, and destroy all the leaves on the summer's end. The second brood appears in the autumn about July, and the young fry is hatched a week or ten days afterwards.

From an acquaintance with the natural history of this insect we discover the proper time and manner of searching for, and taking it; and the process is so simple, and so certain, that whoever allows a repetition of the injury, amply deserves it for his negligence. Where the bushes are known to have been infested the preceding summer, let them be daily attended to as soon as the symptoms appear, and let every fly of the described kind above given be taken wherever it can be found; the sluggishness of its motion makes it an easy prey; and be it remembered, that the destruction of every female, before it lays its eggs, is equal to the destruction of several hundred caterpillars. Let this search for the fly be repeated in July. Whenever at any season you discover your bushes to be infested with the caterpillar of this insect, which is known by the loss of leaves, particularly on the bottom branches, you must examine each bush separately, and seize your prey wherever you detect him. Nor is this so arduous a task as it may at first appear. One person may easily clear fifty bushes in a day; and surely the preservation of so much fruit will amply repay for the trouble and expence. If the search is made early, before the young caterpillars are dispersed, the trouble will be very much abridged. Every leaf, that is partially eaten, must be plucked off by nipping the leaf-stalk with the thumb and finger, and it will seldom happen but one or more caterpillars will be found on its under surface. They must be carefully removed from the garden, or destroyed when taken. The search should be repeated a few times, lest any stragglers should have escaped, or any fresh caterpillars be hatched, as they do not all appear exactly together. Due attention to this plan will effectually root out the evil; and after one year's search few insects will be found for some succeeding years, so that a slight annual examination will preserve your bushes afterwards.

M. The Principles of Botany and Vegetable Physiology. Translated from the German of J. D. C. WILDENOW, Professor of Natural History and Botany at Berlin. 8vo.

would greatly facilitate the progress of the student, if, in every branch of science were one accurate and complete elementary work, written in

a plain and easy style, and arranged in a natural and lucid order. Introductory treatises we have in abundance upon every subject; but comparatively few which are

the production of authors completely competent to the task. In the present ardent pursuit of botany in particular, through every part of Europe, and wherever Europeans reside or travel, no one has a right to complain that he cannot find a guide. The only difficulty is, to determine which is best qualified for the purpose. There is, indeed, one great original from which all draw the greatest part of their materials, and to which all look up as nearly decisive authority. The *Philosophia Botanica* of Linnæus possesses such pre-eminent excellence, that it would be presumption in any one to disclaim its assistance, and to attempt a similar composition entirely derived from other sources. The best works of the kind in the English language are little more than translations or abridgments of it, in connection with the *Termini Botanici*, and some other tracts published in the *Amœnitates Academicæ* and the *Delineatio Plantæ*, prefixed to the vegetable part of the *Systema Naturæ*.

While science is, as it always must be, in a state of progress, even its first elements cannot be altogether stationary. A wider survey of the subject, and a knowledge of new particulars, will produce more accurate definitions, more clearly marked distinctions, and a better arrangement: this was experienced by Linnæus himself. The *Philosophia Botanica*, *Termini Botanici*, and *Delineatio Plantæ*, are not always consistent with each other; nor do his earlier and later practical works entirely correspond: but, since the time of his death, the field of botanical research has been wonderfully extended. The herbarium, the greenhouse, and the stove, have been enriched with new tribes of plants, many of which have a structure and habit almost as remote from those which were before known, as are the countries which gave them birth, from the nations of civilized Europe. The science, therefore, has in many respects assumed a new appearance, and, with respect to some of its parts, must be taught in a new form.

This can be done only by those who have the means of becoming acquainted with all the recent acquisitions, and can view the whole with a scientific eye. The author of the work now before us is of this class. Professor Willdenow is not only in the regular habit of teaching the science, which we consider as nearly an absolute pre-requisite to the composition of a good elementary book: but having

been long employed in collecting and digesting materials for a new edition of the *Species Plantarum*, must have acquired a precision and facility in the use of terms, which can be the result only of long practice and much reflection. His introduction to botany, we are told, has accordingly "superseded in Germany all others of the longest standing and greatest reputation." That it will meet with equal success in Great Britain is more than we will venture to predict; but we can pronounce it a valuable addition to those which we before possessed, and shall not, we trust, be suspected of a desire to disparage the publications of our own country, if we add that it contains a considerable quantity of matter which is not to be found even in the best of them. The latest author must be negligent indeed, if he do not secure to himself a right to boast of this advantage.

The work, after a general introduction, is divided into eight parts under the following titles: terminology, classification, botanical aphorisms, nomenclature of plants, physiology, diseases of plants, history of plants, and history of the science.

In the terminological the professor has generally, but not always, adhered to the explanations given by Linnæus, and has added most of the new terms which have been employed by subsequent authors. A capsule, for instance, according to him, is "a pericarp consisting of a thin coat which contains many seeds, often divided into cells, and assuming various forms." According to Linnæus, it is "a hollow pericarp opening (dehiscens) in a determinate manner:" a definition which does not exclude either the silique, the legume, or the follicle, though all these are made by him distinct kinds of pericarp. There is, indeed, in many of Linnæus's divisions, a want of logical exactness; and we have lately learnt, from his own account of himself, that, through the whole of his early studies, he was too much absorbed in the investigation of plants, to attend to several of the sciences which are taught in the Swedish universities as preparatory to a course of theology, of which logic is indisputably one. We will not deny that, in some points of view, he was much better employed; and that a sagacious attention to the face of nature did more for him than all the logic of his days could ever have done: but we must at the same time observe, that a general initiation into the rules of that art would have prevented a few improprieties into which he has

putably the best part of the work now before us. The following extract is a fair specimen of his manner, and contains matter which will be generally useful, but is not generally known.

"The caterpillar of one of the hymenopterous insects frequently infests gooseberry and currant bushes, feeding on the leaves and destroying the health of the bushes; which not only bear no fruit the same year, but are considerably injured for a year or two following. When you perceive your bushes to be deficient in leaves, you will, on examination, find them to have been eaten by this or some other caterpillar; and if they have been the most destroyed at the bottom of the bush, and nothing in general but the ribs and stalks of the leaves remain, you may be assured that the mischief has been done by the insect, which I am now about to describe.

"The perfect insect is a four-winged fly rather larger than the common house-fly, with some yellow upon its body, and much more sluggish in its motions. It is of the genus *tenthredo*, one peculiarity of which is that their antennae or horns have a continual tremulous motion. These circumstances are sufficient to distinguish the insect in its state.

"In spring, as soon as the young appear, they burrow from the soil in which state it had lain buried in winter near the root of the bush, but seldom flies about the bottom of the bush, and soon after the female deposits her eggs on the ribs of the leaves on the bush. In a few days the parents and caterpillars are in a short time begin their depredations by making like pin-holes on the leaves. When the first caterpillar march to another, and in a few days they keep in companies. When they are of the same size they separate, and leave the bottom of the leaves there are gradually upwards, and under surface of the leaves, and effectively avoid the addition of which green, must prevent from such depredations distinguished by flies, and motes, whereas

sixteen. The hard core seems one entire scale. The caterpillar of the didopterous caterpillar nest of these insects whole bush of its they retire to the salis but a few of more numerous deposit their destroy all. The second about the week or

"The history of time it; a tale in

these parts, and would draw a length nearly equal to original. We shall therefore, that he is inclined by analogy, as by other considerations, to a real circulation, and not a mere descent of the sap, although he acknowledges such a circulation has been proved; and that he condemns the prevalent distinction of plants according to their cotyledons, which is one of the principles of the system of Jussieu. Our readers may not be displeased to see that he says on the subject in his own words, or rather in the words of his translator, particularly as, connected with the subject of which we have already expressed our disapprobation, it seems to indicate a secret dislike to that celebrated writer.

"It deserves our attention that not all plants have the rosette, especially (those) of aquatic and parasitic plants, and particularly those which Dr. Gærtner calls acotyledones. I was, as far as I know, the first who discovered this, when I examined with great care the water-caltrops (*Utricularia*) one of the most singular plants. But that a germinating seed should perform its function without plumule and cotyledons is impossible. Nobody as yet has attempted to deny the existence of the plumule in any seed. Linné, Gærtner, Jussieu, and many other botanists, denied the existence of the cotyledons, especially in the class cryptogamia. Jussieu alone adds to these plants which have no cotyledons, Gærtner's acotyledones, such as want the rosette. Nature provided plants with their cotyledons, that they might nourish the young plant in its tender infancy. Never

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dually emerged from the bosom of the deep. On this supposition he founds five principal Floras in Europe, which he calls the Northern, the Helvetic, the Austrian, the Pyrenean, and the Appenian, and asserts that there is the most marked difference in the lists of plants which they produce. Observations of this kind are of great interest and worth pursuing; but it must be taken that the imagination may with the judgment be not forcibly disengaged from the natural correspondence of the observed theory.

ment to plants are form-

detailed, with the best success as far as they are curable, and in the work, like the present, not admit of abridgment. The author calls the history of botany means "a comprehensive view of the influence of climate upon vegetation, of the changes which plants most probably have suffered during the various revolutions this earth has undergone, of their dissemination over the globe, of their migrations, and lastly of the manner in which nature has provided for their preservation." On these subjects he presents us with a few leading facts, and with much vague speculation, partly taken from the oration of Linnæus de telluris habitabilis incremento, and from a tract in the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, entitled *Stationes Plantarum*, and partly the result of his own reflections. He conjectures that, in a long course of ages, great changes have taken place on the surface of the globe; that the primitive mountains were for a long time the only dry land; that many chains were originally united, which are now separated by wide intervals; that the original mountains had some plants in common, and others peculiar to each; and that these plants were disseminated in the flat country, as it gra-

dualy emerged from the bosom of the deep. On this supposition he founds five principal Floras in Europe, which he calls the Northern, the Helvetic, the Austrian, the Pyrenean, and the Appenian, and asserts that there is the most marked difference in the lists of plants which they produce. Observations of this kind are of great interest and worth pursuing; but it must be taken that the imagination may with the judgment be not forcibly disengaged from the natural correspondence of the observed theory.

of the eighth and last part of the work, and in the *Bibliotheca Botanica*, and in two tracts published in the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, entitled *Incrementa Botanices* and *Auctores Botanici*; but the whole is greatly enlarged, and brought down to the present time. In the second of these works the history of botany is divided into four periods: the first includes all the ancient writers, and comes down to the restoration of literature, at the time when Constantinople was taken by the Turks; the second begins with Brunfels and ends with C. Bauhin; the third comes down to Linnæus; and the fourth is distinguished by the propagation of the sexual system. Professor Willdenow, with a more accurate observation of the great revolutions that have taken place in the science, divides it into eight. 1. From the origin of the science to Brunfels. 2. From Brunfels to Cæsalpinus, or from 1530 to 1583. 3. From Cæsalpinus to C. Bauhin, or from 1583 to 1593. 4. From C. Bauhin to Tournefort, or from 1593 to 1694. 5. From Tournefort to Vaillant, or from 1694 to 1717. 6. From Vaillant to Linnæus, or from 1717 to 1735. 7. From Linnæus to Hedwig, or from 1735 to 1782. 8. To the present time, i. e. 1805. Without intending to derogate from the established reputation of Hedwig, we cannot help thinking that if our author had not conceived a prejudice against Jussieu, he would have fixed the commencement of his eighth period at the year 1789, when that great naturalist published his *Genera Plantarum secundum Ordines naturales disposita*. Under each period all the botanical writers are enumerated, with the titles and dates of their principal works. The lovers of botany would have been still more gratified if a complete list of their works with the different editions had been annexed. Such a list would not have taken up much more room.

of them, for instance, *Leptacanthum com-
planatum*, or lastly, the stem may become sharp,
ligneous, &c. they remain and change into
thorns, for instance in the *milvina*." The
writer of the German original be-
fore us, would not hesitate nostro pe-
riore to correct the translation thus:
"Sometimes the petioli of pinnate leaves
remain after the leaves have dropped off,
and become thorns, as in *astragalus tra-*
gacanthus and the other species of that genus;
sometimes they are growing larger and
stronger, as in the flower and fruit have
fallen off, and the shape of thorns, as
in *leptacanthum*; or lastly, the
stem becomes sharp, and ligneous, re-
maining after the leaves have fallen off, as in some
species of *milvina*."

We are inclined to complain that the
printer has contributed his full share to-
wards obscuring the sense of the author.
We have been met with a work so full
of egregious typographical errors. It is,
in truth, a disgrace to the Edinburgh
press. At the top of page 135, for in-
stance, there is a repetition of not less
than four lines which occur in the very
next preceding sentence, and which are
so incorporated into a new sentence as to
make stark nonsense of the whole. A
similar repetition of two whole sentences
appears at the bottom of page 191, and
near the top of page 192. And in the
enumeration of simple substances found
in plants, No. 10 is omitted, though re-
ferred to in a note at the bottom of the
page.

As the present edition will probably
find a speedy sale, particularly among the
students at our northern universities, we
recommend it to the proprietors to have
the translation carefully revised, and to
employ a competent corrector of the
press. If it would not too much enhance
the price, it would also be desirable to
have a set of better plates. The figures
in the ten that are now given are nume-
rous, but many of them are so small and
so imperfectly drawn, as to be of little
use; and they are all huddled together
with so total a disregard to order and con-
nection, that they must give trouble and
perplexity, instead of affording ease and
instruction to the learner. The plate of
colours which, if well executed, would be
valuable, is, in our copy at least, a vile
daubing, which conveys no accurate idea.

We are almost certain that
the *British Flora* could have
avoided the following sentence: "Not
only grow in earth, and therefore
they do not enter the ground." The
sentence is not only extremely grating
to the ear, but, as far as the latter
is concerned, conveys a false idea,
and is the author's. The follow-
ing sentence of extreme negligence
conveys the meaning of the original, no less
correctly than the accuracy in the grammati-
cal construction.

When the petioli of pinnate
leaves remain after the leaves
have fallen off, they become thorns, as in
astragalus, and other species
of that genus. On the peduncles they
become sharper, and assume, after the
leaves have fallen off, the shape

11.—*Tracts relative to Botany, translated from different Languages.* 8vo,

and attention paid to botany in almost every part of Europe, and the

numerous publications on the subject which are yearly issuing from the press, at the same time that they greatly advance the science, cannot fail to render it more difficult of attainment to individuals. In the most favourable situations, and with all the advantages that can possibly be possessed, it is not easy to keep pace with its rapid progress, and to acquire a knowledge of the new matter which is continually accumulating from the separate labours of its admirers. Few botanists have the happiness to command a fortune adequate to the purchase of all the books that are professedly written on the subject. But besides these, many valuable dissertations are published in the Transactions of various scientific societies, which cannot be procured without purchasing a great number of others printed in the same volume that are not immediately wanted, and yet add greatly to the expence. But if this difficulty be surmounted, another, and often insuperable obstacle still remains: a considerable proportion of them are written, not in the Latin or French languages, familiar to most naturalists; nor in Italian, which, though less common, is often understood; but in German, Swedish, Spanish, or Portuguese, which very few learned men have learnt, or have leisure to learn. The English botanist therefore is under great obligation to the translator of these tracts, who has given him easy access to treasures from which he was before entirely barred: they are ten in number.

1. *On the Organs of Perspiration of Plants, translated from the German of Hedwig.*

This able naturalist, who has deserved so well of the scientific world by his unwearied microscopic researches into the minutest parts of the vegetable creation, has in this concise tract directed his consummate skill to the examination of those pores in the leaves and other parts of plants, which he supposes were first seen by Von Gleichen, but which, as the translator informs us in a note, had before been detected by Saussure, and which are now generally supposed to be organs of perspiration. These pores he describes as single oblong apertures in the middle of numerous bodies, differently shaped in different plants, and communicating with a set of ducts or vessels which he calls the lymphatic vessels of the cuticle. He attributes to the pores a capacity of opening and shutting, but says nothing of their having a moveable valve, which is ex-

pressly asserted by Willdenow in his principles of botany. He observes that moisture as well as air may possibly be conveyed through these passages, but acknowledges that he is not sufficiently acquainted with the subject to give a decided opinion concerning it.

The translator has added to this tract some valuable observations of Mr. Francis Bauer, and M. Decandolle. Mr. Bauer, who besides his distinguished excellence in botanic painting, is well skilled in microscopic investigation, has not been able to discover the supposed lymphatic ducts described by Saussure and Hedwig, and is of opinion that what they took for such are nothing more, than the edges or remaining parts of the dissepiments of the cells in the cuticle. M. Decandolle has found that there are such pores only on those parts of vegetables which are exposed to the influence of air and light; that fungi, lichens, hepaticæ, ferns, and in general all plants or parts of plants which are constantly immersed in water, are totally destitute of them, and that succulent plants which perspire but little have very few.

2. *Some Materials for the Illustration of the Botanical Geography of the South-western parts of Europe, translated from the German of Professor Link.*

This tract relates to that department of the science which is called by Willdenow the history of plants, and modestly professes to be mere fragments and materials to assist in the future completion of the subject. It consists of four distinct lists, with some general deductions from them: 1. Of plants which are found in the greatest part of Europe from the 54th to the 38th degree of north latitude: 2. Of such as have two nearly allied species, one of which is found in northern, the other in southern climates, and which are never known to degenerate the one into the other: 3. Of those that belong to the Flora of Portugal, divided into the southern, the middle, and the northern; to which is annexed some brief observations on the Florus of Spain, south Germany, northern and middle France, and the south of England; and 4. Of plants frequent in north Europe, but not found in the south of Spain and Portugal.

These catalogues are confessedly very imperfect, and the conclusions drawn from them will consequently stand in need of being corrected, and differently modified, as the collection of well authen-

by the latter the lower lip nectary, and by the former another of the calyx, differing in form the most. On account of its situation, however, he still calls it a lip (anther). The part denominated by Linnaeus the upper lip of the nectary, he assumes to be truly a one-celled anther, which is single in all the known species, excepting those of *Cypripedium*, the only real diandrous genus in this natural order. He is satisfied also that Linnaeus mistook the stigma, which, as Sprengel and Schkuhr have observed, is distinctly to be seen in *Orchis*, below the anther and behind the opening into the spur; which is similarly situated in *Ophrys*, though in that genus there is no spur; and which is variously situated in other genera.

The professor has taken his primary generic characters from the situation and insertion of the anther, and the qualities of the pollen-masses; the secondary ones from the outer parts of the flower. From these characters he has formed twenty-five genera, and 'hopes that he shall not be reproached for having given too great a number by those who know how necessary in an artificial system it often is, for the sake of facilitating the determination of plants, and preventing confusion, to separate species which seem to be naturally allied, provided that good distinguishing characters can be found.'

1. Some Botanical Observations: from the German of M. B. Berkhausen.

The object of this tract is to check the prevailing rage for increasing the number of species, by shewing that plants assume every different appearances according to the various kinds of soil, the elevation, and other circumstances in which they are found; and that 'before any particular character is determined to be a sufficient specific distinction, it is necessary to observe whether it remains unaltered in the different regions of air which a mountain traverses, or through which a wide district of country, with all its diversity of soil, ascends.' By attending to this rule the author has found that the *Orobanchis foliosa* of Roth, which is the *pannonicus* of Jacquin, and the *austriacus* of Crantz, only a variety of *O. tuberosus*: that *lygala amara*, *vulgaris*, and *monspeliaca*, Linnaeus and other authors, are one and the same species: that *Scabiosa columbica*, and *S. ochroleuca*, Linn. (*enuifolia* of Roth,) are in the same predicament: ANN. REV. VOL. IV.

that Linnaeus is right in uniting *Viola arvensis* to *V. tricolor*, and *Pimpinella dissecta* to *P. saxifraga*: that Schrank is wrong in separating *Hieracium pilosissimum* from *H. mucosum*, and *H. maculatum* from *H. sylvaticum*: and that there is much reason to doubt whether all the four be really more than varieties of the same species.

7. Account of the Ule-tree (Castilla elastica), and of other trees producing the elastic gum: from the Spanish of Don Vicente de Cerrantes, Prof. of Bot. in Mexico.

There are several trees in South America which produce a substance somewhat similar to the well-known elastic gum, or Ule of the Mexicans: as *Jatropha elastica* of the younger Linnaeus, for which a separate genus has been formed by Schreber, under the name of *Siphonia*; *Jatropha urens*; and other species of the same genus: *Cecropia peltata*; several species of *Ficus*; with some other plants not so well known. But the true elastic gum is the produce of a monoicous tree, which the author calls *Castilla elastica*, and of which he has given a full description, illustrated by a figure.

8. Observations on the Genera Juglans, Fraxinus, and Quercus, in the neighbourhood of Lancaster, in North America: from the German of the Rev. H. E. Mühlberg, with the remarks of Prof. C. S. Willdenow.

In this tract seven species of *Juglans*, three of *Fraxinus*, and fourteen of *Quercus*, with several varieties, are briefly described.

9. Observations on the Plant called Erica Dabecia, shewing the necessity of referring it to a different genus and order: from the French of Prof. Jussieu.

This plant which had been described as an *Erica*, by Tournefort and Ray, was at first continued in that genus by Linnaeus, with some doubt as to the propriety of its position: but on account of its habit was afterwards removed by him to *Andromeda*. Thunberg, Smith, Lamark, Gmelin, and Willdenow, have brought it back again to *Erica*. But Jussieu has here shewn that as 'each of the valves of the capsule, folding itself so as to make its edges approach inwardly, forms a complete cell absolutely separate from that of the neighbouring valve,' it is neither an *Andromeda* nor an *Erica*; in both which, as in

all the rest of the natural order Erica, 'each of the valves bears along its middle a septum, which being applied against the central seed-bearing column, forms a separate cell, produced by two valves conjointly contributing each its half; and that it therefore belongs to the natural order Rhododendra, and is really a species of Menziesia, to which genus Mr. Salisbury, with his usual penetration, had previously referred it in his edition of Thunberg's *Dissertatio de Ericâ*, printed at Featherstone in Yorkshire, a year before the publication of the present tract.

ART. IV.—*A short Account of the Disease in Corn, called by Farmers the Blight, the Mildew, and the Rust. By Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. 8vo.*

THIS short pamphlet does not profess to afford much information that is absolutely new. Botanists, as the author observes, have long known that the blight in corn is occasioned by the growth of a minute parasitic fungus, which has escaped the notice not only of the mere practical farmer, but also of all professed writers on agriculture in the English language. The alarming state of the harvest in August 1804, naturally suggested to the president of the Royal Society, who is as eminent for the activity and disinterestedness of his public spirit, as for the extent and accuracy of his scientific attainments, that a popular address to his countrymen on the subject, accompanied by a plate from the admirable highly magnified drawings of Mr. Bauer, botanical painter to his majesty, might be the means of exciting general attention among those who are most interested in the event; and of obtaining, from intelligent agriculturists in all parts of the kingdom, the result of their own experience, founded on a course of well-directed observations. In this view he is entitled to the gratitude of every friend of mankind, even although it shall finally appear that the parasitic fungus is not the primary cause of the disease. It may indeed, we apprehend, be justly doubted, whether a living plant, in the full vigour of health, would permit the seed of the fungus to take root on its surface, and to penetrate into such parts of its substance as are essentially connected with the vegetable economy. There seems to be inherent in all living organized matter, a power of self-preservation, which to a certain limit repels the approach or resists the operation of whatever would be injurious to its welfare. The living animal stomach, for instance, is not acted upon by that gastric fluid which destroys the

10. *Botanical Observations: from the German of Frederic Ehrhart.*

This tract consists of short unconnected corrections of former authors, and does not admit of analysis or abridgment.

We have only to add, that these pieces have had the good fortune to fall into the hands of a translator who is well acquainted with the science, and as appears from several notes annexed to the text, has ready access to the best sources of information.

texture of every dead animal or vegetable substance; but as soon as the principle of life is gone, becomes itself equally subject to its digestive power. In the same manner, young trees, and the young shoots of those that are old, possess a vigour which prohibits the growth not only of the parasitic fungi, which are universally known to be active agents in promoting and accelerating the process of putrefaction, but also of the musci, which do not appear to have the same destructive quality, or at least not in an equal degree. We look daily from the window of our elevated study (we hope our courteous readers will not call it a garret), upon a row of elm-trees which are peculiarly liable to be struck, as we conceive, by lightning, in consequence of their being planted near a subterranean watercourse, and of the earth about some of their roots being thereby kept in a state of constant moisture. Scarcely a summer passes in which some of their branches are not blasted. The mischief they have sustained is soon made visible by the withering of their leaves: and in the course of the ensuing winter there is always upon them a plentiful crop of *Tremella purpurea*, which completes what the lightning began, and entirely deprives them of life, but gains no footing on the sound branches in their neighbourhood. We are therefore inclined to suspect that the seeds of the parasitic fungus which appears on blighted corn, find in the early plant a predisposing weakness which favours, or at least does not repel their settlement and growth. This weakness is probably occasioned by those cold easterly and northerly winds, which in our climate are frequent in the spring about the time when the winter corn is so far advanced, and has acquired such a degree of succulence, as to be most suscep-

tible of injury. It has commonly been observed by farmers, that plants which are what they call most *rank*, that is, luxuriant in their growth, are most frequently blighted. Their vessels are then most copiously supplied with sap, and are consequently most liable to be ruptured by any violent impulse.

It is also, we believe, generally found that the fields which are most exposed to these winds, are most generally infected. A very intelligent philosophical friend, who has had considerable experience in agriculture, has just now informed us, that in order to screen a field thus exposed, a very tall hawthorn-hedge was suffered to grow, which answered the purpose; but one year when there happened to be a gap in the fence, all the corn in the direction of the wind through the gap was blighted. There is also a field in our neighbourhood which is naturally of a good soil, and has long been kept in a state of high cultivation, but while it continued under the plough, was always subject to the same evil whenever it was sown with wheat. It slopes to the east, and fronts a small valley which operates as a kind of funnel to the wind, and increases its force. It may not be unimportant to add, that at a small distance to the east, and at right angles with the direction of the valley, there is a hedge which contains a considerable number of barberry-bushes; a circumstance which seems to favour the opinion so generally entertained by farmers, and rather favoured by the learned author of the present tract, that the neighbourhood of this shrub has a pernicious influence on wheat.

But whatever opinion may be entertained concerning the original cause of the disease, the public are under great obligation to sir Joseph Banks, for the valuable hints which he has given on the subject, and for the measures which with his usual liberality he has employed to make them extensively known. His information with respect to the sufficiency of lean and shrivelled grain for all the purposes of seed-corn, is of peculiar importance and worthy of serious attention. We are sensible that the general practice of farmers is founded on a different opinion: and we acknowledge that we ourselves, who do not profess to have any practical knowledge of agriculture, were rather inclined to suspend our judgment; not thinking the growth of eighty grains of blighted wheat, sown in pots, and placed in a hothouse, a sufficiently decisive experiment to justify a tenant who wishes to pay his rent, in making a similar trial on a large scale, in the open air, and subject to the usual casualties of our variable climate. But the friend abovementioned has assured us that a few years since he himself made the experiment with complete success. In a field which had been uniformly manured, he sowed parallel divisions, or lands as they are called in his neighbourhood, one with the boldest and plumpest wheat he could procure, the next with such as was remarkably lean and shrivelled, and so on alternately through the whole field. The event exceeded his utmost hopes. The crop from the shrivelled grain was in no respect inferior to that obtained from the other.

ART. V.—*Practical Observations on the British Grasses, especially such as are best adapted to the Laying-down or Improving of Meadows and Pastures; likewise an Enumeration of the British Grasses. The Fourth Edition, with Additions. By WILLIAM CURTIS, Author of Flora Londinensis, &c. 8vo.*

THE first attempt in our language towards giving the common farmer somewhat of a scientific acquaintance with our indigenous grasses, was made by the late excellent Mr. Stillingfleet, in some observations annexed to his translation of a tract published in the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, under the title of *Pan Suecicus*. He drew up a catalogue of all that were then known; distinguished them by English names, which have since, for the most part, been generally received; and particularly recommended *Anthoxanthum odoratum*, vernal grass; *Alopecurus pratensis*, meadow fox-tail; *Agrostis palus-*

tris (alba, Linn.) marsh bent; *Agrostis capillaris*, Hudson 1st. ed. but not of Linnæus, fine bent (*A. vulgaris*, Withering and Smith); *Aira flexuosa*, mountain hair-grass; *Aira caryophyllea*, silver hair-grass; *Poa pratensis*, angustifolia, and annua, great, narrow-leaved, and annual meadow-grasses; *Festuca ovina*, fuitans; and rubra, sheep's fote, and purple fescue; *Avena flavescens*, yellow oat-grass; *Lolium perenne*, perennial dangel-grass; and *Cynosurus cristatus*, crested dog's-tail grass. Mr. Curtis some time after published his *Observations*, giving a fuller and more accurate catalogue, and particularly

selecting, as most worthy of culture, *Anthoxanthum odoratum*, *Alopecurus pratensis*, *Poa pratensis* and *trivialis*; *Festuca pratensis*, and *Cynosurus cristatus*. This tract was so favourably received as to come to a third edition, with additions, in the year 1798. The fourth edition now before us is also said in the title-page to be with additions; but from a cursory

comparison it appears to us to be printed nearly, if not altogether verbatim from the third, with the addition of sir Joseph Banks's account of the blight in corn, which has also, with the liberal consent of the author, been reprinted in two periodical publications, the *Annals of Botany* and the *Philosophical Magazine*.

ART. VI.—*The Botanist's Guide through England and Wales.* By DAWSON TURNER, F. R. S. A. S. and L. S. &c. &c. and LEWIS WESTON DILLWYN, F. R. S. and L. S. Two Vols. 8vo.

MR. DAWSON TURNER is already well known to our readers for his synopsis of the British fungi, his *Muscologiae Hibernicae Spicilegium*, and several papers in the *Transactions of the Linnean Society*. Mr. Dillwyn, his associate in this work, will be introduced to their notice with equal advantage, when his synopsis of the British *Confervæ*, with highly magnified coloured drawings, now publishing in quarterly fasciculi, is completed. These able and active botanists do not expect to make any addition to their fame by the present publication: and 'look for no credit beyond that of careful and industrious compilers.' But though the nature of their work is such as to preclude much display of knowledge and investigation, it is such also as requires a scientific and extensive acquaintance with the subject. Local catalogues of the rarer British plants, with their places of growth, or habitats, as they are rather barbarously, but not inconveniently called, have been published in various forms: county ones in particular are to be found in the later editions of Camden's *Britannia*, and in most separate county histories; but they have generally been very imperfect, and have often been deformed with gross errors. A more acceptable service, therefore, could scarcely have been done to the lovers of English botany, than is here offered to their acceptance. It is precisely what they want; and we are persuaded, that there is not one of them who will not gladly receive it as a profitable and pleasant companion in all his excursions. To those who are not naturalists, indeed, nothing can appear more completely dull and tedious than a catalogue of names: but those who have experienced the mortification of having learnt too late that they have been in the neighbourhood of a plant which they have never seen, will know how to estimate its value. And we do not hesitate to assert, though we may possibly incur the risk of being posted in a

new edition of *Flin Flans* for making the assertion, that he who would not cheerfully go a few miles out of his way for the sake of observing a rare plant alive, on its native soil, has no right to call himself a botanist.

Mr. Turner and Mr. Dillwyn have not only collected with diligence and judgment all that has hitherto been published on the subject, but have contributed much that has fallen within their personal observation, and have also been favoured with numerous original communications from their botanical friends; so that they have been enabled to furnish a mass of information which is no where else to be obtained. Plants which are of almost universal occurrence, they have uniformly omitted: they have even avoided, as far as possible, introducing those, which though confined to peculiar situations, are in those situations almost always to be found. Those, for instance, which generally accompany a calcareous soil, and are nearly confined to it, such as *Cistus helianthemum*, *Hippocrepis comosa*, &c.; the maritime plants which are commonly met with on the sea-coast; and those which are limited to marshes or sands; are purposely excluded, though they cannot but be rarities to the naturalist whose neighbourhood does not furnish similar stations. On this principle no mention is made either of *Cotyledon umbilicus*, or *Digitalis purpurea*, notwithstanding they are no where to be found in the eastern part of the kingdom; because, as the authors state, the former of them in the northern, and the latter in the southern and western counties, is even more common than any nettle or thistle in Norfolk and Suffolk. The *Botanist's Guide* would certainly have become too bulky for convenient use, if some line of this kind had not been drawn; but we cannot help wishing that it had not been quite so scrupulously observed. It would be interesting to know the exact limits of the two

plants which they have mentioned, and to have it exactly ascertained where they do and where they do not occur. We have observed the former sparingly in Northamptonshire and Cheshire, more plentifully in Shropshire, particularly on the sandstone rocks at Hawkstone, the enchanting seat of sir Richard Hill, and abundantly in almost every part of North Wales, but know of no habitat for it in any of the six northern counties, except about Troutbeck in Westmoreland, where it is said by Hudson to grow copiously. The latter is very common in many parts of the north, but, if we mistake not, is scarcely ever found except in a soil of which clay is a principal component. We believe it generally accompanies coal, but is by no means confined to the districts where that invaluable mineral abounds. Sixteen counties are mentioned as producing *Campanula latifolia*, which is usually ranked among the rarer English plants. It is very common in most parts of the north, grows more sparingly in the midland counties, and does not appear any where south of Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Bedfordshire, except in Cornwall, where Mr. Dillwyn found it in abundance. To *Campanula trachelium* no particular habitats are assigned, though it has nearly, if not altogether, an equal right to be esteemed a local plant. As far as our observation has extended, Hawkstone in Shropshire is its extreme northern limit.

We should have been glad to see the habitats of *Ligustrum vulgare*, *Pastinaca sativa*, and some others which are certainly local, and do not appear to be confined to any soil or situation of a determined character. But we will not dwell on supposed deficiencies. We are sensible that we ought to express our gratitude to the respectable compilers, for the copious list with which they have actually favoured us; and should not have offered these remarks, if we had not been confident that they have too much of a philosophical spirit, not to receive with pleasure any hints intended to promote the advancement of their favourite science. Indeed, valuable as their work is with respect to its professed immediate object, it has, in our estimation, a right to aspire to a higher rank. We flatter ourselves that we see in it the rudiments of a geographical botany of our island. In that light we wish it to be considered; and hope to see it gradually increased by the constant accession of new materials, expressly collected for that purpose. Tra-

velling botanists, who use it as a *Vade Mecum* (and what botanist will be satisfied to be without it?), will esteem themselves bound by gratitude to contribute their observations for its farther improvement, and will, we trust, carefully mark every attendant circumstance of soil, elevation, exposure, and whatever else has any connection with the natural situation of a plant.

Our authors in their preface signify their regret, that in some cases their information has not enabled them to fix with certainty, in which of two adjoining counties a particular plant was found. In deference to those professional partialities, which are too general, and perhaps too natural to be altogether condemned, it may be desirable and even necessary to notice the political divisions of a country; and where a particular station is to be sought for by a stranger, it must be of consequence to know on which side of a river it lies: but for the purposes of real science, it is a matter of absolute indifference whether it be in the county of Gloucester or of Somerset, any farther than the naked rocks of St. Vincent, and the woody ground beyond the Avon, present different kinds of surface, and lead us to expect plants of distinct natural families.

We have long been convinced that the basons of rivers, as they are not unaptly called by some of the French naturalists, afford the best natural divisions, with the exception of the comparatively few instances in which a river that intersects the country, separates strata entirely different from each other in their general qualities and features. Where two or more rivers run nearly parallel to each other, without any considerable elevation between them, and with little diversity of soil, as is the case with the Midland Ouse, the Nen, and the Welland; or where their course is short, and the country which slopes to them on each side has no striking peculiarity of character; they may be considered as belonging to the same natural district: but the Thames, the Severn, the Trent, the Yorkshire Ouse, the Tyne, the Eden, the Ribble, the Mersey, and the Dee, which have numerous tributaries in their train, may justly claim a whole division to themselves. England and Wales might be properly parcelled into ten or twelve districts of this kind, and Scotland into six or eight more: and each of these should be accurately analysed into their distinct parts, as those parts

are marked either by the course of the stream through different kinds of soil, or by the distance of the highest line from the bed of the river on each side; or otherwise, as they consist of subordinate valleys, watered by their own rivulets, brooks, or torrents. If for this purpose the mineralogist, the botanist, and the agriculturist, were to survey the whole with that scientific eye which is to be acquired and matured only by long experience in the course of their respective pursuits, the result of their labours would be a fund of information equally interesting to the philosopher, and useful to the generality of mankind. As far as our influence extends, we are anxious to do all in our power towards the completion of so desirable an object; and though we have no personal authority for so doing, we do not scruple to advise all lovers of natural science to keep a future edition of this work constantly in their view, and to consider it as a centre of intelligence to which all scattered information may be directed from every quarter, with a certainty of being thankfully received, and of producing extensively beneficial effects.

We have only in addition to assure our readers, that the authors have already

done more than their title-page promises, by throwing considerable light on several hitherto obscure plants, and pointing out others which want further investigation. They have likewise added a few phænogamous, and a greater number of cryptogamous plants, which had not before been admitted as parts of the British Flora; and have shewn that some others which have obtained peaceable possession, have no decided right to the privileges of native citizens. It would afford us great pleasure were we able to announce, that a similar guide to the northern division of our island is in a state of preparation. From the numerous students in the four universities of Scotland who are actually engaged in the study of botany, and from the various English travellers conversant in that science who are yearly making the tour of the Highlands in particular, a sufficient quantity of materials may surely be expected; and if each could be induced to contribute their share to a common stock, the more dignified name of Great Britain might speedily stand in a new edition of the work before us, instead of England and Wales. The other Great British island will, we fear, for some time, still remain but little explored.

ART. VII.—*The Botanist's Guide through the Counties of Northumberland and Durham.* Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 123.

THIS work is dedicated to the literary and philosophical society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by three of its members, N. J. Winch, F. L. S. John Thornhill, and Richard Waugh. That respectable society has laudably considered the counties of Northumberland and Durham, as placed under its immediate inspection, and having a claim upon it for an accurate investigation of their natural treasures. If similar institutions were established in all our great towns, and if each of them were to form a similar opinion of their respective duties to the general community, we should soon have a natural history of Great Britain far better than any country can as yet boast of possessing. The three gentlemen who have subscribed their names to the dedication, appear to have undertaken the botanical part; and the volume before us constitutes the first fruits of their researches. It is formed on the same plan as the more general work reviewed in the preceding article, and, as may naturally be supposed, is fuller and more minute. In three or four instances plants

are given without specific names. These the compilers consider 'as non-descripts, and leave to the authors on English botany, who are in possession of specimens, the task of delineating and describing.' The sentence is rather obscure; but we presume that the authors referred to, are Dr. Smith and Mr. Sowerby; and the specimens certainly cannot be placed in better hands: but we should, nevertheless, have been gratified by having scientific descriptions formed from the recent plants by skilful naturalists, who have seen them in their natural situations, and have enjoyed opportunities of observing them in all the stages of their growth. Botanists should always describe on the spot every plant concerning which they entertain any degree of doubt; and if they have fortunately acquired the power of drawing a correct outline, should pay particular attention to its usual habit as it grows. The best artists must sometimes unavoidably fail of producing a striking resemblance, when they are called to delineate a plant which they have never seen before, and which

has, perhaps, been conveyed to them two or three hundred miles in a tin box.

Such information as the following will always be acceptable : but the two particulars in the last clause of the concluding sentence are by no means happily conceived, or clearly expressed.

‘ It must not be expected that Cheviot and its surrounding hills will ever be found to vie with Teesdale, whose mountains are in a great measure composed of extensive lime-stone ridges, which are well known to be propitious to the growth of alpine plants. Cheviot, on the contrary, is a porphyritic mountain, densely clothed to its summit with coarse grass and rushes,

to the total exclusion of more delicate vegetables. The herbage of Cheviot is composed of the following plants :—*Scirpus cespitosus*, called by the shepherds Deer’s-hair; *Juncus articulatus*, Spart; *Juncus squamosus*, Black-bent; *Nardus stricta*, White-bent; *Eriophorum Vaginatum*—*its leaves Ling, its flowers Moss.*

The first volume comprehends the Musci, but we are informed that materials for the second, in which the Lichens will be arranged according to the mode adopted by Dr. Acharius, in his *Methodus Lichenum*, are nearly collected, and will soon be committed to the press.

CHAPTER XVII.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

AMONG the subjects of medical controversy it is with some regret that we have to give the first place to the discovery by which Jenner has secured to mankind the means of saving a greater number of lives, and preventing more pain and calamity, incomparably beyond what could ever be contemplated by any other improvement in medical practice. It is not that we entertain any doubt of the final establishment of vaccination; and even the virulent attacks made upon it will produce some advantage, by pointing out some imperfections, and indicating the necessity of some precautions too often neglected.

Another subject still under controversy, is the propriety of the refrigerating plan of treatment in gout, proposed by Dr. Kinglake, which has already attracted sufficient notice to be made the subject of actual experiment, now under observation, from which, in a future year, we may hope to derive solid information.

Among the publications of sterling value, from which every practitioner may derive interest and instruction, we cannot hesitate to give the first place to Dr. Hamilton's excellent Treatise on the Use of Purgative Medicines. The same character of practical utility, derived from long and accurate investigation, distinguishes the Clinical History of Diseases by Dr. Haygarth.

A single but valuable essay appears in physiology; Dr. Jones's Treatise on Hæmorrhage.

The publications on surgery and anatomy are of inferior importance this year.

Dr. Duncan's Annals, and the Memoirs of the Medical Society, fully support the high reputation of these respectable miscellanies.

ART. I.—Observations on the Utility and Administration of Purgative Medicines in several Diseases. By JAMES HAMILTON, M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and of the Royal Philosophical Society, and Senior Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 320.

THE volume commences with some general observations on purgative medicines, and upon the hypotheses which have been formed concerning their mode of action. The ancients had many singular ideas upon this subject, and the humoral pathologists prescribed these medicines for intentions which they are no longer expected to fulfil. As the progress of medical science has simplified

our views, the importance of purgatives may perhaps have been too little attended to; in modern practice they are generally given merely to obviate costiveness, and this effect is supposed to be produced, if two or three evacuations take place in the twenty-four hours. In the following pages we shall, however, find a very different, and much bolder system pursued, and as it is sanctioned by the experience of a

gentleman who has been for many years extensively engaged in both public and private practice, we cannot but consider it as entitled to our respectful attention.

The diseases in which Dr. Hamilton has adopted the plan of so largely administering purgatives are principally Typhus, Scarlatina, Marasmus, Chorea, Cholera, and Hæmetomesia. To each of these a separate chapter is devoted, in which the particulars of the practice, and the circumstances which led to it, are briefly detailed. The author was originally induced to pursue his present method of treating typhus, by observing that the antimonials, which were formerly so largely employed in this disease, appeared to be most serviceable when they operated upon the bowels. This led him to suspect, that any purgative medicine might be substituted in their place, and that the debilitating effect of vomiting and sweating might thus be avoided. Experience has fully confirmed these conjectures, and after a trial of some years he is now 'thoroughly persuaded, that the full and regular evacuation of the bowels, relieves the oppression of the stomach, and mitigates the other symptoms of fever.' He has accordingly almost entirely given up the administration of other remedies, and trusts to the exhibition of frequent and copious purgatives. It might have been apprehended, that this plan of treatment would have aggravated the debility, which constitutes a striking symptom of typhus; but ample experience has proved this not to be the case. The purgatives which Dr. Hamilton has employed in fever are calomel, calomel and jalap, jalap and crystals of tartar, aloes, solutions of mild neutral salts, infusion of senna, and sometimes the two last medicines conjoined.

In the chapter on scarlatina the author is naturally led to discuss the much agitated question, whether the scarlatina and the cynanche maligna are different diseases, or only varieties of the same complaint. He inclines to the latter opinion, but at the same time, proposes it with that modesty, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the work before us. As it is in that form of the disease, which is called the cynanche maligna, that the use of purgatives has been regarded as the least admissible, the author enters more particularly upon the consideration of this part of the subject, minutely considers all the objections that have been urged, and endeavours to repel them.

The chapter on marasmus is perhaps the most valuable part of the volume. The disease is characterized in the following terms:

"A sluggishness, lassitude on slight exertion, depravity and loss of appetite, wasting of the muscular flesh, fulness of the features and paleness of the countenance, swelling of the abdomen, an irregular and generally a costive state of the bowels, a change in the colour and odour of the feces, fetid breath, swelling of the upper lip, and itching of the nose, mark the beginning of the disease.

"When these symptoms have continued for some time, they are followed by alternate paleness and flushing of the countenance, heat and dryness of the skin, feeble and quick pulse, thirst, fretfulness, increasing debility and disturbed sleep, during which the patients grind or gnash their teeth, and are subject to involuntary starting, and twitching of different muscles."

This disease is frequently met with among the inhabitants of close cities, in crowded manufactories, and particularly among the children of the poor, who are deprived of the benefits of fresh air, cleanliness, and nutritious diet. This combination of symptoms has been generally conceived to depend upon the presence of worms in the alimentary canal, but their existence is, by no means, decidedly proved; worms are not unfrequently present, where no previous disease of the kind here described had been observed; and in a great majority of the cases of marasmus, the presence of worms has never been ascertained. Dr. Hamilton supposes the disease to proceed from a torpid or weakened action of the alimentary canal, and on this opinion he founded his practice of administering purgatives, which, when fully and steadily adhered to, seldom fails of producing the desired effect. Marasmus itself is a disease sufficiently formidable, but it appears to have an intimate connection with two others that are still more so, hydrocephalus internus, and epilepsy. Without entering minutely into the pathology of these complaints, our author thinks that there is a close relation between their existence, and a morbid state of the bowels, and his practical experience has amply confirmed this opinion.

Dr. Hamilton has been equally successful in chorea. The practice of exhibiting frequent purgatives in this disease was employed by Sydenham, and although he did not manage it in the most advantageous manner, he was, upon the whole, successful. Since his time a totally opposite treatment has been adopted, and

certainly with little benefit. Dr. Hamilton has seen in all above twenty cases of this disease; formerly he followed the practice then in vogue, of administering tonics and stimulants, and met with the usual disappointments; he was afterwards led to adopt his present views upon the subject, and has been uniformly fortunate. He has been equally so in his application of the purgative treatment to Chlorosis and Hæmatemesis, to neither of which one would, at first view, have thought it peculiarly applicable. The author examines the different hypotheses that have been proposed to account for chlorosis, but conceiving them to be inapplicable, and the practice founded upon them inefficient, he particularly directed his attention to the state of the bowels.

"The slightest attention to the general history of the disease evinces, that costiveness precedes, and accompanies the other symptoms. Costiveness induces the feculent odour of the breath, disordered stomach, depraved appetite, and impaired digestion. These preclude a sufficient supply of nourishment, at a period of growth, when it is most wanted: hence paleness, laxity, flaccidity, the nervous symptoms, wasting of the muscular flesh, languor, debility, the retention of the menses, and suspension of other excretions, serous effusions, dropsy, and death."

He also objects to the common opinion respecting hæmatemesis in females, that it is occasioned by a retension of the menses, and that it is vicarious of this discharge; his objection indeed seems very decisive, viz. that the disease exists in its most perfect form, while the menses continue regular. At all events, whatever be its cause, purgatives given in sufficient quantity, appear certainly to remove it, and produce their effect without any unpleasant action upon the system at large.

About one-half of the volume is occupied by a collection of cases, illustrative

of the doctrines maintained in the preceding part, principally extracted from the records of the Edinburgh infirmary, in which are given, at full length, and much in detail, both the symptoms as they appeared from day to day, and the remedies that were prescribed. The large quantity of purgatives given to young subjects, and those labouring under what have been usually considered as diseases of debility, will excite a good deal of surprise, and must materially affect our future reasonings on such subjects. Much as we feel impressed with the value of this treatise, we shall point out two circumstances which, in our estimation, must tend somewhat to diminish their practical importance. From perusing the cases of typhus, particularly the more violent of them, we are decidedly of opinion, that the disease might have been more quickly subdued by the use of the cold affusion. In the first case, for example, of a patient with 'the skin very hot,' on the third day of typhus, we should have had no hesitation in determining how to proceed. Our second observation is, that it would appear to us almost impossible, in private practice, to prevail upon our patients to take the immense quantities of medicines which Dr. Hamilton's method seems to require, nor do we conceive that it would be easy to persuade the friends or attendants to administer them. These considerations, however, do not make us withhold our warm approbation from the contents of the volume. They undoubtedly throw a new light upon an important function of the animal economy, and must afford many useful suggestions, even to those who do not directly imitate the practice. The candid spirit which pervades the work cannot be too highly commended, a spirit which, in medical writing, is unfortunately as rare, as it is desirable.

ART. II.—A Clinical History of Diseases. Part First: being 1. a Clinical History of the Acute Rheumatism; 2. a Clinical History of the Nodosity of the Joints. By JOHN HAYGARTH, M. D. F. R. S. and F. R. S. Edinburgh, and of other Medical and Philosophical Societies. 8vo. pp. 168.

A very essential difference between the medical writings of the older physicians, and those of the present day, consists in this circumstance; that formerly almost every one thought it necessary to compose a regular treatise upon each subject, whereas now we frequently confine ourselves to the relation of individual cases. This change has taken place, not only from a gradual improvement in our ideas

respecting medicine, but from the different method which we employ for acquiring knowledge of all kinds. We have at length learned to estimate the value of experience, and though it may be impossible entirely to check the propensity to theorize which the human mind has always exhibited, yet there never was a period when theory had less influence over the judgment, and when facts were

more assiduously investigated. The work now before us is altogether of the modern species; it is the result of a considerable quantity of practice, condensed into a small compass, and arranged in a tabular form. For an undertaking of this kind Dr. Haygarth is particularly well fitted, not merely from his extensive knowledge and his acuteness of observation, but more especially from a habit which he has followed for many years of noting down, during the time of his visit, every circumstance of importance in the state of the patient's symptoms, the remedies applied, and their apparent effects. The present volume contains the result of his experience in two diseases, the acute rheumatism, and the nodosity of the joints.

During a period of thirty-eight years our author has taken notes of the cases of 10,549 patients: of these 470 were rheumatism; but of this number only 170, or about one-third, had any fever: these last therefore form the subject of the present essay. Dr. Haygarth gives us a summary view of all the observations that he has recorded; he points out the causes of acute rheumatism, the period at which it appears after the application of the cause, the diseases with which it is connected, the state of the secretions and excretions, of the pulse, and of the blood; and finally, we have an account of the remedies employed. On each of these topics the author furnishes us with the direct results of his practice, as taken from his journals, thus affording us a more extensive range of observations than had ever been before collected. We shall briefly mention the different conclusions which are deduced from this valuable body of experience.

A greater proportion of males than females are attacked with acute rheumatism, a circumstance which probably ought to be ascribed to the former being more exposed to the exciting cause of the disease, cold. Although the disease affects all ages, yet the period from fifteen to twenty is the most subject to its attacks. The time which intervenes between the application of the cause, and the production of the disease, what the author calls the latent period, seldom exceeded forty-eight hours, and, in some instances, the interval was scarcely perceptible. In a great majority of cases the joints were the parts principally affected; sometimes both the joints and the muscles, and in some few instances the muscles only. The average of the disease was about 100; the blood, when drawn, had almost always the inflamma-

tory crust. One case only is stated, in which the rheumatism was transferred to the stomach. But the most interesting information is the account which is given of the beneficial effects of bark in the acute rheumatism; indeed, the recommendation of this remedy may be considered as the main object of the work.

Dr. Haygarth was first induced to employ it from the recommendation of Dr. Fothergill, who was in the habit of annually visiting the county of Chester, and was consulted in a case of acute rheumatism that was under Dr. Haygarth's care. Dr. Fothergill proposed that bark should be prescribed; and in answer to the objections raised by our author, against the use of bark in an inflammatory disease, he replied that

"When I was a young physician, being twice called out of my bed to visit patients in a frosty night, I caught a very severe rheumatic fever. By the advice of my medical brethren I had been bled repeatedly and largely, even to 70 ounces. My disease yet remained unsubdued, and my blood still exhibited an inflammatory crust. Hence I was convinced that the method of curing this fever by such copious evacuations was erroneous. Soon after my recovery, I was desired to visit a patient ill of an acute rheumatism. At my request, sir Edward Hulse, at that time the most eminent physician in London, was consulted. He proposed that we should order the Peruvian bark. I gladly agreed to the proposal, as I thought there were several analogies between an ague and a rheumatic fever. In both diseases, the urine lets fall a similar lateritious sediment. In intermittent, as well as rheumatic fevers, the blood when let is covered with an inflammatory crust. The pain and fever of rheumatism have certain periodical, though not quite regular paroxysms and intermissions.

"In this consultation with sir Edward Hulse, the bark was given with such manifest advantage, that I have ever since adopted the practice in this disease, and recommend it to you in spite of all medical authorities to the contrary."

It appears that the use of bark in acute diseases originated with Morton, who, in his treatise on this complaint, mentions his having prescribed it in conjunction with Hulse. Since the consultation with Dr. Fothergill, which took place thirty-five years ago, Dr. Haygarth has been in the constant habit of prescribing it, and he has been continually acquiring additional confidence in its virtues. In order to furnish every information on the subject, our author states, at some length, the history of all the cases in which it appeared to afford no benefit: these seem

to have been but four out of one hundred and twenty-one, a proportion altogether inconsiderable. Dr. Haygarth sums up his experience on the subject in the following words.

"After the stomach and bowels have been sufficiently cleansed by antimony, I have, for many years, begun to order the powder of the Peruvian bark in doses of gr. v. x. or xv. every two, three, or four hours; and if this quantity has a salutary effect, it was gradually increased to gr. xx. xxx. or xl. with sedulous attention never to add more than what perfectly agrees. It has generally been taken in milk, mint-water, or the decoction of bark.

"With the exception of the few cases above noticed, the bark has uniformly produced the most salutary effects. The pains, swellings, sweats, and other symptoms of inflammatory fever, manifestly and speedily abate, and gradually cease, till health is perfectly restored.

"Dr. James Currie, in his *Medical Reports*, p. 421, observes that 'the inflammatory rheumatism is one of the most tedious and intractable of diseases.' This remark of a physician of such extensive experience, and medical knowledge, deserves particular attention. It proves the value of an inquiry which attempts to discover a safe and certain remedy for such a malady.

"Another circumstance merits great attention. When the rheumatic fever has been treated by bleeding, leeches, sudorifics, &c. it is well known that pains of the diseased joints and muscles often afflict the patient for many months or even years. In my clinical reports I find no instance of this kind, and have reason to think that the bark entirely prevents this cause of the chronic rheumatism as a consequence of the inflammatory fever.

"Except mercury in the syphilis, there are few or perhaps no examples where a remedy can produce such speedy relief and perfect recovery in so formidable a disease. For many years I have been thoroughly convinced that the Peruvian bark has a much more powerful effect in the rheumatic than any other fever: and that it does not even cure an ague so certainly and so quickly."

To the essay is subjoined what are called "proofs and illustrations;" among other information, we have a full account of all the cases of acute rheumatism which terminated fatally; they amount to twelve out of one hundred and seventy. It appears that there was, in all these instances, a translation of the disease to some vital part, or a combination with some other complaint. Next follow the tables; they consist of twenty-nine columns, in which are arranged every circumstance of importance respecting either the symptoms or method of cure.

The second part of the work gives an account of the nodosity of the joints, a disease which has generally been classed with gout or rheumatism, but which Dr. Haygarth conceives is sufficiently distinguishable from either of these complaints to form the subject of a separate inquiry. It has occurred to him in thirty-four cases out of 10,549: it is almost peculiar to women, and generally begins about the period when the menses cease. The fingers are the parts usually affected.

"The ends of the bones, the periosteum, capsules or ligaments, which form the joint, gradually increase. These nodes are not separate tumours, but feel as if they were an enlargement of the bones themselves."

It is a disease slow in its progress: but it advances without remission; and when it is fully formed, it almost entirely destroys the use of the joints.

The remedies which Dr. Haygarth found the most efficacious for this distressing malady were "the warm bath, with the repeated application of leeches on the diseased joint." Upon the whole, he appears to place the most dependance on the leeches; but he candidly admits that our knowledge on the subject is still very imperfect.

ART. III.—*The modern Practice of Physic.* By EDWARD GOODMAN CLARKE, M.D. *Author of the Medicina Praxeos Compendium; of the Royal College of Physicians London; and Physician to the Forces, &c. &c.* 8vo. pp. 430.

WE are somewhat at a loss in what point of view to regard this work. That it contains a great quantity of medical information, compressed into a small bulk, we readily allow, and yet we cannot admit that it holds a high rank, either as a literary production calculated to advance the science of medicine, or as a performance from which the practitioner can derive any very important aid in the prosecution of his profession. In an age like

the present, when the votaries of science are so numerous and of such various descriptions, well-digested compendia, giving a concise but correct view of the progression of knowledge, are eminently useful. Such productions, though less brilliant than works of original genius, are perhaps inferior to none in the effect which they produce, by affording an easy access to scientific information, and thus very considerably promoting its general

diffusion. They may either profess to exhibit a complete and elaborate view of the subject, or they may aim only at giving a popular and superficial sketch, and they may still be each of them highly valuable. Their objects are indeed different, and their style and method should be so too. The one is necessarily much extended, goes into minute details, is couched in strictly scientific language, and is addressed to those already masters of the subject. The other is more brief, seizes only the striking features, is conveyed in a clear and familiar style, and is intended for the instruction of those who are only at the threshold of knowledge. Examples of these two species of productions must be familiar to every one, in the various departments of philosophy and literature; when they are ably conducted we feel grateful to the author, whichever method he may choose to adopt.

On some occasions, however, we meet with anomalous performances, which are not easily referable to either class; like those amphibious animals, who are capable of moving in different elements, and are equally awkward in both, so these works partake of the disadvantages of each, without fully answering the intention of either. They are too concise for the inquisitive student, and too technical for the general reader. This we apprehend to be the case with Dr. Clarke's work; but lest we should be accused of condemning it without showing cause for our judgment, we shall proceed to give our readers some account of its scope and execution.

In a moderate-sized octavo volume the author professes to give a complete account of "the modern practice of physic." The diseases are classed according to the nosology of Dr. Cullen, and a short chapter or section is allotted to each, in which are stated in succession, the definition, symptoms, causes, diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment. They are not stated in a popular manner, or in a style adapted for the perusal of the unprofessional; but they are brought forward in such a manner as evidently designed for the use of those engaged in practice. The size of the volume can only admit of the exhibition of a few leading facts and principles, and whatever merit we may suppose the author to possess in selection and compression, he has undertaken what is not to be accomplished, or at least not to be accomplished in such a way as to be either interesting or valuable.

We shall proceed to illustrate our re-

marks by some examples. Typhus is divided into the two forms of mitior and gravior, each of which is treated of in a separate chapter. We are not informed whether Dr. Clarke considers these as two distinct diseases, depending upon different external causes, and different actions of the system; or whether he only considers them as exhibiting a greater or less degree of the same morbid state. We are, however, led to conceive, from the manner in which the subject is stated, that the former is the case. Dr. Cullen's definition of typhus is adopted by our author for his typhus mitior; an account of the symptoms, causes, diagnosis, and prognosis, are given with tolerable accuracy, and moderately detailed, and we then proceed to the treatment. Upon this part of the work, as one in which the author is more than usually copious, and which we select on this account, we shall offer a few remarks. Passing over the commencement, where the Darwinian hypothesis of morbid catenation is adopted without ceremony, he directs, "that after the operation of an emetic, a purgative of calomel be given." This advice is given unconditionally, without noticing the numerous cases, familiar to every practitioner, where such a medicine would be absolutely improper, and without informing us in what dose it is to be administered. The author then proceeds to state that wine and opium should be given in small quantities; and, from the context, it is to be supposed that he recommends their use from the very commencement of the disease. We are next told, "that the administration of oxygen gas will also prove an useful auxiliary;" but the reader is not informed in what way it is to be given, or what evidence we have of its utility. Any one who has actually practised in typhus, knows that it is too serious a complaint to be trifling with the pneumatic medicines, or harassing the patients by attempting to make them suck in the gases.

We are then ordered to use different methods for relaxing the skin and diminishing the heat in order that bark may be given, as if bark had any specific power over typhus, as sulphur has over the itch. It would have been more prudent to have advised the early use of the cold affusion, in order that the disease might be destroyed at its commencement, and the bark rendered unnecessary. Instead of this powerful remedy, we are detained with the spuma cerevisiæ, as the author chooses to call it, and the oxygenated muriate of

potash, which is strongly recommended, but we know not upon what authority. Opium, Dover's powders, and the nitrous spirit of ether, are indiscriminately prescribed at bed-time, as if they possessed similar virtues, and were equally applicable in all cases: and if subsultus tendinum supervene, ether, camphor, ammonia, castor, and musk, are recommended *en masse*, while opium, which is probably equal to all the rest taken together, is neglected. Finally, we are told that "sedative and antispasmodic remedies may also be employed externally by means of friction;" here, as in the former instances, we should have been glad to have seen some authorities quoted.

After this comes a pretty copious detail of the employment of the cold affusion, professedly taken from the medical reports; it is fairly stated, though certainly out of place; the cold affusion is the most applicable, indeed almost exclusively so, in the early stages of the disease.

Of typhus gravior the author attempts a new definition.

"Morbus contagiosus; calor intensus et mordax; pulsus durus, parvus, debilis, plerumque frequens et abnormis; nausea; vomitus bilis subviridis vel nigri coloris; vultus rubore suffusus; lingua plerumque arida et nigra; urina parum mutata; vires maxime imminutæ plerumque cum petechiis; sitis inædabilis."

We must beg leave to criticise some parts of this definition. Though the pulse may be occasionally hard, this state is by no means characteristic of the complaint, or very generally present in it; the vomiting of bile is quite an accidental circumstance; and the redness of countenance is so far from being a constant symptom, which should enter into a definition, that we believe the contrary state of pallidness is a more frequent occurrence. The directions given for the treatment of typhus gravior, considering that they only occupy three pages, are upon the whole not injudicious, though we observe a little of that trifling which we noticed in the former chapter. Clysters of carbonic acid gas are recommended; the sulphuric and muriatic acids are advised to be mixed with the patient's common drink; swelling of the parotid glands is spoken of as an usual occurrence, and we are told that "it will be most advisable to make an incision into the tumour, without waiting for a fluctuation, or even a softness of it." The cold affusion is recommended here, as in the former case, towards the conclusion, not

brought forwards in the commencement to strike at the roots of the disease. Upon these we make no comment.

We shall give our readers one more example, in Dr. Clarke's account of the treatment of the cynanche maligna. We must begin by remarking, that this disease and the scarlatina are placed in different parts of the work, according to the nosology of Dr. Cullen; and the author gives no intimation of the opinion entertained by a great number, if not the majority, of the most respectable practitioners, that they are only modifications of the same disease. Our author has stated, at full length, the diagnosis which was laid down by Dr. Withering, though, in a subsequent edition of his treatise, this judicious physician recanted his former opinion, and considered them as originating from the same contagion. In the commencement emetics are recommended; then he directs the mildest laxatives, but particularly specifies, in the same sentence, mercurial cathartics. We are afterwards advised to apply "small repeated blisters" to the external fauces, although Dr. Withering, and after him Dr. Currie, conceive them to be of no use. Gargles of different compositions are then directed, and afterwards we are told that "wine, opium, the cinchona, acidum muriaticum vel sulphuricum, and the other remedies recommended in the treatment of the typhus gravior must be employed with assiduity." Such general and vague directions can be of little use in guiding the practitioner in doubtful cases, or in informing him at what period these powerful remedies are to be begun, to what extent administered, and when discontinued. We have next some observations which are not injudicious, upon the method to be pursued, if diarrhoea, vomiting, or suppression of urine supervene, and, as usual, we find at the end of the chapter some suggestions *modestly* stated in the form of queries. "Might not small electric shocks, passed frequently through the tonsils, be of service; or might not the æther sulphuricus be applied to the external fauces with advantage?" The reader will notice that not a word is said about the cold affusion in the treatment of this disease.

These examples will be sufficient to give a fair idea of the merits and defects of Dr. Clarke's performance. The articles which we have selected for animadversion are important in themselves, and at least as well digested as the other parts of the work. It will be admitted that it is

a very inadequate guide for practice, at the same time that it is no way calculated for popular perusal. Dr. Clarke has indeed taken care to remove his work from vulgar use, by introducing technical terms on every possible occasion. In speaking of the external applications for phlegmon, he recommends "the murias ammoniac, half an ounce dissolved in a pint of the acetum," in plain English, sal ammoniac dissolved in vinegar; then we have a composition which contains "a tea spoonful of murias sodæ", *id est*, common salt. But this is not all; the author, though writing and publishing in London, has chosen to dignify his performance with the splendid nomenclature of the new Edinburgh pharmacopeia. In one place we have the decoctum anthemidis nobilis recommended, which, after some reflection, we discover to be our old friend

chamomile tea. Many of the chapters are concluded by queries, some of which we think very fanciful and trifling, while others manifest an extraordinary deficiency of information. In speaking of the cure of agues, he asks whether "the affusion of cold water, or brine, might not be employed with every prospect of success, immediately after the hot fit is completely formed." This, every one knows, is the identical practice which is most accurately laid down by Dr. Currie; and still more unaccountably overlooking the discoveries of this celebrated and much-lamented physician, Dr. Clarke concludes his account of scarlet fever by asking, "might not the affusion of cold water, employed with the precautions mentioned when treating of typhus, extinguish incipient scarlatina?"

ART. IV.—*The Philosophy of Physic; or the natural History of Diseases and their Cure: being an Attempt to deliver the Art of Healing from the Darkness of Barbarism and Superstition, and from the Jargon and Pedantry of the Schools: shewing a more easy and certain Way of preserving and recovering Health than any hitherto known.* By the Rev. WILLIAM WILSON. 8vo. pp. 329.

THIS is one of the most impudent attempts to impose on the credulity of the ignorant that we have ever had occasion to peruse. Its title, we apprehend, was invented upon the old drinicle of *lucus a non lucendo*; for it is the very antipode of philosophy, the bathos of physic. The purport of this tissue of ignorance and imposition, is nothing less than to recommend to the public a certain powder, which, not from its appropriated virtues, but that it may have a well-sounding name, to distinguish it from the nostrums of Brodum and Solomon, is denominated the *Anti-arthritic Powder*. To this all-potent drug, the nature of which this conscientious divine means to keep a profound secret for the good of mankind, all diseases yield at once. Every disorder, acute or chronic, bilious, nervous, inflammatory, spasmodic, visceral, or cutaneous; scrofula, cancer,

consumption, siphylis, &c. &c. all disappear before the virtues of this magic powder. And moreover the reverend quack (if, indeed, he really belongs to the sacred order) has the assurance to stigmatise the whole race of physicians, from Podalirius and Machaon downwards (he read of them, we presume, in *Pope's Homer*), and to brand that science with the charge of barbarism, the very language of which he does not understand. "Thus," he says, in derision, "we read of pyrexia, of dispnæa, dispepsia, hemoragia, menoragia, hemeptoe, &c." p. xi.: from which we may judge of his complete ignorance not only of medical terms, but of that elegant and polished language of antiquity, with which it is somewhat disgraceful for one, who calls himself a divine, to be unacquainted.

ART. V.—*Observations on the Nature and Cure of Gout; on Nodes of the Joints: and on the Influence of certain Articles of Diet, in Gout, Rheumatism, and Gravel.* By JAMES PARKINSON, Hoxton. 8vo. pp. 174.

ALTHOUGH the author was incited to the publication of these observations by the appearance of Dr. Kinglake's work, and by a consideration of the danger which would ensue to the public from the general adoption of the practice which Dr. Kinglake recommends, yet it would scarcely appear that he had it in view to

refute or to answer the propositions, which this gentleman has endeavoured to establish. His object appears to be rather to recommend a practice, which he considers as more safe and more effectual than that of Dr. Kinglake, and thus to supersede the necessity of recurring to the latter. It seems to us, indeed, that the points to

which the respective methods of Mr. Parkinson and Dr. Kinglake are more particularly directed, are totally distinct; and that, provided the latter be as void of danger as Dr. Kinglake affirms that it is, the two methods of treatment, so far from being in opposition or even incompatible with each other, might be employed in mutual aid, to effect the completion of the same desirable end, the removal of gout from the system. Dr. Kinglake's refrigerating plan applies exclusively to the acute paroxysm of gout; whereas Mr. Parkinson's method of cure, as we shall see, is directed to the *prevention* of the paroxysms, or to the correction of the gouty diathesis.

Mr. Parkinson possessed an hereditary disposition to gout, and was attacked by it no less than fifteen years ago. Since that time he has made trial of a variety of remedies on himself, of which the application of cold water during the paroxysm was one; and it appears to have been attended with all the success which Dr. Kinglake ascribes to it. But "the suspicion that the immersion in cold water had been productive of injurious effects, led to the employment of other means. The most important among these was the fixed alkali, the beneficial effects of which appeared to be satisfactorily evident." *Pref.* A few years back the composition of those concretions, which form on the joints of gouty persons, was ascertained by Dr. Wollaston. They consist of the lithic acid and soda, constituting a neutral salt, a *lithate of soda*. The existence of this acid was also demonstrated by Dr. Pearson and M. Fourcroy in the calculi of the urinary passages. Independantly, therefore, of the previous experience of the preventive powers of the alkalis in regard to gout, which Dr. Cullen long ago noticed, it was an easy and natural step to suppose that the acid of these concretions might be arrested or neutralized in its incipient formation, and easily removed from the system. Dr. Wollaston himself offered the suggestion. The purport of Mr. Parkinson's "Observations" is, to prove the existence of the lithic acid in the humours of the gouty, and hence to recommend the use of alkaline remedies for the removal of the disease.

"The proximate cause of gout appears to be," according to the author's doctrine, "a peculiar saline acrimony existing in the blood, in such a proportion, as to irritate and excite to morbid action, the minute terminations of the arteries, in certain parts of the body."

Mr. Parkinson has shewn considerable ingenuity in the evidence which he has collected in support of this doctrine. We are indeed somewhat inclined to the opinion that, in the gradual progress of medical theories, from Stahl and Hoffmann up to their acmè in the schools of Brown and Darwin, we have conceded too much to the sensorial powers of the animal body, and have unjustly excluded all consideration of the humoral changes. But mere hypotheses of the one class or the other excite little of our interest. If the practical deduction be clearly made out, we care little for the fate of the hypothesis connected with it. Had Mr. Parkinson presented us with a series of circumstantial and unequivocal experiments or facts, tending to demonstrate the powers of alkaline medicines in eradicating the disposition to gout, he would have claimed our unqualified praise; and he might have indulged himself, without animadversion, in the amusing fields of hypothesis. But the general impression left by the latter on the mind is feeble and transient, because the practical inference is supported rather by collateral facts, than by direct experiment.

The "peculiar acrimony" of which the author speaks, is something altogether indefinite; and whether it exists at all in the blood, or in what state or combination, he is altogether unable to shew.

"No evidence, indeed, is likely to be adduced, to shew in what state, or in what stage of combination, the principles of this peculiar acid exist in the blood. To have the least chance of success in such an enquiry, a series of experiments would be required on the blood of the healthy, as well as on that of the gouty" (why were not *some* experiments attempted, before this crude hypothesis was brought forward?); "and were these experiments even to be performed, with all due accuracy, yet positive information would hardly be obtained.

"It is most probable that the uric acid would not be found to exist, formally, in the blood. A superabundance of the acid principle only might be detected in the blood of the arthritic and nephritic. That combination, from which the uric acid results, must be the work of some part of the animal system, since it is not known to exist in any of the substances which are employed as food: but in what part of the system this operation is performed, it is, perhaps, impossible at present to determine. It appears to be most probable that a superabundance of its principles are introduced into the stomach, and thence pass into the blood, forming there a saline acrimony of a peculiar kind. But that peculiar

arrangement and modification of its principles, from which its existence in the actual form of uric acid proceeds, is most probably the result of the action of those vessels, by which it is also separated, and deposited in different parts, as the kidneys, ligaments, tendons, &c. p. 10.

This is very vague; and, after all, the peculiar vascular action, as in all other *secretions*, is resorted to as the principal agent in these humoral changes.

The author goes on to shew, that a considerable part of the aliment used by man is of the *acescent* kind, and that impaired digestion is a most prolific source of acidity in the human system, in consequence of a sort of fermentation, considerably different, however, from the acetous fermentation, with which it has been confounded. This "gastric acid" is the source of much mischief at all ages. In infancy it is productive of vomitings, severe gripings, and sour green stools, and probably also of rickets, by neutralising the earthy matter destined for the formation of the bones. As life advances, the morbid effects of this acid become more evident; indigestion, heartburn, pain of the stomach, acid eructations, are some of the distressing consequences which result from it. He acknowledges that he cannot trace it regularly from the stomach, through its various modifications and combinations, to the actual formation of gouty or urinary concretions; but he thinks that he discovers a salutary discharge of some intermediate form of it in the lateritious sediment of fevers and of gout; and in the perspiration, especially during the critical periods of some diseases, and of gout itself. These are the two natural emunctories of the superabundant acid.

"But in those cases where the excessive indulgence in such articles of food, as yield much of the acetic and carbonic acid, has generated a larger quantity of this acid than can be removed by the joint operation of the kidneys and skin, disease most probably will succeed.

"It appears, by Dr. Wollaston's experiments, that the uric acid, as well as that compound of it with soda, which forms the gouty concretions, requires a very large quantity of fluid to hold it in solution. Whenever, therefore, it exists in a morbid proportion in the human system, a strong predisposition to its crystallization must prevail; and its separation in a solid form is reasonably to be expected. The part where this separation will take place, will necessarily depend on certain particularities in the general diathesis not perhaps to be explained. In some habits the

kidneys will prove to be the organs destined to effect this morbid separation; in which cases, the saline concretion will be found either in the urine, bearing the appearance, or forming one species of urinary calculus. In other habits, the ligaments and tendons will be the parts on which the morbid excess of this acid will be deposited. In this case gouty inflammation will be induced, and after every attack a thickening, with a considerable degree of stiffness of the ligaments, and hindrance of motion, will be occasioned in consequence of the deposition of the gouty matter. At the commencement of this disease, when the paroxysms are slight and seldom, a sufficient opportunity is yielded, between the fits, for the absorption of the deposited matter, which is in general soon removed, and the motion of the joint in a little time quite restored. But when the paroxysms are of long duration, the intervals from disease are not sufficient to allow of the removal of the deposited matter, before a fresh separation and deposition takes (take) place; hence accumulation proceeds, until considerable collections are formed in different joints." p. 23.

We apprehend that the notion of the deposition of urate of soda, in the first paroxysms of gout, is altogether gratuitous; and we do not perceive clearly in what manner the sudden cessation of the inflammation of the extremities, and the consequent spasmodic attack of the stomach, in retrocedent gout, is to be explained on the supposition of such a deposition of matter.

The author proceeds to enforce his doctrine, in the next chapter, by a view of the remote causes, which he divides into two classes; "such as promote the generation of morbid matter, and such as prevent its expulsion from the system." Among the former, "indigestion, produced either by the quantity or quality of the aliments, intemperance in the use of spirits," but more especially "of wine, or of other fermented liquors," are principally insisted on. The greater *acescency* of wine is, in the author's opinion, one great reason why the intemperance of the wealthy is productive of gout, while that of the poor rarely excites it; and he quotes Dr. Huxham to prove the connection between the use of cyder, and arthritic and rheumatic complaints. "The ceasing of usual labour, cold applied to the lower extremities, and night-watchings," which are enumerated by Dr. Cullen among the occasional causes of gout, come under the second class of causes.

In his fifth chapter Mr. Parkinson treats of *nodes of the joints*, a subject on which he has been in some degree anticipated by

Dr. Haygarth. These diseases have been little noticed by medical authors, and have been generally classed among the consequences of chronic rheumatism; from which, however, as well as from gout, Dr. Haygarth has pointed out a decided distinction. Mr. Parkinson differs in some respects from Dr. Haygarth in his account of these nodes, and considers them as dependant upon the same condition of the fluids which gives rise to gout. He asserts, contrary to Dr. Haygarth's observation, that they most frequently affect "the labouring poor," and that they often occur to men. Among upwards of seven thousand poor patients whom we have seen, we recollect but a small number of cases of nodosity, and those almost exclusively in women. In stating the result of his method of treatment, the author omits to inform us of the number of his patients, and of the comparative success and failure of his remedies. In the "few instances" in which they have been employed they have been "generally successful." The indications upon which he has proceeded, are,

"1st, To diminish the increased action of the vessels, in the part by which the secretion of the morbid matter is performed: 2dly, To promote a free perspiration of the part affected: and, 3dly, To correct the prevailing disposition to acidity in the primæ viæ, and in the system in general. The two first purposes were fulfilled by applying leeches, and a plaster of diachylon and soap to the nodes; and the third by avoiding acids and acerbities in diet, and taking *soda* in the quantity of from five to fifteen grains a day.

"From the combined influence of these measures, the utmost success that hope could look for has been obtained. The gradual diminution, and, finally, the complete removal of such tumours as have existed for several months, have been thus procured; whilst those which have existed for some years have been so much reduced, as to allow of considerable motion in joints which had become nearly immoveable." p. 81.

The author recurs, in chapter 6, to the subject of gout, and proposes his indications of cure, and indications during the fit, by which it is obvious he means the indications of *prevention* and *cure* of gout. With a view to the first, the objects of the physician are said to be, "to prevent the formation of the morbid acrimony, to remove and correct that which already exists, and to repair the diminished strength of the system." Attention to diet is therefore of the utmost importance, that the *gastric acid*, from which the *uric* or *lithic*

acid most probably derives its constituent principles, may not be produced. The use of *wine* is to be discontinued: "in proportion to the strictness of the abstinence from the use of wine will, in general, be found the degree of benefit experienced:" malt liquors should be sparingly drunk, and in a mild state; pastry and confectionary articles avoided; and *soda* taken regularly. Occasional bitters and tonics may be used to strengthen the digestive powers. Mr. Parkinson, we may remark, gives the most satisfactory explanation of the fatal effects of the Portland powder that we have seen. He says,

"When, from the powerful stomachic effects of the bitters, not only a greater portion of food is taken into the stomach, but a greater quantity of chyle, and consequently of blood, is produced, a plethoric state may be induced; the quantity of blood may exceed the powers of the already weakened vessels in which it is contained, whence may proceed those congestions on which the production of asthma, apoplexy, dropsy, &c. may depend. A circumstance of pretty general occurrence will strongly tend to produce this effect. The arthritic, suffering under considerable debility, to which diminished appetite and impaired digestion has much contributed, delighted with the restored powers of gratification, and eager to obtain a rapid renovation of his health, indulges his appetite without restraint, and thus totally destroys his health, which he was confidently hoping to establish." p. 98.

If the dietetic plan, and the course of antacid medicine, have been steadily pursued during the interval, the treatment, when the paroxysm occurs, will require little deviation from the method recommended by Sydenham. The author still advises, however, the use of the alkalis, fixed or volatile, the choice of which may be directed by the state of the skin and bowels. As for the treatment of the local affection, the indication is simply

"So to manage the inflammation, that, although the extreme violence of the pain be moderated, the parts shall not be interrupted in the functions they are now called upon to perform; and, at the same time, the escape of any injurious matter from the pores of the part affected shall be promoted as much as possible."

The author's last chapter is dedicated to the confutation of Dr. Kinglake's practice. He justly remarks, that Dr. Kinglake has omitted to examine those circumstances, under which, according to the common opinion and the highest authority in medicine, the sudden suppression of gout was

fraught with danger; and having omitted that, his doctrine must be necessarily crude and imperfect, and his contemptuous animadversions on the opposite opinions altogether unjustifiable. In this we entirely coincide with Mr. Parkinson. But when he affirms that "the sudden stoppage of the diseased action in the inflamed parts by cold *media*, or by any other external application, is not justifiable in any case of gout or acute rheumatism, since although no mischievous effects may be immediately discovered, there is great probability that consequences of the most serious and distressing nature may occur at a distant period;" when this is affirmed, we must wave our concurrence. We have no doubt that, in many instances, the paroxysm of gout has been immediately suppressed without any obvious inconvenience; and we might appeal to Mr. Parkinson's own case for satisfactory evidence of it: and as to any distant, unforeseen, and indefinite event, which may occur in a gouty constitution, we cannot but think it highly unphilosophical and absurd to attribute it to the long previous use of a then salutary remedy. In two or three attacks of gout in the author's own person, the local disease was annihilated in a few hours by immersion in cold water, and he was set at liberty to pursue his professional avocations in good health. We doubt not that Dr. Kinglake will quote his antagonist's case, as one of the best illustrations of the refrigerant practice. Mr. Parkinson relates two or three cases, not however in the most discriminating manner, in which severe affections of the head or viscera ensued upon the suppression of the local gout.

This sudden suppression of the disease, then, according to the author's own evidence, is sometimes perfectly salutary, sometimes attended with unpleasant or dangerous consequences: and this we have all along considered as the truth of the matter. The question at issue is, what are the circumstances under which danger is to be apprehended from the speedy removal of the local affection, and what are those which indicate its safety? This question Dr. Kinglake was bound to resolve before he sent forth his *new theory* to the world; for while we remain in uncertainty, without any criteria which may enable us to judge of the result, the practice at large is dangerous. For the sake of those instances in which it appears to be remarkably salutary, we should have been glad if Mr. Parkinson had entered more philosophically into the discussion, and endeavoured to trace the connection of the circumstances of the cases with the remedy employed, since *he has witnessed* both its good and its bad effects. On the whole his attempt at confutation is feeble; we seem to observe a struggle of prejudice, and a favourite hypothesis, against his personal experience; and we are left precisely in the state of uncertainty in which we commenced the perusal of his work.

What effect the alkaline medicines, pushed to a great length, might produce, we know not; but the system of temperance in diet, and regular exercise, which he recommends, whether it may chiefly counteract the formation of lithic acid or not, is undoubtedly the sole cure for the gouty constitution.

ART. VI.—A Reply to Mr. Edlin's two Cases of Gout, said to have terminated in Death in Consequence of the external Use of Ice and cold Water. To which is added an Instance of the fatal Effects of encouraged Gout: with Observations, Cautions, &c. By ROBERT KINGLAKE, M. D. Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, of the Physical Society of Gottingen, Author of a Dissertation on a new Theory and Practice of Gout, and Physician at Taunton. 8vo. pp. 61.

IN our last volume we noticed a pamphlet by Mr. Edlin, in which he gave an account of two cases of gout that terminated fatally, in consequence, as it appeared, of the external application of cold water: we have now to announce a reply from Dr. Kinglake, in which he attempts to repel the charges brought against his new practice. With respect to the two cases, it may be necessary to bring to our readers' recollection, that one only of them fell under Mr. Edlin's own inspection, and to this alone can any importance be attached,

as the other refers to an event which took place many years ago, and is related upon evidence by no means sufficiently direct to establish so important a conclusion. The first case, however, was under Mr. Edlin's immediate care; he had an opportunity of observing its progress from the commencement, and in the latter stages he had the co-operation of Dr. Haworth.

In the work now before us, Dr. Kinglake does not attempt to bring forwards any new fact respecting the case; admitting the general statement, his aim is to

prove that a wrong inference has been drawn from it. The points which immediately suggest themselves as of the chief importance in this discussion, are, whether the disease was in reality gout, and whether the secondary symptoms which appeared to terminate in death were owing to the cause assigned. As to the first point Dr. Kinglake would cut us short at the outset, by flatly denying that such a case as repelled gout can exist, and refers us to the arguments stated in his larger treatise in proof of this position. We are, however, unfortunately not convinced by them; and are, moreover, decidedly of opinion, that repelled gout is a case of not unfrequent occurrence. But as Dr. Kinglake will not admit the complaints to have been symptoms of gout, to what cause does he ascribe them? To this obvious and important query we do not meet with any very direct or satisfactory reply. We are indeed told, that the account of the case is probably exaggerated, and that

"Palpitation of the heart and icy coldness of the stomach are not characteristic symptoms of a high degree of visceral excitement; they rather indicate a diminution of motive energy, and are not explicable by any rational idea of transferred irritation."

Still, however, we are not informed what was the nature of the complaint. The following remark is the only clue which can lead to the discovery of our author's opinion.

"They (*i. e.* Dr. Haworth and Mr. Edlin) might, in proportion to their opportunities for observation, have seen many instances of the protracted pain of gout in the joints of the extremities, having propagated by sympathetic influence, fatal irritation to the system; but blinded by groundless prejudices, they could not perceive this scientific truth. It appears to me, through the mists of Mr. Edlin's partial statement, that the disastrous course of this case did not arise from any irremediable grievance of the heart and stomach, but that it was rather induced by the stimulant treatment to which the patient was subjected; for it was observed he was liberally dosed with æther, camphorated julep and

opiated confection, and farther overwhelmed with external heat."

Here seem to be the rudiments of a new speculation; though gout cannot exist in the system, yet gout in the extremities may produce an irritation in the system of a fatal tendency. The following paragraph will farther illustrate the hypothesis.

"The complaints usually arising in the system during protracted gout, are indeed chiefly of the spasmodic kind. They proceed from the debilitating influence of long-continued pain. They are of the tribe of the locked jaw, which is often induced by the exquisite torture occasioned by either sprained or wounded ligaments and tendons. An unreduced dislocation has frequently produced this afflicting disease. In this case the inflammatory affection is on the ligaments and tendons, and (as affirmed in my Dissertation on Gout) is strictly identical with that disease."

It appears, then, that our author's sentiments concerning the case in question are as follow: the first set of symptoms were produced by irritation arising from the previous pain that the patient had suffered, and his death was occasioned by the medicines given to remove this irritation. Both these positions we cannot but consider as highly improbable. It does not in fact appear that this irritation is produced by gout, when existing in its most painful form; while, on the other hand, we find it to occur, as in this case, after the pain has ceased, and when it had not previously been peculiarly violent. And farther, supposing the symptoms to be of that irritative kind which the author conjectures, we are of opinion that the remedies prescribed in this case were the most likely to remove it. We cannot take our leave of this performance without strongly reprobating the supercilious and disrespectful terms in which Dr. Kinglake speaks, not only of his opponent, but of every one whose opinions differ from his own.

ART. VII.—*Salutary Cautions respecting the Gout; in which the Doctrines maintained in a recent Publication by Dr. Kinglake, are exposed and refuted.* By JOHN HUNT, Author of *Historical Surgery*. 8vo. pp. 94.

THIS title is a misnomer. We have been able to discover nothing in the shape of "cautions" in this pamphlet, unless general and unqualified condemnation, abuse, and ridicule, of Dr. Kinglake and his practice, be considered as such by implication. It seems somewhat extraordi-

nary that the contemplation of a series of pathological experiments should drive a man into spleen and anger; and not less so, that he should imagine he can refute the results of such experiments by ridicule and declamation. The author has not a single fact to oppose to the number detail-

ed by Dr. Kinglake; but is compelled to repeat to us the old story of Mr. Edlin's friend at Uxbridge: and he promises that, if this cargo of declamation does not completely overwhelm the new doctrine, he will freight another pamphlet with a load of quotations from authors, which will infallibly crush it. We do not mean to defend Dr. Kinglake's hypothesis, or to assert that his facts are related in a clear and unexceptionable manner; but we enter our protest against all such attempts to smother a philosophical question by declamatory rhapsodies, when facts, or legitimate deductions from facts, can alone ultimately decide it.

The author assumes an air of great wisdom, and lays down his medical axioms with no small degree of dogmatism; but he unfortunately betrays gross ignorance of the pathology of the human body, and of modern medicine. He asserts, for instance, that "inflammatory rheumatism, like all other diseases that are productive of sizy blood, is to be cured by bleeding and purging, to the liberal use of which I

know no bounds short of the destruction of the disease." p. 15. Did he never hear that the blood is sizy in all stages of pulmonary consumption? Yet we presume the destruction of his patient would be the first consequence of the "liberal" use of these remedies in that disease. Did he never discover that these liberal evacuations in acute rheumatism were condemned by Dr. Fothergill, by Dr. Heberden, and Dr. Haygarth; and that the best physicians in the metropolis are of a similar opinion? He farther asserts that gout in the stomach, as it is called, is an inflammation; and condemns Dr. Kinglake's prescription of camphorated tincture of opium, &c. as highly prejudicial. But in nine cases out of ten the disease produced by metastasis is spasmodic, and requires the most powerful stimuli for its cure.

We shall stop here. We wished merely to shew to the careless reader, that the author is not a magnus Apollo, and that he may yet suspend his judgment. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*

ART. VIII.—*An Essay on the Entropeon, or Inversion of the Eye-lid.* By PHILIP CRAMPTON, M. D. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, &c. 8vo. pp. 75.

THIS very distressing disease of the eye has been described nearly in the same terms by physicians and surgeons, from the time of Hippocrates to the present day; and the operation which was recommended and described by the father of physic, with a view to its cure, is nearly the same which is now performed and advised by the eminent surgeons of this metropolis. After considerable experience, and much observation of this disease, the author was led to form a different notion of the nature of the affection, and consequently to have recourse to a different operation in order to relieve it; and his attempt has been followed by success.

The ancients admitted two distinct cases of entropeon, arising from different causes. In the one, the growth of a supernumerary row of hairs on the internal margin of the eye-lids, was considered as the source of all the symptoms of the disease, which they termed *distichiasis*. In the other, which was termed *ptosis* or *phalangosis*, the margin of the eye-lid, armed with its hairs, fell upon the eye, in consequence, they supposed, of the relaxation of the skin of the eye-lid. These opinions have been adopted without alteration by almost all writers on the subject, and the various operations recommended for the cure of both varieties are recounted by

Dr. Crampton. In order, however, to shew the grounds upon which he maintains that the proximate cause has been misunderstood, and consequently the operations erroneous, he gives a very accurate description of the eye-lids and their appendages; whence he is led to infer, "that a contraction of the internal membrane of the eye-lid, and not an elongation of the external integument, is the immediate cause of the entropeon." p. 35.

It is obvious, indeed, he observes, from a mere inspection of the eye-lid, that an elongation of its external skin would never produce the disease. The numerous folds which we perceive in the eye-lids of old and relaxed persons, demonstrate that the external integument gives no support to the tarsus; consequently the inversion of the one can never be produced by the relaxation of the other. Upon this notion, however, the cure has hitherto been attempted, by removing a part of the external integument, in the time of Hippocrates by means of a ligature, at present by the knife. The author maintains that the relief afforded by the operation is seldom permanent. He thus briefly states his opinion of the origin of the disease.

"When the eye is voluntarily opened, the upper eyelid is not drawn vertically upwards,

but backwards, describing a line parallel to the anterior and superior surface of the eye over which it moves. When the eye is completely open, the eyelid is lodged in the space contained between the roof of the orbit, and the superior surface of the eye. But should this space be filled up by the thickened or contracted conjunctiva, the levator palpebræ cannot execute its functions. Every accession of inflammation contracts the conjunctiva. The conjunctiva terminates upon the margin of the eyelids; which deriving no support from without, and being constantly acted upon from within, readily yield and become permanently inverted." p. 51.

"A thickened and contracted state of the conjunctiva being admitted as the cause of the entropion, the remedy becomes obvious. It consists in removing the stricture, and restoring the parts to their natural dimensions and position. The mere division of the conjunctiva, from one angle of the eye to the other, is not sufficient to fulfil the first of these intentions, as its thickest and strongest fold is a little within the external canthus. In fact, it there forms the internal connecting ligament of the tarsi.

"The first great object of the operation is the division of this ligament. This should be done so as completely to liberate the extremities of the tarsi towards the outer canthus. But as the extremities of the tarsi towards the inner canthus are confined, as well by the action of some of the fibres of the orbicularis, as by the contracted state of the conjunctiva, they must be freed from their connection with both." p. 46.

The tarsus is then left comparatively loose, and in the worst cases can with ease be reverted. The next, and scarcely less important, object, is, "to retain the parts in their natural position, till, by recovering their original healthy state, they are enabled to perform their functions." The particular mode of executing both these parts of the method of cure, is clearly detailed in the history of the cases which are subjoined, and in which permanent success is said to have been attained.

With respect to that modification of the complaint which has been denominated *distichiasis*, and which, if it arose merely

from a supernumerary growth of cilia, could not with propriety be considered as a species of entropion, the author affirms, that it is also occasioned by a contracted state of the conjunctiva; and that the under row of hairs is neither supernumerary nor displaced with regard to the tarsus, though their curvature is altered by lying upon the convexity of the cornea. He adds,

"In such cases of the disease as I have had an opportunity of observing, the cartilage was evidently inverted, and if any hairs were supernumerary, they were those which grow in the natural direction of the cilia; but I am rather inclined to think that in such cases the inversion of the cartilage is not complete. The inner range of hairs alone touch the cornea, and are retained there by the inclination of the tarsus, and by the humidity of the eye, the upper ranges of the cilia, still retaining their disposition to point upwards, preserve an horizontal direction.

"Thus we are led to measure the margin of the tarsus by the upper range of the cilia, and to suppose that the inner row, which lies upon the cornea, is inordinate or supernumerary." p. 36.

Professor Scarpa does not admit that there is ever a supernumerary row of hairs. The contracted or thickened state of the conjunctiva, which is productive of the mischief, is the consequence of inflammation, especially of neglected or repeated inflammation, of the eye; and it is, on this account, chiefly prevalent among the lower classes of the people.

Dr. Crampton appears to have made his observations on this disease with considerable acuteness; and is apparently indebted to experimental enquiry alone, and not to hypothetical invention, for the doctrine and the practice which he recommends: and he speaks with candour and liberality of those who entertain different opinions.

Two plates are annexed to the pamphlet illustrative of the structure of the eyelid and its appendages; and of the instrument used to support the eye-lid in its natural position, after the operation has been performed.

ART. IX.—*Observations on the Simple Dysentery, and its Combinations, containing a Review of the most celebrated Authors who have written on this Subject, and also an Investigation into the Source of Contagion in that and some other Diseases.* By WILLIAM HARTY, M. B. 8vo. pp. 333.

ON opening this work, which professes to take a view of the varieties of a disease that had not been distinctly pointed out by practical writers, we were naturally led to expect that the author had returned, with

his stores of personal experience, from the seat of hostile operations in Egypt or the Indies, and that the errors or inadvertencies of preceding observers had been corrected by the toil of actual investigation.

We were therefore somewhat disappointed in finding that the only claim which he assumes upon the attention of his brethren is founded on his "acquaintance with the experience of others." To neglect the information purchased by the labour of our predecessors, and to form our general deductions from the partial results of individual observation alone, is undoubtedly highly unphilosophical, and has been occasionally productive of much confusion and uncertainty in medicine. But, on the other hand, the experience of others is already open to all; and intelligent readers will have formed their own deductions, aided especially by the light of personal observation; and therefore a set of doctrines built on this public knowledge, without the collection of a single new fact, will probably either appear to be unsatisfactory in their proofs, or will consist merely of such deductions as the readers themselves have already inferred. Had the author been at all conversant with the phenomena of the disease in question, as it occurs in this country, we apprehend that he would have considered at least a great portion of this large volume as somewhat superfluous.

He observes, in his preface, that "after a careful perusal of the different writers who have treated of this subject, after an attentive comparison of, and mature reflection on, their opinions, he thinks that they have furnished him with good grounds for concluding that there is truly *one species* only of the disease, different however from that which Cullen supposed it to be; but that there are several very important combinations of this species, which have frequently been mistaken for it, and to all of which the name of dysentery has been indiscriminately applied." The author believes he can establish the following positions:

"1st. That the genuine and simple dysentery is unattended by idiopathic fever, and is never of itself contagious;

"2d. That every other form of the disease, when epidemic, is a combination of the simple dysentery, either with intermittent, remittent, or typhus fever; and

"3d. That the combination with typhus fever alone is contagious."

It would not be easy to follow the author through his methodical but diffuse discussion of these points, or to give an analysis of a work, consisting in a great measure of quotations from preceding writers; we must therefore content ourselves with a slight view of some of the more striking topics.

We coincide altogether with the author in his correction of Dr. Cullen's definition of dysentery, by rejecting the words "pyrexia contagiosa." This was one of those rare instances in which that distinguished nosologist depended on the observations of others, to the neglect of his own experience; and it is truly singular that he could be misled in regard to a disease, which must have been perpetually before his eyes in its sporadic and non-contagious form. So well known, indeed, is this form of the dysentery to every practitioner, and so seldom is the contagious variety seen in this country, that it appears to us very unnecessary to quote many authors in proof of the existence of the former, or to dedicate many pages to that purpose.

The author digresses into a long chapter in order to prove, from the observations of writers on the subject, that there exists a considerable "analogy between dysentery and rheumatism." Stoll, indeed, has directly maintained that dysentery is a rheumatism of the intestines. His reasons are, 1st, That he has seen rheumatism of the limbs suddenly removed on the appearance of dysentery; 2. That sometimes the same person labours under rheumatism and dysentery at the same time; and 3. That dysentery has also suddenly ceased on the appearance of swelling in the wrists and knees, accompanied with pains shooting along the muscles. Our countryman Dr. Aken-side had also advanced several arguments in favour of the same notion; and Alexander Trallianus had long ago suggested the analogy, and even used the term which Stoll adopts. Whether this analogy of the two diseases, admitting its existence, leads to any practical improvement in the treatment of dysentery, we are not informed. It is probably adduced as an argument in favour of the use of sudorifics in that disease: an argument, however, which was unnecessary, if experience had already decided their utility; and futile, if experience had proved them to be but of secondary importance.

Dr. Harty proceeds to shew, by copious quotations, that the symptoms of dysentery have been described by different practical authors in combination with symptoms of intermittent, remittent, and continued fever. These various appearances of the fever connected with dysentery have, in fact, been described in such direct terms, that every reader of the works of the writers in question must have been satisfied that they had really occurred: Two

interpretation of them may be made; and the discussion would perhaps terminate in a verbal dispute. For our own part, we have been accustomed, on the perusal of the authors alluded to, to consider the fever of dysentery, under those different appearances, as the proper symptomatic fever of the disease, *modified* by the circumstances of climate, soil, foul air, &c.; and this notion, which we conceive every reader of discrimination will have entertained, or something like it, is, we apprehend, to all *practical* intents and purposes, the same with that which Dr. Harty has compiled this volume to illustrate. Sir John Pringle affirms, that whenever the dysentery was epidemic, he always found it in some degree infectious, "*especially* in military hospitals, and in the houses of the poor, who want the means of cleanliness;" circumstances, it may be presumed, sufficient to give the original fever a *typhoid* type. He observes, that he "has sometimes, *though seldom*, seen the same kind of fever accompany the flux from the first," independently of neglect or improper treatment. Zimmerman says, in a quotation made by Dr. Harty, "it appeared to me that our dysentery in general became contagious purely *through nastiness, and the crowding many people together* in a small space, but was by no means *so of itself*." This surely implies rather a modification of the primary disease, than a combination of two diseases. The influence of occasional circumstances in modifying the fever of dysentery, seems to be confirmed by the observation of Sydenham (if indeed it be necessary to multiply evidence on the subject), who remarked, in speaking of an epidemic dysentery, that it seemed to be "*the fever of the season* turned upon the bowels." In short, when we consider the perspicuity of those practical authors, whose writings are familiar to medical men, in pointing out the modifications or combinations of fever with dysentery, we are somewhat surprised that Dr. Harty should be vain enough to imagine that he alone had the sagacity to make the discovery, and that the whole profession laboured under a mistake respecting the books they were accustomed to read.

With respect to the statement, that dysentery is never contagious except when the fever assumes a typhoid type, or, in the language of Dr. Harty, when it is combined with typhous fever, we are disposed to entertain some doubt. The remittent form of the disease appears to have spread, in several instances, in such a

manner as to give every reason to believe in the existence of contagion, if we may credit the account of sir J. Pringle and Dr. Huck. The analogy of the epidemic catarrh also supports this opinion, even in the quotations made by Dr. Harty; for in this disease, according to Mr. Chisholm and others, in 1790, the fever was "most generally" of an intermittent or remittent form, yet in their opinion decidedly contagious.

In corroboration of his notion respecting dysentery, Dr. Harty has given a slight view of several diseases, which are at one time contagious, at another not so; and affirms that it is his belief that every disease of this kind "acquires that property only in consequence of its combination with typhus fever." The diseases which he enumerates are catarrh, cynanche, ophthalmia, erysipelas, ulcer, and peritonitis.

With regard to catarrh, he is altogether unable to substantiate this opinion, and even remarks in plain terms, that "it often exists sporadically, with or without much fever, and is then never suspected of contagion: it frequently prevails epidemically, in combination with *remittent* fever, and is then very erroneously denominated influenza; (why?) for this is another form in which it spreads epidemically, *is propagated by contagion*, and when it does occur is very general." p. 265. The general course of the influenza, or epidemic catarrh, in any of its forms, was extremely unlike that of typhus, and the occurrence of true typhoid symptoms was unquestionably rare.

The only circumstance by which ophthalmia is presumed, when contagious, to be combined with typhoid fever, is an unphilosophical conjecture of Mr. Power, a writer on the Egyptian ophthalmia. This gentleman "regards the *putrid virus* as the great source of disease in Egypt"—"*partially applied it produces ophthalmia*"—"it is probable that this *putrid virus* has some similitude, if not the same, with the contagion of typhus"—and he very sagaciously concludes, from the phenomena, "and from the mode of treatment which alone was found successful, that it was contagious, and existed in combination with typhoid fever." Admirable data for a philosophical deduction!

On the whole this volume adds little or nothing to the information of the enquiring practitioner, and will afford little reputation to the author, except as a laudable essay, of an industrious and intelligent

student. He would have done well to have delayed his work until he had become acquainted with the opinions of intelligent practitioners, beyond the school in which he had principally studied. It is matter of astonishment, as well as of regret, that a few obvious *Cullenian* errors still remain in that enlightened school of Edinburgh. But whatever they may have heard from the professorial chair, few of the regular attendants of the clinical

wards, we believe, quit the school alluded to with an opinion that dysentery, when sporadic, is contagious.

There is a laboured adherence to method in this work, which frequently tends rather to obscure than to elucidate the author's views. His manner is diffuse; and the discussion often interrupted through a fear of anticipating what should be, *secundum artem*, discussed in a different chapter.

ART. X.—*A Medical and Experimental Enquiry into the Origin, Symptoms, and Cure, of Constitutional Diseases; particularly Scrophula, Consumption, Cancer, and Gout. (Illustrated by Cases.)* By WILLIAM LAMBE, M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians. 8vo. pp. 272.

A CELEBRATED philosopher of antiquity has asserted that there is nothing new under the sun; but had he lived in this age of revolution, he would probably have entertained a different opinion. The idea which forms the basis of the work now before us, we certainly consider as possessing the merit of originality; it is a proposal for curing some of the most obstinate constitutional diseases, among others, scrophula, consumption, cancer, and gout, by DISTILLED WATER. We shall endeavour to lay before our readers the grounds of so singular an opinion.

The work commences by an explanation of the term, constitutional diseases.

"By constitutional diseases I understand those which arise slowly and spontaneously, and concerning which we are hitherto ignorant, whether they are to be attributed to the operation of foreign and external causes, or to an original imperfection in the structure or functions of any of the different organs of the body."

All the diseases that are included under this comprehensive definition, he conceives may be traced to one common origin, viz. some substance introduced into the body *ab extra*, and this substance he farther supposes proceeds from the decomposition of animal and vegetable bodies. This substance he denominates septic poison, and to its introduction into the system, he ascribes the prevalence of "consumption, gout, cancer, mania, epilepsy, and even many cutaneous eruptions." The greater part of these diseases are unknown in the savage state; they have been generally attributed to that delicacy which the constitution necessarily acquires in civilized life; but this our author conceives is not an adequate cause, and he imagines that we shall find them to depend upon this septic poison which he

imagines is conveyed into the system by the water usually employed in diet.

This opinion respecting the injurious effect of common water was originally suggested by the following circumstance. A lady who was affected with severe pains of the stomach, had repeatedly found the complaints to disappear upon changing her residence; this led to a suspicion that the water employed might not be pure, and upon examination, though no metallic impregnation could be discovered by the usual tests, yet the author found that the residuum left by evaporating the water impressed the fauces with a sense of constriction, which led him to suspect the presence of arsenic. A little of the residuum being heated between two copper-plates, imparted to them a white stain, and thus gave a degree of probability to the suspicion that had been excited. So far we follow the author with some satisfaction; but instead of pushing his enquiries farther, and examining more minutely every circumstance respecting this supposed arsenical impregnation, he boldly, and unwarrantably, assumes the certainty of its existence, not only in the water now under consideration, but in all, or the greater part, of the waters that are employed for economical purposes. Some other circumstances, of a still more indefinite nature than that stated above, occurring to the author about the same time, he was led to an experimental inquiry into the subject, from which he deduces the following propositions:

"1. Common water gives products much resembling those which are derived from animal matter. It is probable, therefore, that it has received a taint from this matter in a state of decomposition, or, in other words, from putrefaction.

"2. The metallic basis of the matter, which contaminates common water, exactly resem-

bles *arsenicated manganese*.—These metals unite in a great variety of proportions and different degrees of oxygenation. They form the basis of the matter which I have denominated septic poison. With the other principles I am not correctly acquainted, but they must be those which are common to animal matter. I have hitherto been foiled in every attempt so separate this compound into its constituent principles, whether it be made artificially or be found already formed.

"3. The same compound enters into the composition of animal matter. I have found it in the coal, which remains after the distillation of animal substances, and the ashes to which this coal is reducible by incineration.

"4. As all animal matter is derived from the vegetable kingdom, the same substance must enter likewise into the composition of vegetable matter. It may be readily detected in the ashes of pit-coal, and I doubt not, in common vegetable ashes."

Thus it seems that putrefaction is the great source of destruction to the human race; and that the septic poison, the vehicle of all this mischief, is conveyed into the body along with the water employed in diet.

If we can only establish this as the cause of all constitutional diseases, the method of curing them will be simple. It will be effected

"1st. By the application of substances which have the power of counteracting the poisonous matter; and 2dly. By a regimen which will exclude, as much as possible, the introduction of new matter into the system."

The first indication, however, he conceives it impossible to fulfil, and in consequence places all his dependence upon the second, which may be brought about either by sending patients to reside near springs of peculiar purity, or by causing them to employ distilled water. Salt meats are also forbidden, and all those liquors, as beer and porter, in the preparation of which water is used. As some confirmation of his opinion, which he seems to apprehend will not be very easily credited, he adduces the example of the Malvern waters, a spring which has been long celebrated for its curative effects in many obstinate complaints, and in which the chemical tests have not been able to detect any impregnation. An obvious objection seems to arise against the doctrine maintained by our author, that arsenic has often been intentionally taken into the stomach, as a remedy for some diseases, in greater quantity than that in which it can be supposed to exist in common water, without producing any of

the effects which are here attributed to it. This objection does not indeed pass altogether unnoticed, but the author only observes, that if its use has been too long persevered in, the most essential injuries have occurred to the constitution. This, however, is saying no more than that all powerful medicines may be taken in too large quantity; there is no attempt at proving that the same kind of effects is produced by its casual introduction into the system, which we observe to ensue from its intentional exhibition; a circumstance essential to the support of the argument.

A considerable number of cases are afterwards detailed: first, of those in which general debility and dyspeptic complaints were the most urgent systems, and which were, as the author conceives, relieved or diminished by the use of distilled water. A distinct section is allotted to scrofula, consumption, cancer, and gout, in which instances are likewise pointed out, where advantage was supposed to be gained by the employment of the same remedy. We shall not pretend to make an accurate analysis of these cases; our opinion of them is, that they are very unsatisfactory. A degree of amendment seems to have taken place, as is often observed when a patient is put under any accurate plan of regimen, but the cases generally conclude with the remark, that the use of the water was not continued long enough to perfect the cure. To this we cannot but oppose the obvious question, why the author did not delay his publication until the cures were completed. Upon the whole, we have seldom observed any collection of cases brought forward in support of a new piece of practice, so meagre as that now before us.

After all, the grand question remains, upon what evidence does the existence of this arsenicated manganese depend. At the end of the volume are detailed, at considerable length, the experiments that were performed by the author to prove his position. They are divided into three sections; in the first he examines the properties of the compound produced by the union of the manganese and the arsenical acid; in the second he endeavours to prove that a similar substance may be procured from the ashes of animal substances; and in the third, that it also exists in the residuum of the New-river water. The experiments appear to have been conducted with perseverance, but we cannot say that our minds are impressed with a conviction of the justness of the inferences

deduced from them. The properties which are assigned to the arsenicated manganese, are principally negative; the mere circumstance of a copper plate being stained, and a blue tinge imparted to a glass tube, we cannot consider by any

means sufficient evidence of the existence of this metallic salt; yet, as it appears to us, these are all the positive proofs that are brought forward of its presence. In short, the hypothesis seems to us unfounded, and the cases incomplete.

ART. XI.—*Critical Reflections on several important practical Points relative to the Cataract: comprehending an Account of a new and successful Method of Couching particular Species of that Disease.* By SAMUEL COOPER, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 8vo. pp. 175.

THE old method of remedying the blindness which is produced by an opacity of the lens, has been for some years impugned by several eminent practitioners, and the extraction of the cataract has, upon their authority and recommendation, been very generally substituted, or has met, at least, with a considerable majority of advocates. Mr. Cooper is of opinion that the preference of the latter has been assumed without just grounds, and that it is, in fact, a much more difficult operation than that of *couching*; the practice of which, therefore, it is the object of this volume strenuously to recommend. In this view of the subject he has the support of some of the most eminent surgeons of Europe; especially Mr. Hey, of Leeds, professor Callisen, of Copenhagen, professor Richter, of Gottingen, and more especially the celebrated professor Scarpa, of Pavia. From the writings of these authors he has adduced a strong collection of evidence, in favour of the success of the more simple operation of *couching*; of which we shall endeavour to give a brief sketch, without pretending to decide upon a question on which the experience of so many able practitioners has led to different conclusions.

Mr. Cooper apprehends that the frequent failure of the operation of *couching*, which induced the French surgeons, in the early part of the last century, to have recourse to the method of extraction, arose from an ignorance of the minute anatomy of the eye; and that the original objections to the former operation, valid as they were at that period, have been dispelled by the more perfect knowledge of the organ of sight, which the anatomists of the present day have acquired. He quotes Fabricius in order to shew "that the success of *couching* depended, in his days, almost upon chance, and that the rudeness of the style in which it was then for the most part executed, was only equalled by the injury which the eye sustained, and the train of bad consequences which en-

sued." And he afterwards answers the objections of baron Wenzel to this operation, chiefly by opposing to his statements the extensive experience of Mr. Hey, Scarpa, and others. The author then dilates upon the difficulties and the untoward consequences which are liable to ensue to the extraction of the opaque lens; among which may be enumerated, the division of the iris, protrusion of the vitreous humour, separation of the iris at its outer margin from the choroid coat, prolapsus of the iris, irregularity of the pupil, irremediable opacity of the lower half of the cornea, &c.

Professor Richter, it appears, though formerly a decided advocate of the plan of extraction, now prefers, after the test of a long comparative experience, the method of depression. He says, "the principal advantages of extraction consist in its injuring none of the more sensible parts of the eye, only insensible cornea, and in radically curing the cataract, that is, taking it entirely out of the eye. But it may with reason be objected, that the cure of the cataract by extraction ought on no account to be called radical, while the capsule, the seat of the possible, and not unfrequent membranous cataract, remains behind in the eye; that far more important accidents are to be dreaded after extraction than *couching*; opacity of the cornea, closure of the pupil, prolapsus of the vitreous humour and iris; and that extraction is much more difficult, and more subject to consequent inflammation, than depression."

The author takes a discriminating view of those appearances, which may guide the practitioner to anticipate relief, or the contrary, from an operation. He thinks that the power of still distinguishing light from darkness is a more certain test of the healthy state of the retina, than the contractions of the iris. The general practice of postponing the operation, when one eye alone is affected, until symptoms of the disease appear in the other, is not, in his

opinion, founded on the basis of experience or rational investigation.

There are no certain criteria by which it can be ascertained, previously to an operation, whether a cataract is soft or hard, of a caseous or fluid consistence; or whether, together with an opacity of the crystalline lens, the membranous capsule in which it is contained may not have lost its natural transparency; and the surgeon must therefore be constantly prepared to adopt the method of couching most suited to the particular circumstances which he may encounter. The author has, however, enumerated the circumstances, recently explained by Richter, which he has found, for a long series of years, generally to portend the truth.

It has been proved that, in several instances to which Mr. Cooper refers, the cataract when buried in the vitreous humour, especially when its capsule is lacerated and detached, or the membranous flakes and fragments of the capsule are easily absorbed and disappear; and it is now considered that, when a cataract is discovered to be of a soft or caseous consistence, it is unnecessary to attempt to depress it, since it will be soon absorbed if the capsule be lacerated, and its parts decomposed by the needle. But it farther appears from the experience of Scarpa, with which that of Mr. Hey at the same time coincides, that the absorption of the membranous flakes, or detached portions of the cataract, takes place more rapidly in the anterior, than the posterior chamber of the aqueous humour. Mr. Hey has several times seen the whole opaque nucleus, and very frequently small opaque portions, fall into the anterior chamber, and he remarks, "Indeed if the cataract could in all cases be brought into the anterior chamber of the eye, without injury to the iris, it would be the best method of performing the operation." Professor Scarpa has, from the result of his own experience, actually been led to practise this method, in the soft or caseous cataracts, and in the secondary membranous cataract, which generally arises from the anterior half of the capsule not having been sufficiently broken or removed in a previous operation, and afterwards becoming opaque. The same plan is also said to succeed in those rare instances, where the substance of the crystalline wastes, and is almost completely absorbed, leaving the capsule opaque, and including at most only a small nucleus not larger than a pin's head. This is termed by Scarpa the primary

membranous cataract, and is chiefly met with in children, or young people under the age of twenty. The author has transcribed six interesting cases of membranous cataract, successfully treated by this new method by professor Scarpa, one of which we shall copy for the sake of illustration.

"Bartholomew Zucchi, of Calvaire, a robust man, forty-five years of age, who had a cataract in each eye, was operated on at this school of surgery (Pavia) April 18, 1793. His eyes were rather small, and sunk as it were in the orbits. I operated on the left eye, in which I found a soft caseous cataract. After breaking the pultaceous substance of the crystalline to pieces, I freely lacerated the capsule to the extent of the pupil, through which I forced all the flaky portions of membrane into the anterior chamber, which they filled as high as the inferior margin of the pupil. The operation was followed by no remarkable symptom, and on the fourteenth day the above fragments were diminished more than half, and the patient could see distinctly with his left eye.

"The operation was next performed on the right, in which, finding a sufficiently firm cataract, I was enabled to lacerate the anterior layer of the capsule precisely, and to immerse the lens deeply in the vitreous humour. A fortnight after the operation on the right eye, all the membranous particles, deposited in the anterior chamber of the left, had entirely disappeared, and the right eye was able to bear the light. The patient went from the hospital soon afterwards, perfectly cured in both eyes."

This operation, it is obvious, could not be performed with the ordinary needle. Professor Scarpa's instrument, of which the author has given a figure, and which he strongly recommends to the practitioners, is a slender needle slightly curved at the extremity. Mr. Long some time ago invented a needle somewhat similar to this, and Mr. John Bell has published a figure of a similar one in his *System of Surgery*. The author has given minute instructions for using this very eligible instrument, as he considers it, in every variety of cataract that is met with.

On the whole the practice of couching, in preference to the method of extraction, is clearly and sensibly advocated in this treatise; and the author has evinced a diligent and laudable attention to the observations of those distinguished practitioners of the continent, whose works are held in high and deserved estimation by all those who have been induced to examine them, and are capable of appreciating their value. We congratulate the public that a trans-

tion of professor Scarpa's work, on the various diseases of the eye, is in preparation, and will probably soon make its appearance.

ART. XII.—*A Treatise on the Process employed by Nature in suppressing the Hæmorrhage from divided and punctured Arteries; and on the Use of the Ligature; concluding with Observations on secondary Hæmorrhage: the whole deduced from an extensive Series of Experiments, and illustrated by fifteen Plates.* By J. F. D. JONES, M. D. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 8vo. pp. 237.

FREQUENTLY as external hæmorrhages have, from the earliest periods of time, excited the attention and demanded the aid of medicine, it may be extraordinary that the most eminent of the profession should yet differ in the explanations which they have given of the process by which the constitution tends to suppress them. Such, however, is the fact. Some surgeons have viewed the subject too partially; one assigning this part of the process, and another that, as the cause of the whole phenomena: some have confounded the natural process with the circumstances induced by art; and others appear to have entertained opinions which were altogether erroneous. While these imperfections and contradictions stand on record, on a subject of such importance, some well-conducted experiments, by which truth may be sifted from the false and hypothetical, must be considered as great desiderata; and a successful attempt to supply those desiderata is entitled to the thanks of the pathologist.

Before entering on the immediate object of his work, Dr. Jones has given a few preliminary observations relative to the structure of the arteries, by which he chiefly attempts to shew, that the inner and middle coats of these vessels are easily torn by a slight force applied in the circumference, but that the outer coat is extremely dense, strong and elastic: so that "if an artery be surrounded by a tight ligature, its middle and internal coats will be as completely divided by it as they can be by a knife, whilst the external coat remains entire." He also observes that the truncated extremities of a divided artery retract a certain way within the sheath, and likewise contract in a greater or less degree. These facts are subsequently applied to the explanation of the process under examination.

He commences the work by a consideration of the doctrines proposed by Petit, Morand, Kirkland, J. Bell, &c. relative to the natural process of suppression, when the hæmorrhage is from a divided artery; and then proceeds to relate his own experiments, executed chiefly on horses and

dogs; in all of which the state of the vessels was ascertained by dissection a short period after death. Our limits will only admit of a brief account of the deductions which the author made: for the experiments, on which his inferences are founded, we must refer the reader to the work itself. The author shall speak in his own words.

"The results of the experiments related in the last section" (amounting to nineteen in number), "will not allow us to give so concise and simple an account of the process as has hitherto been done; but they afford us one more satisfactory, because it accords better with the operations of the animal economy, in which we are accustomed to observe the most important changes gradually produced by the co-operation of several means rather than by the sole influence of any one in particular."

"They accordingly shew, that the blood, the action, and even the structure of arteries, their sheath, and the cellular substance connecting them with it; in short, that all the parts concerned in or affected by hæmorrhage, contribute to arrest its fatal progress, by operating, in the case of a divided artery of moderate size, in the following manner."

"An impetuous flow of blood, a sudden and forcible retraction of the artery within its sheath, and a slight contraction of its extremity, are the immediate and almost simultaneous effects of its division. The natural impulse, however, with which the blood is driven on, in some measure counteracts the retraction, and resists the contraction of the artery. The blood is effused into the cellular substance between the artery and its sheath, and passing through that canal of the sheath which had been formed by the retraction of the artery, flows freely externally, or is extravasated into the surrounding cellular membrane, in proportion to the open or confined state of the external wound. These fibres entangle the blood as its flows, and thus the foundation is laid for the formation of a coagulum at the mouth of the artery, and which appears to be completed by the blood, as it passes through this canal of the sheath, gradually adhering and coagulating around its internal surface, till it completely fills it up from the circumference to the centre."

"A coagulum then, formed at the mouth of the artery, and within its sheath, and which I have distinguished in the experiments by the name of the external coagulum, presents

the first complete barrier to the effusion of blood. This coagulum, viewed externally, appears like the continuation of the artery, but on cutting open the artery, its termination can be distinctly seen with the coagulum completely shutting up its mouth, and inclosed in its sheath.

"The mouth of the artery being no longer pervious, nor a collateral branch very near it, the blood just within it is at rest, coagulates, and forms, in general, a slender conical coagulum, which neither fills up the canal of the artery, nor adheres to its sides, except by a small portion of the circumference of its base, which lies near the extremity of the vessel. This coagulum is distinct from the former, and I have called it the internal coagulum.

"In the mean time the cut extremity of the artery inflames, and the vasa vasorum pour out lymph, which is prevented from escaping by the external coagulum. This lymph fills up the extremity of the artery, is situated between the internal and external coagula of blood, is somewhat intermingled with them, or adheres to them, and is firmly united all round to the internal coat of the artery.

"The permanent suppression of the hæmorrhage chiefly depends on this coagulum of lymph; but while it is forming within, the extremity of the artery is farther secured by a gradual contraction which it undergoes, and by an effusion of lymph between its tunics, and into the cellular membrane surrounding it; in consequence of which these parts become thickened, and so completely incorporated with each other, that it is impossible to distinguish one from the other: thus not only is the canal of the artery obliterated, but its extremity also is completely effaced, and blended with the surrounding parts." p. 53.

The author proceeds to give a more particular account of the different coagula concerned in the process, and concludes this interesting section with a statement of several observations, made on different occasions, and with different views, by eminent surgeons and physiologists, and which tend to support the doctrine just given.

The enquiry instituted in chap. II. relates to the means which Nature employs for the suppression of hæmorrhage from *punctured or partially divided arteries*, and to the process of reparation in those arteries.

On this, as well as on the former part of the subject, the author acknowledges the obligations due to M. Petit for many, and for the first accurate observations, which his experiments seem to have confirmed, especially so far as regards the temporary means by which hæmorrhage from punctured or partially divided arteries is stopped. When an artery is punc-

tured, the hæmorrhage which immediately follows, by filling the space between the artery and its sheath with blood, and consequently distending the sheath, alters the relative situation of the puncture in the sheath to that in the artery, so that they are not exactly opposite to each other; and by that means a layer of blood is confined by the sheath over the puncture in the artery, and by coagulating there prevents any further effusion of blood. p. 114. The permanent suppression of the hæmorrhage, however, depends upon a process of reparation or obliteration which takes place in the wounded artery.

It appears from the author's experiments, that an artery, if wounded only to a moderate extent, is capable of re-uniting and of healing so completely, that after a certain time the cicatrization cannot be discovered; and that even oblique and transverse wounds, when they do not open the artery to a greater extent than one-fourth of its circumference, are also filled up and healed by an effusion of coagulating lymph from their inflamed lips, so as to occasion but little or no obstruction to the canal of the artery. Several other important deductions are drawn, which our limits will not permit us to notice. We may observe, however, with respect to the formation of aneurism or punctured arteries, that this disease does not appear to be readily produced in horses and dogs, on which the author's experiments were made. From the process of reparation which he has observed, he is led to infer that it is from the failure of this process, by which the artery would have been united, that aneurism in these instances arises, and that it is, in fact, one of the most common effects of this failure. He believes that spurious aneurisms are generally formed, either in consequence of the lymph (which had been poured out for the re-union and filling up of the wound) being torn through by the impetus of the blood, soon after the wound of the integuments had healed; or else by the blood striking against, and gradually dilating into an aneurismal sac, the lymph which had re-united the artery.

The deductions of this chapter are collected from at least sixteen experiments, which are related at length, together with the dissections.

Chapter III. relates to the operation of the ligature; and the author's experiments shew that "its immediate effect is to divide the middle and internal coats of an artery, which gives rise to the adhesive

inflammation." This fact was first noticed by Desault, and the experiments of Dr. Jones place the matter beyond all doubt. If a ligature is tied tight round an artery, and immediately removed, a large quantity of coagulating lymph is poured out from the division of the internal and middle coats, and the artery soon becomes completely impervious. We shall transcribe the first experiment.

"Aug. 6, 1803. A considerable portion of the right carotid artery of a dog was laid bare, and three ligatures were applied around it, close to each other, so as to cover nearly a quarter of an inch of the artery. The ligatures were drawn tight enough to cut through the internal and middle coats of the artery, and then, by means of a piece of small twine, which had been laid along the artery, and on which the knots of the ligatures had been made, were carefully removed; so as not at all to injure the artery. Dr. Farre, who assisted me in this experiment, and myself then observed the artery, until we were convinced that the circulation through it was perfectly restored; and the only extraordinary appearance which we observed on the artery, was a slight impression made on its external surface by the ligatures. The external wound was then sewed up.

"August 9. The animal died this evening, in consequence of profuse secondary hæmorrhage from one of his femoral arteries, on which an experiment had been performed.

"Dissection. On cutting away the ligatures in the integuments covering the carotid, we found a quantity of thin pus in the wound, extending down to the artery, which however was covered and surrounded by a very thick layer of lymph, not only on the part on which the ligatures had been applied, but also about an inch below, and an inch and a half above. In proceeding to cut open the artery, I only expected to find its middle and internal coat cicatrized, and its canal more or less completely pervious; but, to my great astonishment, it was completely obstructed and filled up with lymph, which not only adhered to, but appeared to form one substance with, the parietes of the artery. The lymph at each of its extremities appeared rather of a dark red colour, in consequence of the adhesion of some red particles."

The canal of the artery was not entirely obstructed in one or two other experiments, in which only one ligature was used. From this fact, ascertained in regard to the arteries of brutes, Dr. Jones has suggested some practical inferences, in the form of queries, which bear every appearance of probable advantage and success. He observes, that

"The success of the late important im-

provements which have been introduced in the operation of aneurism, may perhaps appear to most surgeons to have rendered that operation sufficiently simple and safe: but if it be possible to produce obstruction in the canal of an artery of the human subject, in the abovementioned manner, may it not be advantageously employed in the cure of aneurism? inasmuch as nothing need be done to prevent the immediate union of the external wound. The operation may then be considered merely as a simple incised wound. May not this mode of obstructing the passage of blood through the arteries be also used with advantage in cases of bronchocele? There may be other cases in which it may prove useful, but I shall not dwell longer on what may appear to be premature suggestions and queries.—It is enough for my present purpose to have pointed out the true principles on which the ligature acts." p. 135.

The subject of Chap. IV. which is illustrated by fourteen experiments, relates to the process of adhesion, and the changes which an artery finally undergoes, in consequence of the application of the ligature to the cut extremity of it, or of two ligatures, between which a complete division is made. This part of the subject is founded altogether on the doctrine of the preceding chapter, and therefore will not detain us. It is worthy of consideration by the practical surgeon.

The concluding Chapter relates to "the improper form and application of the ligature, as tending to produce secondary hæmorrhage." The object of the ligature is not only a temporary suppression of hæmorrhage, but a permanent security against its return. Now to obtain the speedy and complete adhesion of its internal coats, the ligature should be such, and so applied, that the wound in these coats may as nearly resemble a simple incised wound as possible. The ligature therefore, should neither be broad and flat, nor irregular in its surface. Coagulating lymph appears to be effused only at the points which are cut: and the author believes, that if the ligature does not completely cut through internal and middle coats all round the artery, complete adhesion cannot take place between its internal surfaces, and therefore secondary hæmorrhage will take place as soon as the ligature has ulcerated through any part of the artery, and that of course it will become more frequent and copious as the process of ulceration advances. He recommends the ligature to be round and firm, and that it should be tied tighter than is merely necessary to cut through the inner coats of the artery.

without any fear as to its coming too speedily away.

The plates afford clear and distinct illustrations of the different states of the arteries, found in the different experiments on dissection.

Upon the whole this experimental essay, if it do not bring much of absolute novelty before us, will conduce at least to render our ideas on the subject more distinct and definite; and will enable us, in a great measure, to estimate the value,

and to discriminate the truth and the errors, of the observations relative to the subject, which are already on record; and thus to remove much confusion and uncertainty which hung over it. The experiments appear to have been conducted with caution and dexterity, and are related with simplicity and apparent fidelity;—they are sufficiently numerous to admit of a satisfactory generalization, and no deduction is attempted to be inferred which the facts do not obviously warrant.

ART. XIII.—*Annals of Medicine, for the Years 1803-4. Exhibiting a concise View of the latest and most important Discoveries in Medicine and Medical Philosophy. By ANDREW DUNCAN, senior, M. D. and ANDREW DUNCAN, junior, M. D. Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.* Vol. 3.—Lustrum 2. 8vo. pp. 550.

IN a dedication addressed, "to the readers of the *Annals of Medicine*," written by Dr. Duncan senior, we are informed that he has resolved to close his periodical labours. We cannot but feel regret at taking leave of an author, who has presented to the public an annual volume for 28 successive years; but we are happy to find that he still proposes to take an active share in the conduct of a new work, which is perhaps already familiar to many of our readers, "the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*."

The volume before us consists, as usual, of an analysis of books, original essays, and articles of medical news. The first section, the analysis of medical books, which occupies above half the volume, we shall pass over with merely remarking, that the most interesting articles are those in which the opinion latterly stated by M. Seguin, respecting the febrifuge principle of cinchona, is examined and refuted. We must indeed express our astonishment that such an hypothesis should be proposed by a man so distinguished for scientific research.

The original communications commence with a valuable essay written by Dr. Kellie, entitled, "Observations and Experiments on the Electricity of Animals." Galvani himself, in the early part of his researches, discovered that contractions might be excited in the muscles of a frog, without the intervention of metals or other foreign substances, merely by bringing different parts of the body into contact; experiments of a similar kind were afterwards performed by Humboldt, and more lately were repeated and extended by Aldini. These experiments prove that the matter, whatever it be, which produces contractions, must reside in the animal itself, and that

they must therefore be considered as entirely distinct from those operations in which the electric fluid, generated by means of the pile or the trough, is passed through a limb, and thus excites it to action. It was to this class of phenomena that our author particularly directed his attention, and he has accordingly presented us with a train of well-conducted and sufficiently diversified experiments, on the contractions produced by bringing into contact the nerves and muscles of the same animal under different circumstances. The experiments are detailed in a perspicuous manner, and ample directions are given to those who may be desirous of repeating them. To analyze all the experiments would carry us beyond our usual limits, but we shall present our readers with the consequences that are deduced from them, which are highly interesting, and which, we may add, the experiments fully authorize.

"In general, we may conclude from these experiments:

1. That the muscles of the extremities of prepared frogs, are convulsed when brought to touch their denuded nerves.

2. That they are also, and often more powerfully, convulsed, when the circle between the muscles and the nerves is completed by other animal conductors. But, if an isolating substance be interposed, no muscular contraction can be produced.

3. That the substances employed to close the circle, do not excite contractions in the ratio of their conducting powers.

4. That convulsions take place only in those parts whose nerves are touched, although other excitable parts enter into the circle.

5. That the preparation of the animal, absolutely necessary for the success of these experiments, consists in isolating the nerves, so that no other conducting substance be com-

tinued from them to the parts in which they terminate.

" 6. That the nerves are imperfect conductors.

" 7. That when the nerves are tied, no convulsion can be excited by completing the circle with the nerve above the ligature.

" 8. The matter put in motion, and producing muscular contraction in these experiments, bears every resemblance to the electric fluid. For it is conveyed by water, the bodies of animals, the metals, &c., and is arrested by glass and sealing-wax. It passes rapidly through the bodies of animals. It excites convulsions, which, however, cease when the parts are kept steadily in contact, i. e. when an equilibrium is produced.

" 9. By the preparation of the frog, this matter is accumulated in the nervous system, and is put in motion when the circle is formed, by the immediate contact of the muscles and nerves, or by conducting substances interposed between these, or between muscular parts connected by the nerves only.

" 10. That the matter thus put in motion, produces contractions only when it passes to the muscles through the nerves.

" 11. That the fluid thus put in motion, acts as a stimulus to the nervous energy.

" 12. But it cannot be the nervous energy itself: 1. Because no accumulation can take place in the living entire body, the nerves being every where surrounded by conducting fluids and solids. While, for the success of these experiments, it is absolutely necessary that the nerve be isolated; no contractions can be produced, even in the prepared animal, when immersed under water, or when the nerves are surrounded by any good conducting medium.—2. Because the nervous power is excited by chemical, or by mechanical stimuli: and, on the other hand, is destroyed by opium, and other poisons, which cannot be imagined to act on the electrical fluid."

The paper concludes with some observations upon the theories proposed by Humboldt and De la Metherie; the former of whom supposed that the galvanic fluid was secreted in the brain, and carried by the nerves to the muscles; the latter, that the galvanic fluid is itself the vital principle. To both these hypotheses Dr. Keillie opposes objections which we think decidedly prove their futility; but we forbear to enlarge upon the subject, as we apprehend there are few persons in this country who are disposed to attack any credit to them.

The second paper contains "the history of a singular affection of the right leg, accompanied with symptomatic epilepsy, which was cured in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh by the use of galvanism." The case, which proceeds from the pen

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of Dr. Duncan senior, is detailed at full length, and certainly deserves attention. An injury appears to have been received by the nerves of the leg, in consequence of which, not only the functions of the part were materially decayed, but frequent epileptic fits were induced. The disease was entirely removed: and it may be fairly assumed that the cure was effected by the application of the galvanic influence. A certain degree of uncertainty always attaches to cases of this description, where the nervous system is the principal seat of disease. The almost unlimited power which the imagination possesses over such affections, should, in every instance, induce us to be extremely cautious in our conclusions respecting the physical effects of remedies; the cures performed by Dr. Haygarth, with his fictitious tractors, were even more decisive than that now under consideration. We would not, by this observation, be thought to insinuate any thing unfavourable to the judgment or candour of Dr. Duncan; we think indeed that the case, evidently depending upon a local cause, was one in which the application of the electric fluid was especially indicated, and we are decidedly of opinion that this agent may be applied with the most effect as extricated from the galvanic apparatus.

We are next presented with an account of three cases of hydrocephalus chronicus, by Dr. Munro junior: the first is very accurately described, and is accompanied by an engraving. It has been observed that the subjects of this complaint have frequently come into the world with difficulty, and it has been questioned whether the severity of the labour should be considered as the cause or the effect of the disease; we agree with the author in thinking the latter supposition the more probable. The phenomena of this complaint may throw some light upon a point which has been much agitated by physiologists, whether the brain is to be considered as moulding and fashioning the skull, or whether the skull limits the form and size of the brain. We may infer, from such cases as those before us, that the figure and size of the skull is dependant upon that of the brain; and that, to its power of yielding to the pressure of the internal parts, may be attributed the longer duration and comparative mildness of the symptoms, when the disease takes place in those subjects, where the different lines which compose the skull are not yet firmly united together. The paper con-

cludes with some observations upon the change of shape which the head experiences in the different stages of the complaint, and on the progress of the ossification. Dr. Monro junior has, in another paper, given us a minute account of the appearances exhibited in a subject who died of diabetes. The principal circumstances in which the body differed from its usual state were, that the fat was much altered in its appearance and texture, the lymphatic glands were enlarged, and the kidneys likewise were of a larger size and more vascular than in their natural state.

We have three papers on the influenza which prevailed so generally in the spring of 1803, the first by Dr. Carrick of Bristol, the second by Dr. Scott of the Isle of Man, the third by Dr. Duncan himself. With respect to the question, whether the disease was propagated by contagion, Dr. Carrick declines giving a positive opinion, while Dr. Scott and Dr. Duncan do not hesitate to decide in the affirmative. We are strongly inclined to adopt this opinion; the progressive spread of the complaint we consider as a circumstance which affords a powerful argument for its contagious nature. Dr. Carrick, though he acknowledges that in its commencement the influenza exhibited signs of considerable debility, conceives that in the subsequent stages the patients bore bleeding as well as in other inflammatory complaints. Dr. Scott, on the contrary, though he often derived advantage from bleeding, found it necessary to exercise a greater degree of caution in the use of the lancet. From the statement of Dr. Duncan, the disease seems to have produced less mortality in Edinburgh than in many

other parts of the kingdom; for in England, though few persons died from the direct effects of the complaint, yet it certainly hastened the deaths of many who were debilitated by age or previous disease.

Among the articles of medical news we have an account of the report made by the committee appointed to inquire into the merits of Dr. Carmichael Smyth's petition, that a reward should be granted him by parliament, for the discovery of the nitrous fumigation. On this point we are sorry to be obliged to differ in opinion from the editors of this volume, who appear to be fully satisfied with the justice of the doctor's claim. We have always regarded it, we confess, as a gross misapplication of the public money. That Dr. Smyth has merit in trying the experiment upon a larger scale, and in bringing it more fully into notice, we readily allow; but we can give him no credit for the invention. The advantage of acid fumigations had been clearly stated by others, and as to the substitution of one process for another, we think it a petty consideration. It is very far from being ascertained that the one which Dr. Smyth has adopted is after all the best, and it is clear from his own expressions, that he was mistaken as to the nature of the operations. But we will place the question upon a broader basis, and venture to assert, that the plan of bestowing pecuniary rewards upon every person who either has, or can make others believe that he has, made any scientific discovery, will prove ruinous to the interests of true philosophy, by debasing the dignified feelings of those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge.

ART. XIV.—A System of Arrangement and Discipline, for the Medical Department of Armies. By ROBERT JACKSON, M. D. 8vo. pp. 460.

IN a work of Dr. Jackson's, reviewed in our second volume, several circumstances respecting the medical department of the British army were pointed out, which seemed to call for correction; in the present performance the subject is discussed more at large, and while the defects are very forcibly brought into public view, the author proposes a system by which he conceives they may be remedied. He commences by a dedication to the medical officers of the army, in which, while he dwells upon the peculiar advantages they possess for improving the science of medicine, he endeavours to make them sen-

sible of the importance of the regulations which he is anxious to see adopted. In a preface which follows he briefly, but strongly, points out the defective arrangements of the present system. The consequence of such a state of things must be a want of economy in the expenditure of the public money, and our author is so confident on this head, as to have addressed a letter to the minister, setting forth,

"That two-thirds of the means provided for the uses of the army employed on foreign service, especially during the course of the late war, was positively superfluous, as at-

ceeding the just wants of the occasions,—the proofs incontrovertible.”

As no answer was ever returned to this letter, Dr. Jackson conceived himself obliged to communicate his ideas to the public, and accordingly the present work made its appearance. We think the publication requires no apology; if it did, the one mentioned above is no doubt amply sufficient.

The work is divided into five chapters, under the following titles: “Constitution of a medical staff, construction and equipment of hospitals, medical management, economical administration, and recapitulation.” To the first four chapters are subjoined copious notes, containing illustrations or proofs of the positions advanced in the body of the work. In Dr. Jackson's former publication he was led to lament the change which had been introduced by the medical board instituted in 1793, by which the regimental surgeons are excluded from the prospect of ever arriving at the most honourable posts, while these are occupied by a description of men (graduates of the English universities, or licentiates of the London college) who, from the nature of their previous education, cannot be supposed to possess the kind of knowledge requisite for their situation. The character of the regimental surgeon, upon whom the main responsibility devolves, is thus degraded in the public estimation, and there is no longer that spirit of emulation excited which is necessary to call forth the complete energies of the mind.

The author insists with much earnestness, and, we think, with much force, of argument, upon the superior advantages which regimental hospitals possess over general hospitals. It is asserted to be a matter of fact, that in the latter the mortality is greater, and also the length of time greater during which the individual cases remain in the wards. It is not difficult to account for this circumstance; in the regimental hospitals the assistance is afforded immediately upon the commencement of the disease, whereas some time, a day or more, is occupied in the removal to the general hospital, and perhaps another day may elapse before the physician pays his accustomed visit. The sick are separated from their friends, and placed under the care of strangers to whom they had no previous attachment; and in spite of all the care that can be taken, there is danger lest the number of persons crowded together should injure the quality of the

air, and thus produce a state of disease more alarming than that which was brought to be cured. The events which took place in the British army on the continent, during its disastrous campaign in 1794 and 1795, strongly corroborate these ideas; for it appears that those regiments which contrived to carry their sick with them in hired waggons, notwithstanding all the obstacles which they had to encounter, suffered less than those where the sick were deposited in hospitals.

Assuming it a point sufficiently established that medical aid is most efficacious when applied *regimentally*, the author proceeds to form an estimate of the number of medical officers that will be necessary: he conceives that seven will be sufficient for a brigade of 3000 men, and in the same proportion 231 for 100,000 men.

“The allowed medical staff, consisting of 231 surgeons and assistant surgeons, is confidently maintained to be equal to the medical care of the number of troops stated, where hospitals are well arranged, stations permanent, and quarters fixed in a peaceable country.”

Supposing that one-tenth part of the whole number was sick, each medical man would have no more than 43 patients. If this estimate be at all near the truth, it will appear from our author's statement that the number of medical officers appointed in the different expeditions undertaken in the late war was considerably too large. He particularly instances the expeditions to the Cape of Good Hope and the West Indies in 1795, where the medical men were so numerous, that if every individual in the regiment had been sick at the same time, there would have been a sufficiency of attendance. Such an excess is not merely useless, it proves absolutely injurious to the service.

After having laid down such a plan for a medical establishment as may most effectually provide for the health of the troops, Dr. Jackson proceeds to propose that the medical officers should be trained up according to a regular system of professional education. For this purpose he proposes that a military hospital be formed, in which the medical business of the army should form the chief object of instruction. After passing a certain length of time in the hospital, the student may become an assistant surgeon, and may afterwards be left to rise through the different gradations of surgeon of battalion, and surgeon of brigade, unto the highest me-

dical stations, satisfactory testimonials and examinations being interposed between each step in the course of his preferment. A regular system of promotion we think extremely desirable; and the advantage of some plan by which every person, before he undertakes the care of the health of the military, should have been necessarily obliged to make himself acquainted with the specific duties of his office, is incontrovertible; it is much to be lamented that the system at present adopted is so widely dissimilar. We are not, however, so clear respecting the advantages of the military hospital. We differ much from Dr. Jackson as to the probable benefit that would be experienced, were all medical men to enter upon their profession with a set of uniform principles, derived from the same preceptor: we are of opinion that the science of medicine in general, and consequently each individual department of it, is much more benefited by that variety of doctrines which are imbibed at the different public schools, and inculcated by the various private teachers. Dr. Jackson complains that

"The principles of the medical art, as taught in the different schools in Britain, are not yet fixed upon a general and stable basis; consequently, medical opinions fluctuate and change capriciously according to fashions of time or place."

This is true, and is to be lamented; but the evil is not to be cured in the way recommended by our author, by authoritatively imposing an universal standard of medical faith. Who is to assure us that the lawgivers themselves are exempt from error? If principles cannot acquire a preference in public opinion, in consequence of their intrinsic merit, we should be promoting the cause of error by employing any arbitrary method of sanctioning them. The chapter concludes with some strictures upon the constitution of the present army medical board, some remarks upon the regimental rank of the medical officers, upon their pay, and upon the best forms of medical discipline, particularly a regular and strict examination of the troops.

The second chapter is on the construction of hospitals, a subject which has, more particularly of late years, formed a frequent subject of discussion. The directions that are laid down by our author are very minute: his opinions appear, for the most part, judicious, and his suggestions practicable. There are indeed some minute particulars in which we do not coincide with him; he advises that the

walls should be "highly polished, painted, and even varnished, in such manner that they may be washed with soap and water as often as is necessary, and thereby freed of all adhering matters of contagion." We think frequent white-washing, which may be employed so easily and with so little expence, is at least as useful, if not preferable to any other covering. We heartily concur in the importance which Dr. Jackson attaches to ventilation; but we doubt whether he is correct in his idea that the foul air is more particularly apt to lodge at the bottom of the room, and that it is therefore necessary to have windows reaching down to the floor. Windows of this description are, on some accounts, inconvenient, and we conceive that the lowest stratum of air will be sufficiently charged by the occasional opening of the door; apertures on a level with the floor may, however, be easily formed, if it be thought necessary, either communicating with the outside of the building, or with the internal passages. After all, the most important point in the construction of hospitals is to prevent the sick from being crowded into too small a compass; an evil which no precautions of ventilation or cleanliness can completely counteract.

In the notes to this chapter the author gives an account of the different military hospitals that have been established in this country since the year 1793, when the new system of management was adopted: it appears that some are already abandoned, and that none of them altogether fulfil the purpose for which they were erected. The facts are in themselves valuable, and tend to confirm the opinion maintained above, respecting the inutility of general military hospitals.

The third chapter is on the medical management of the sick in hospitals. The first object to which the author directs our attention is, the classification of the patients according to the nature of their diseases. This leads him to make some remarks upon the origin of disease in general, and the mode of its production, in which we observe that singular turn of language and idea which we noticed in the pathological part of Dr. Jackson's former publication. Instead of stating in a few words, that in some diseases morbid exhalations are produced, which have the power of communicating a similar disease to others, a truth which no one would attempt to controvert, we have a disquisition concerning diseased actions and their mode of propagation, which, though cloth-

ed in new, and not always very intelligible language, does not appear to us to convey any new ideas upon the subject. We indeed afterwards meet with some novel opinions. The author admits the existence of a peculiar kind of fever, which is endemic, but not contagious; it is not, however, characterised in so decided a manner as to enable us to ascertain precisely to what set of morbid phenomena he refers. It is also stated that the fever which is generated by crowded and ill-ventilated apartments, though for the most part easily cognizable, sometimes takes an unusual appearance

“ It sometimes assumes the mask of dysentery or diarrhoea; sometimes it appears under the form of pneumonia; it even manifests itself in scabby eruptions resembling leprosy; and it frequently commits ravages as an ulcerating process, or peculiar form of sore leg. These appearances are obviously different in aspect; yet the cause which produces them is ultimately one, and intimately connected with the contagion which brings forth, at other times and under other circumstances, a diseased movement of distinct febrile form.”

We need not point out to our intelligent readers how widely these doctrines differ from those usually embraced. We have not been in the habit of considering either diarrhoea or pneumonia as contagious, nor regarding any of the diseases here enumerated as depending upon the usual febrile infection.

The author points out at some length the advantages of having patients classed according to the period of their diseases; when they are thus arranged, the physician can prescribe for them with more ease, and it is conceived that their removal into convalescent wards must have a cheering effect upon their spirits, and consequently a favourable influence upon their complaints. From a similar motive he recommends, that those suffering severe pain, or at the point of death, should be kept as much as possible from the view of the other patients.

We are next presented with some remarks upon a method to be adopted with patients upon their reception into the hospital; bleeding, with a view of cutting short the diseases, is we think much too indiscriminately recommended, but we agree with the author in thinking that ablutions of all kinds cannot be too attentively practised. He strongly insists upon the pro-

priety of keeping accurate registers of the diseases, with an account of the remedies, the principal changes that occur, and the final result. We meet with some valuable suggestions respecting the situation and duties of surgeons during the time of action, remarks upon the discipline and conduct of nurses, of the method of procuring medicines, and estimates of the necessary expenditure for these articles, with an account of their present cost, from which it would appear that the sum usually devoted to this object is prodigiously greater than what is necessary. The minuteness of the details into which the author enters, renders it impossible for us to give an adequate idea of this part of the work, but we must remark that the minuteness of the details considerably enhances its value.

The fourth chapter, in like manner, consists principally of minute details. It commences by giving an account of the number of servants of all descriptions which are necessary in a hospital establishment, and also points out the uselessness of some that are at present admitted into them. We have afterwards a number of observations upon diet, and a plan proposed, by which the duties of the purveyor may be much facilitated. Instead of the plan of checking the hospital accounts, which is at present adopted for the purpose of ensuring their accuracy, but which is proved to be very inadequate to the end, it is proposed that the necessary articles should be furnished by a stoppage from the soldiers' pay during their sickness, and that the accounts should at all times be open for general inspection.

The subjects discussed in this volume are in themselves of the highest importance, and the manner in which they are treated is such as to convey an irresistible idea of the ability and patriotism of the author. It is a work which concerns not only the physician but the statesman, and while it illustrates medical science, conveys the most important lessons on political economy. The ardour of Dr. Jackson's mind may have occasionally led him to exaggerate facts or over-rate calculations; but we have no doubt that his representations are true in the main, and we totally acquit him of the intention to mislead. From the quotations which we have given our readers will observe that the style is of a somewhat similar cast; it is, however, forcible and impressive, and for the most part perspicuous.

ART. XV.—*Proceedings of the Board of Health at Manchester.* 8vo. pp. 262.

THE attention of the medical world has of late been particularly directed to the subject of febrile contagion; the laws of its propagation have been assiduously investigated, and the means of its prevention anxiously inquired into. The town of Manchester, partly depending upon local causes, and partly owing to the peculiar nature of its manufactures, has been always remarkably subject to the attacks of a contagious fever; and this disease had spread to so wide an extent, both in the town and neighbourhood, that in the beginning of the year 1796 the subject attracted general notice, and a committee was formed of some of the most respectable inhabitants, to inquire into the best means of arresting its progress, under the title of the board of health. They attempted to accomplish the object of their association, by enforcing the necessity of ventilation and cleanliness in the dwellings of the poor, and in the buildings where persons were assembled together in great numbers; for the purpose of carrying on the different manufactures; but above all they strongly recommended, as paramount to every other consideration, the necessity of having some place into which those infected with fever might be received, so as to ensure to the patient the requisite accommodations; while his removal prevented the communication of the disease to the other members of the family. Some valuable letters, recommending this plan, were addressed to the board from several men of the first eminence in the profession, among others from Dr. Percival, Dr. Ferriar and the other physicians of Manchester, Dr. Perceval of Dublin, Dr. Haygarth, Dr. Carmichael Smyth, and Dr. Currie of Liverpool. They all tended to one important conclusion; that although nothing could exceed the virulence of typhous contagion, while permitted to accumulate in close and crowded dwellings, yet that it was disarmed of almost all its fatality, when the patients were removed to clean and well-aired apartments. This opinion is now almost universally acquiesced in, and we believe that the communications contained in this volume, and the measures adopted by the Manchester board for giving them publicity, were

among the principal means of its general diffusion.

In pursuance of this system the board began by opening wards for the reception of fever patients, and after some time enlarged their plan so far, as to propose that a building of considerable extent should be erected for this purpose, under the title of the house of recovery. The proposal appears to have been seconded with much zeal by a large and respectable portion of the inhabitants of Manchester, but unfortunately there were not wanting others who as earnestly opposed its establishment. We shall not scrutinize very accurately the motives by which the opponents were guided; the ostensible one was an apprehension lest the bringing together a number of persons labouring under fever, should operate as a means of increasing the violence of the contagion, and diffusing it through the neighbourhood. This was the ostensible motive; but it must be confessed, that in the progress of the contest, measures were adopted by the opponents, which seemed to indicate that they were influenced by other feelings than those of humanity. We cannot pass without notice a threat which was thrown out by a titled land-owner, that if the house of recovery were erected upon the plan proposed, he would so dispose of his property, as almost entirely to destroy the utility of the present infirmary. The opposition was, however, at length silenced, and the volume concludes with a set of regulations which were drawn up in August 1804, for the government of the house, previous to its being opened for the reception of patients.

The work before us must not be considered as an object of literary criticism, and the nature of its contents does not admit of our giving a regular analysis of them. We shall, however, venture to assert, that any one who is desirous of being informed how he may effectually benefit the poorer classes of society, and particularly how he may remove from them a considerable portion of the evil which they suffer from bodily disease, will find himself amply repaid by its perusal.

ART. XVI.—Practical Observations concerning Sea-Bathing. To which are added, *Remarks on the Use of the Warm Bath.* By A. P. BUCHAN, M. D. of the Royal College of Physicians, London. 8vo. pp. 220.

WHEN persons advance to a certain stage of refinement, one of their most serious occupations becomes that of taking care of their health: their delicacy of constitution renders them obnoxious to a number of real evils; and what is worse than these, they are harassed by a train of fancied ills, the never-failing attendants upon indolence and luxury. A change of residence is one of the most usual methods resorted to, for the purpose of counteracting those sensations of ennui which so frequently assail this description of invalids; and of late years the custom has been adopted of directing their periodical excursions to the sea-side. Though these migrations must, for the most part, be attributed to the influence of fashion, and are frequently carried to a ridiculous excess, yet, upon the whole, it must be acknowledged that the custom is salutary, at least it ought to be regarded as one of the most innocent species of dissipation. At all events, considering how extensively it is practised, we think the author of this volume merits the thanks of the public for having undertaken to lay down in a popular manner some directions for sea-bathing, and the precautions necessary to be observed respecting its use. It is at present had recourse to so indiscriminately, that it must, in many cases, prove prejudicial; no one can doubt of its frequently proving of the highest utility; but whatever is capable of doing much good, may, if improperly applied, do much harm.

The work is divided into two parts: in the first the effects of sea-bathing upon the general health are considered, and in the second its effects in the cure of specific diseases. The author begins by describing the changes produced in the system by suddenly plunging into cold water, and afterwards those which ensue by remaining immersed in it for a greater length of time. The respiration is found to be more laborious, a circumstance which is attributed to the weight of the water pressing upon the thorax, while the convulsive panting is thought to depend upon the cold being applied to the region of the diaphragm while the body is in the state of half-immersion. We cannot, however, altogether coincide in this last opinion; we believe the same kind of panting occurs, when the legs and thighs

only are suddenly immersed in cold water, or if it be thrown over the body from a bucket or the shower-bath. The effect produced upon the pulse seems not to be accurately ascertained; Dr. Currie has found it to be accelerated, but the contrary effect has been noticed by our author, as well as by some other experimentalists. The fact may probably differ in different constitutions. It is well known that after leaving the water, an agreeable glow is generally diffused over the surface; this is attended with a sensation of heat, but according to the observation of Dr. Buchan, the absolute heat of the body is not raised. The sensation is attributed to the body becoming more sensible to the accustomed warmth of the atmosphere, after having been kept for some time at a lower temperature, in the same manner as the hands, after being plunged in snow, will be warmed by washing them in water only a few degrees above the freezing point. The energy which is thus produced by a temporary abstraction of the accustomed stimuli, if not pushed to too great an extent, is found to increase the permanent vigour of the constitution; and upon this principle may the beneficial effects of the cold bath be, in part at least, explained.

The great evil of the British climate is the variableness of its temperature, and it becomes of course desirable to employ every means to inure the body to these changes. The excessive care which is taken by persons in the higher ranks, to exclude the access of cold, only tends to make them more apt to suffer from its effects upon those accidental exposures to it, from which no caution can effectually ensure them.

“The modern refinement of constructing houses so as, by means of double doors and windows, almost wholly to exclude the external air; the thick covering which we spread upon the floors of our chambers; and the heating of them by close stoves, with narrow chimneys; are in direct opposition to the doctrine I am now endeavouring to inculcate. But is disease less frequent? Is catarrh more rare, or consumption less fatal? In vain do the delicate accumulate defences against the vicissitudes of external temperature. Those who never tread but on carpets, and take every precaution to prevent the breath of heaven from blowing on them, are more liable to be disordered by the impression of cold, than the laborious peasant, or the sea-

man daily exposed to the rage of storms and tempests. The occasional use of the cold bath, by inuring the body to a wider range of temperature, tends to diminish the danger of those sudden transitions from heat to cold, and the contrary; which, in the common tenor of life, it is impossible wholly to avoid. After having bathed in the sea during a few weeks in autumn, I have observed, with respect to myself, as well as in many other instances, that persons prone to catarrhal affections are much less susceptible of them during the ensuing winter. One general effect of the cold bath being unquestionably to induce a degree of what in common language is denominated hardness, and which may be defined, that state of the living system which is least liable to be affected by disagreeable impressions."

Our author afterwards notices the beneficial effects which the use of cold bathing appears to have over the state of the perspiration. If the body be uniformly kept in a high temperature, the slightest diminution of the heat will cause the perspiration to be impeded, and will bring on that train of complaints that are usually conceived to arise from this cause; whereas, by inuring the skin to a lower temperature, we become, in the manner explained above, less apt to suffer from those necessary exposures to cold which must occur in our climate. Upon this principle the indiscriminate use of flannel, as worn next the body, is condemned, perhaps with some justice, though it is a practice to which, in many instances, we feel much attached.

We have next some directions respecting the time and manner of bathing; the author properly cautions those who have been debilitated by the immediate effects of intoxication or bodily fatigue, from going into the water until they have recovered from this state; and he especially advises the ladies "who indulge in the evening ball, to abstain from the morning bath." We have some remarks upon the specific effects of sea-water as applied to the skin; it certainly differs from fresh water of the same temperature; it is more invigorating, and less apt to produce catarrhal affections.

After these general observations, the author proceeds to offer some remarks upon the different diseases for which sea-bathing has been recommended. Of these, scrofula appears by general experience to be the chief; it seems to originate in cold and want of proper nutrition. The effects of cold, as we have seen above, are best obviated by bathing; the defect of nutrition is obviously to be removed by a suitable attention to diet. Chincough in its latter stages, chorea, hysteria, indigestion, and hypochondriasis, are among those diseases in which the advantage of sea-bathing is the most firmly established. There are some complaints in which this practice is absolutely injurious; of these the principal are all fevers with topical inflammation; erysipelas also appears to be much aggravated by it, and many cutaneous disorders. Upon the whole, it is a practice more suited to youth than to old age, and should not be had recourse to in the latter part of life without due precaution. The internal use of sea-water has been found beneficial in ascarides and other species of worms, and may be advantageously employed in some cutaneous complaints, although applied externally it has appeared hurtful. The work concludes with some remarks upon the warm bath; when employed at a temperature a few degrees below that of the human body, our author conceives it to be not merely an innocent, but a salutary gratification. The idea of its relaxing effects he combats as a vulgar prejudice, and endeavours to shew that it originated from the excessive height to which this luxury was carried in the latter stages of the Roman empire. The moderate use of the warm bath would probably prove highly useful in the debility arising from old age, in atrophy, in fererish complaints attended with an irritability of the nervous system, in gout, rheumatism, and palsy, and in hectic. Upon the whole this performance, although not in the highest rank of literary productions, contains much useful information, conveyed in simple and easy language.

ART. XVII.—A Treatise on the Lues Borilla, or Cow-Pox. By BENJAMIN MOSLEY, M. D. Author of a *Treatise on Tropical Diseases*; of a *Treatise on Coffee*; and of *Medical Tracts*,—Containing *Dissertations on Sugar*; on the *Yaws*; on *Obi*, or *African Witchcraft*; on the *Plague*, and *Yellow Fever of America*; on *Hospitals*; on *Bronchocoele*; on *Prisons*, &c. Physician to the *Royal Military Hospital at Chelsea*, Member of the *College of Physicians of London*, of the *University of Leyden*, of the *American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia*, &c.

IN our last volume we noticed, with a degree of concern, the opposition that had

been made to the vaccine inoculation. The objections, however, appeared to us to be so completely answered, that we hoped the public opinion would have been finally settled, and that no farther interruption would have occurred to the progress of a practice which promised to be so decidedly beneficial. It is therefore with great regret that we have to encounter in the course of our present labours a far weightier load of hostility, advanced not in the form of candid investigation (for this we can never condemn), but in the shape of coarse invective and vulgar humour; invective against those who stepped forward in support of a practice which they esteemed important to the welfare of mankind, and humour bestowed upon a subject in which mirth is misplaced and totally irrelevant.

The author of the treatise before us is not unknown in the literary world, and he has justly acquired a degree of reputation by his former productions. But of the present performance we feel ourselves obliged to speak in terms of the severest reprehension, not merely in consequence of our entertaining a different opinion from the author concerning the point in dispute, but from the highly indecorous manner in which the subject is treated. Dr. Moseley begins by informing us, that when the question respecting the cow-pox was first brought before the public, he formed an opinion that,

"Experience is not necessary to know the cow-pox cannot be a preventive of the small-pox. For, on the principles of pathology, and analogy; from the laws of the animal economy, and the want of reciprocity between the two diseases, it is impossible to believe, without an entire subversion of our reason, that either should render the human frame unsusceptible of the other."

There is at least a degree of candour in thus coming forward, and declaring that he was determined not to be convinced; but to an opinion formed under such a determination we can attach but little value. We may venture to assert, without being liable to the imputation of that want of candour which we ascribe to our author, that we ought to receive with great distrust all facts brought forward by so prejudiced an advocate.

The style of the work is so singular, that we shall present our readers with a specimen, and for this purpose shall select the commencement.

"In the year 1798 the cow-pox inocula-

tion mania seized the people of England en masse.

"It broke out in the month of April,—like a symptomatic eruption of nature; the planet Mercury—the delusive author of 'vain and fond imaginations,' being then in the zodiacal sign of the Bull.

"It increased as the days lengthened; and at midsummer large societies, of the medical profession which was first attacked, were dis-tempered to an intolerable degree.

"While some members of these distinguished bodies were absorbed in deep study, and intense thought, for the good of their patients, the mania stole upon them, taking advantage of the absence of their intellects.

"These medical orbs, fixed fast in their firmament, were not known to have had any motion, for the last twenty years. Now they suddenly advanced; left their proper centre of gravity; and surprised the gazing world.

"Nothing but what I have mentioned had happened, either in the moral or physical order of things, as precursor to so extraordinary an event. Effects succeeded causes, as in former years. The sea continued to be green, and salt; and the Thames flowed down to it as usual.

"The higher ranks of every description were soon infected by the doctors, who set the example with a spirit worthy of the agricultural society, by experimenting their own flock.

"The philanthropist, the calculator, and statesman, were all captivated with the notion, that millions of lives would be saved annually; by which means, neither manufacture, nor slaughter, need to stand still for want of hands.

"The tender parent was pleasantly irritated with the 'amiable insanity.' It promised to remove all cares from the nursery; to mend the race of beauty; and to chase a loathsome disease, and with it ugliness and deformity, from the face of the earth.

"The doctors renounced all discussion, concerning the right of parents, to take what liberties they pleased with their infants; whose sympathies and antipathies, as they cannot be known, they determined to be proper objects for experiment."

The author immediately began his attack, "being satisfied," before any trials had been made, "that the cow-pox had no affinity to the small-pox." In conformity with this spirit he published a philippic against vaccination in the year 1799, amongst his medical tracts, which is inserted at full length in the present volume; and when examined before the house of commons with respect to Dr. Jenner's claim to a parliamentary reward, he was almost the only person who did not give the measure his concurrence. About thirty pages of the work are occu-

pled with the evidence which was given by himself and the other medical gentlemen upon the occasion; we are somewhat at a loss to know for what purpose he inserted in this place what the public were so perfectly familiar with before. We have afterwards an account of the establishment of the different cow-pox institutions in London, lists of their officers, and transcripts of some of their advertisements and reports.

We shall not pretend to follow Dr. Moseley through his whole train of declamation, but we shall select for our consideration all that can in any way be deemed argumentative. Three different allegations are brought forward against the cow-pox; first, that it is not a perfect security against the small-pox; secondly, that the cow-pox is a dangerous and loathsome disease; and thirdly, that the cow-pox can never succeed in exterminating the small-pox. On the first two points he brings forward a number of cases, detailed with more or less accuracy, in which either small-pox has succeeded to vaccination, or in which the vaccine disease has appeared to be followed by loathsome cutaneous complaints, or by an injury to the general health. In many of the cases there is a palpable want of evidence, in others we confess we do not discover any deficiency; but we make no scruple of declaring, that we look with a degree of mistrust upon all facts adduced by Dr. Moseley on the subject of cow-pox. He appears to entertain the idea that the vaccination only suspends for a limited period the action of the variolous contagion; and intimates, in support of his opinion, that it is in like manner suspended by other diseases. Whatever may be the ultimate decision of this question, our readers would scarcely expect to meet with the following unqualified assertion:

"The cow-pox possesses no more specific power to resist the small-pox, than the scald-head; or a violent state of the itch; or the yaws; or the leprosy; or the pustule maligne; or the temporary influence of any morbid inoculation from diseased animals; or the bites of venomous creatures; or wounds, that dissectors of dead bodies sometimes accidentally give themselves. With these may be included other febrile, eruptive, and cutaneous disorders."

ART. XVIII.—*Observations on the pernicious Consequences of Cow-Pox Inoculation; containing many well authenticated Instances, proving its Insecurity against the Small-Pox: also, Remarks on the Advantages of Small-Pox Inoculation.* By R. SQUIRREL, M. D. Formerly Resident Apothecary at the Small-Pox and Inoculation Hospital.

FROM the title of this work our readers will perceive, that like the last, it is writ-

We must also remark that the author positively denies that the same person has ever had the small-pox twice, or after the variolous inoculation, though it is well known that of late several instances of this kind have been published, apparently upon as good evidence as those brought forward by Dr. Moseley to prove the recurrence of small-pox after cow-pox; we do not see how we are to believe the one without crediting the other. So eager is our author to receive every tale which may make against cow-pox, that he appears willing to impute to it an agency more powerful than any thing that can enter into our comprehension or imagination; he gravely tells us that he knows a philosopher,

"Who says that the cow-pox virus deadens, or depilogisticates the system; and he thinks he has observed, in some children, a diminution of mental acumen after the cow-pox."

As to the effect of vaccination in exterminating small-pox, he thinks the thing impossible, because small-pox is an "atmospheric disease, i. e. as it appears, a disease induced by a peculiar state of the atmosphere." Every one knows that at particular periods the disease rages with peculiar violence; and as we can discover no other cause, we have recourse to this supposition to account for its frequency. But we know that no condition of the air can give it to those whose constitutions are secured from it by having already gone through the complaint; whether or no vaccination produces this effect is the point at issue; a question totally independent of its being an atmospheric disease. Does Dr. Moseley suppose that any state of the atmosphere can produce the disease, if the specific contagion be not present?

Upon the whole we acknowledge that this treatise contains many cases which appear unfavourable to vaccination, and which certainly deserve to be investigated; but when we observe them joined to so much buffoonery and scurrility, and hear the author confess himself guilty of the grossest prejudice, their effect upon our minds is much diminished, we had almost said annihilated.

ten by an opposer of the vaccine inoculation; we were, however, led to hope that it was dictated by a different spirit, by a declaration which the author makes at the commencement, that he proposes to treat the subject with the "utmost candour." This fair promise was indeed somewhat blasted by the very next sentence, where it is said that,

"Vaccination has been practised and encouraged by those who have had little or no experience, either in the small-pox or its inoculation."

Recollecting the numerous bodies of medical men, both in the metropolis and elsewhere, who have come forwards in support of this practice, bodies no less respectable than numerous, we were at a loss how to solve this paradox, until we found that inoculation is practised by apothecaries, while the encouragers of cow-pox have been physicians. To this it is sufficient to reply that the department of the profession who principally practise inoculation are the surgeons, and surgeons have been some of the most active promoters of vaccination. We do not think it necessary to repel the attack that is made upon the character of the physicians; we conceive that they will be able to bear the assault.

Although Dr. Squirrel did not make up his mind upon the subject in the first instance, like Dr. Moseley, yet it appears that he very soon became panic-struck. Upon the first perusal of Dr. Jenner's publication, he was filled with such "horror and aversion," that he could not "as a man of honour or of feeling, submit to or coincide with vaccination." When the small-pox inoculation was first introduced, people must have felt much horror and aversion at voluntarily subjecting their children to so dreadful a disease, and there were no doubt multitudes whose honour and feelings would not let them submit to or coincide with the practice. Our author's feelings have, we apprehend, led him much astray; for he conceives that the grease in horses is a modification of scrofula, and that by inoculating with vaccine matter, we transplant the seeds of this disease into the human body. There are, however, several points that remain to be proved before we can admit this hypothesis; neither the cause, seat, nor symptoms of the two diseases warrant the opinion of their identity; and even were this identity proved, we deny the possibility of the disease being conveyed by

inoculation. After having proved, as he imagines, that scrofula is thus capable of being conveyed into the system by the vaccine matter, the author proceeds to describe the numerous train of ills which flow from its introduction. We shall present our readers with the affecting picture as drawn by the hand of Dr. Squirrel.

"1. Great numbers of children have caught the small-pox, after vaccination, which will be proved by well-attested facts presently, though it had been pronounced to have taken proper effect, and the parents had rested satisfied in believing their children to be safe and secure. Many have afterwards had the variolous disease in a very violent manner; and some have died.

"2. Numerous instances have occurred, where the children have been affected with a very troublesome itching eruption, harassing them, from the time of vaccination, for months, and even years afterwards; and undermining the constitution from the almost constant irritation, and the continual interruption of sleep. This eruption, very frequently, terminates in corroding ulcers. A child of Dr. Smyth Stuart, who resided in Bloomsbury-square, died from the irritation arising from the inflammation, eruption, and ulceration on the arm; which case will be mentioned. No eruption of any kind had ever appeared on the skin of these children previously to vaccination:—I appeal to the parents for the truth of this assertion, who, I have no doubt, will readily come forward to testify the fact; which fully proves to the unbiassed and impartial part of the public, that these eruptions and ulcers have arisen from the acrimonious and contaminating quality of the cow-pox virus.

"Every day's experience furnishes me with fresh instances of eruptions, inflammations, and ulcerations, on different parts, subsequent to vaccination. These eruptions, which are attended with erysipelatous inflammation, appear generally some months after inoculation, and, in the course of a few days, after they have made their appearance, they terminate in pustules, which bear every similitude to the cow-pox produced on the arm by inoculation: the colour of the matter they contain, and the inflammation surrounding them, are exactly similar. These pustules terminate in scabs, which, in a little time, fall off, and expose to view a deep-seated inflamed ulcer, and produce such an intolerable itching that the child in the morning is nearly covered with blood, arising from the scratching through the course of the night; and the parents in such a state of anxiety and distress, that it would rack any one's heart to see them. The irritation is much increased by a small prickly rash which fills nearly the whole of the interstices between the ulcers, so that the whole body is almost covered with the eruption and ulcers, and the child rendered so sore

and tender, that it can scarcely bear to be touched. These eruptions after continuing some time totally disappear; the ulcers heal, and the itching ceases. The parents, on this account, highly flatter themselves with the hopes of these pests being quite vanished, never to return; but, in the course of a few months, they recur with equal severity: the itching and irritation take place night and day with scarcely any interval. This kind of visitation of the effects of cow-pox continues generally several years (unless some mercurial preparation be given): sometimes the disease is better, and sometimes worse. Glandular swellings, tumefied and ulcerated eye-lids, and violent inflammation of the coats of the eyes themselves, I have frequently found to follow vaccination. My friend Dr. Rowley, an experienced physician and general practitioner in medicine, and a man of veracity, in his treatise lately published, entitled, 'Cow-pox Inoculation no Security against the Small-pox Infection,' says, 'scabby eruptions, superficial abscesses, ulcers, boils, and suppurations in different parts; gangrene, and mortification about the ancles, and other parts of the body, I have been witness to.' He further observes, that 'Blindness and deafness have been not unfrequently the consequences of cow-pox inoculation, whether originating from the grease in horses, or the natural disease of cows.'

"These are some of the charming sequelæ of vaccination, or cow-pox inoculation. This practice has been boasted of as the greatest blessing to humanity, and was promised, with enthusiastic warmth, to be a perfect and perpetual security against the variolous infection, and a milder and safer disease than the small-pox inoculation. The fallacy of such promises brings to my recollection the story reported of Mr. Moore the almanack-maker, who, as he was riding over a very large common, on a fine day, in company with a friend, met with a shepherd who requested them to ride on, or they would be overtaken by a very great storm; and the old man predicted right, nor before they got to the end of their journey he experienced as heavy a one as he ever knew, in which they both got pretty well soaked. Mr. Moore was determined to know, if possible, by what signs the shepherd knew it would rain, it being such fine weather a few hours before, consequently he rode back to ask him: 'because,' replied the old shepherd, 'Mr. Moore, in his almanack, promised it would be a very fine day.'

"3. Some children, ever since they were vaccinated, have been troubled with coughs, difficulty of breathing, and fevers of a slow and intermitting kind; their appetite has become diminished, their vivacity lost, the countenance pale, the flesh flabby; and a train of symptoms has ensued similar to those which always arise from an absorption of extraneous and poisonous matter:—In short, those children, who, before vaccination, were lively, strong, and had every appearance of

health, have become dull, weak, and constantly ill, arising apparently from this matter being of a deleterious quality. In short, the small-pox, eruptions, and ulcerations, the constitutions being undermined, are three unfortunate circumstances so very frequent, and so well known, not only in every corner and street in London, but also in the different counties, to be subsequent and to arise from vaccination, that it becomes almost unnecessary to mention them; nor, indeed, should I deem it requisite, but my duty to my fellow-creatures induces me to endeavour to prevent such an evil in future. The vaccinators will not, they even cannot, at present adhere to truth, temper, and moderation, for they have promised too much, and have imposed too many falsehoods on the credulous for them to retract, without shame and disgrace. I, therefore, most earnestly recommend the public, for whose benefit these observations are solely intended, to be influenced and guided by reason and facts only, and forbid in future vaccine inoculation being practised in their family, but return to the old, and well tried, and well-established practice, small-pox inoculation, in which will be found a perpetual security against variolous contagion, without undermining the constitution, or affecting the body with any subsequent complaints.

"To see these vaccinated children thus affected, some with eruptions and ulcers, others with coughs and fevers, and in other respects extremely ill, has rendered the parents very unhappy, and even miserable, not only from the present inconvenience, but also from these malignant complaints, arising from this infection, being both tedious and difficult to eradicate. Shocking reflection to a humane mind! that a poison should be introduced into the human constitution without the plea of necessity, or the support of reason or experience, to make experiments, which the success of the small-pox inoculation had long ago rendered futile."

We learn, however, that these dreadful evils are not irremediable; we are informed that the disease may be eradicated by keeping the system for some weeks under the influence of mercury. If we do not misunderstand him he even recommends that the plan should be pursued by all those who have been vaccinated, in order to remove from the system the latent poison, which sooner or later will break forth, and commit the ravages described above. Upon this proposal we make no comment.

The author next proceeds to enumerate the advantages of the small-pox inoculation; he lays it down as an incontrovertible proposition, that in no case has the small-pox occurred twice in the same person, and almost asserts that the ratio-

lous inoculation, if properly conducted, can never prove fatal. So far from admitting that the disease is occasionally dangerous and productive of the most unpleasant effects, (occurrences which we admit to be rare, but of the existence of which we cannot have the smallest doubt) he roundly asserts that "the small-pox inoculation produces no ill consequences whatever," and acquiring confidence as he advances, he next informs us that,

"The small-pox inoculation improves the health and constitution, and carries off many complaints which were very uncomfortable, both to the parents and children."

The work concludes with some "observations on inoculation of the small-pox," from which it appears that the author, although he has procured a diploma, and has been thus metamorphosed into a physician, has not forgotten his old trade of an apothecary.

ART. XIX.—*Inoculation for the Small-pox vindicated; and its superior Efficacy and Safety to the Practice of Vaccination clearly proved.* By GEORGE LIPSCOMB, Surgeon.

THE work commences with the following paragraph:

"The ferment of popular opinion respecting the cow-pox having, in some degree, subsided; and the torrent of fashion having been at length stemmed by the influences of reason and experience; the present time appears not altogether unfavourable to the introduction of a few remarks, which are designed to illustrate the arguments already adduced on the merits and consequences of vaccination; and to place in a clear and conspicuous point of view the fallacy of those doctrines by which the practice of it has been encouraged and supported."

We conceive the reasoning here employed is somewhat singular; he did not step forth to oppose the torrent of fashion and popular opinion, but waits until the mischief has been done, and the evil is now curing itself. Whether he was influenced by timidity or diffidence, it is not our business to inquire; our concern is not with his motives, but his pamphlet. The author takes it for granted, that there is before the public sufficient evidence to prove that vaccination is not a permanent security against the small-pox, and that it is sometimes followed by loathsome or even dangerous diseases. He appears to be a disciple and admirer of Dr. Squirrel, whose work he quotes with due respect, and whose hypothesis respecting the identity of the grease in horses and scrofula he assumes as an established point; he also lays it down without reserve, that the small-pox inoculation ought never to be fatal, and that no unpleasant consequences ever result from it if properly conducted.

Mr. Lipscomb sets out with lavish professions of candour, but he is one of that numerous tribe who may exclaim with Medea,

"—video meliora proboque;
Deteriora sequor—"

for he very unequivocally charges the

promoters of vaccination with an attempt to impose upon the world.

"If I may be permitted to avow the dictates of my mind, I can conscientiously add, that it revolts with indignation at the shocking idea of thus wilfully imposing on the ignorant; of thus exposing to probable destruction those who regard us in the light of friendly-advisers; of thus manifesting the disposition of faithless betrayers of the confidence reposed in the faculty as men of honour, integrity, and science. Was it by such insidious arts that the first rudiments of improvement were introduced into the world? Is it by such base and unworthy efforts that knowledge can be brought nearer to perfection? Rather let science perish than attempt to establish it on the ruins of justice and the wreck of truth!"

We must, however, admit the justice of our author's observations, when he points out the impropriety of trusting the vaccine inoculation in extra-professional hands.

"Country clergymen, farmers, and old women, have been made the instruments for ascertaining the consequences of this important revolution in medical science. I would not be misunderstood as intending to give offence to either of these classes when I say, that however respectable, useful, and necessary, they may be in their several stations, it is impossible that any of them should have been properly employed on this occasion: and greatly as I venerate and admire the learning and the moral worth of the clergy, greatly as I esteem and regard the honest and beneficial industry of the farmer, I cannot help thinking that less mischief has been done by the third description of persons above alluded to, in the practice of vaccination, than by either of the other—because they have never published on the subject."

We believe from this circumstance much evil has, and much more will arise; and we trust it may prove a lesson to medical men not to consider any part of their art so simple and unimportant, as to permit it to escape their attention.

ART. XX.—*A Dissertation on the Failure and Mischief of the Disease called the Cow-pox, in which the principal Arguments adduced in Favour of Vaccination, by Dr. Jenner, Pearson, Woodville, Lettsom, Thornton, and Adams, are examined, and confuted.* By GEORGE LIPSCOMB, Surgeon. 8vo. pp. 105.

JUST as we had finished our remarks upon the preceding article, a second pamphlet, from the pen of Mr. Lipscomb, was transmitted to us. We hoped to have met with some novelty, either of fact or argument, to make up for the deficiencies of the former: we have not, however, found this to be the case. The author commences as usual, with professions of candour, respect for genius, &c. &c.; he introduces observations upon the progress of error, the tendency in mankind to run after new doctrines, and other common-places of a similar nature. Our readers, we are confident, will pardon us for not laying before them a minute analysis of the work; we shall briefly notice its most prominent sentiments, from which an idea may be formed of the merits of the remainder.

The circumstance of the cow-pox being derived from a disease of the horse, seems to Mr. Lipscomb, from the first, an insufferable objection to its adoption.

"The cow-pox, necessarily connected with a morbid state of the fluids, and avowedly derived from 'the most polluted source,' could not be subjected to the judgment of the faculty, unless that judgment were exerted to reject it altogether."

It is also urged, that the cow-pox is a new disease, and one with which we are consequently not thoroughly acquainted: its warmest advocates have not exactly coincided in all their opinions respecting it; they have differed about its origin, about its liability to recur in the same person, about the existence of the spurious disease, &c. The author strongly contends that the mortality of the inoculated small-pox is not so considerable as has been stated; and indeed very directly accuses those of ignorance in the management of their patients, who have experienced a contrary result. He also positively denies that the small-pox can ever occur twice in the same person, and insinuates, that the cases which have been lately brought

forward in support of the contrary opinion, have been fabricated, for the purpose of undermining the public confidence in the small-pox inoculation. His great bugbear, however, appears to be the dreadful diseases that are left after vaccination. As usual, he does not condescend to go into particulars, but satisfies himself with referring to innumerable instances, which are sufficiently well known to every body.

Mr. Lipscomb is particularly disturbed with the attempts made by the friends of vaccination, to impress the benefits of the new practice upon the minds of the lower class of people; and expresses his high indignation at the oratorical language which has been adopted, on some occasions, in its behalf. Yet, strange inconsistency! while he will admit nothing but naked argument to be used in *favour* of vaccination, he is delighted with Dr. Moseley's wit and satire *against* it; and he can himself employ, in the same cause, a strain of declamation, which, no doubt, he thinks very fine. We shall present our readers with one passage, which contains almost the only specimen of our author's powers of original observation.

"The subject is very indelicate and disgusting, but I am compelled to notice particularly one disease which has been delineated in Dr. Rowley's pamphlet, and described under the title of the Ox-face. Two instances of this nature have come under my own observation among numerous cases of other morbid appearances, which were never seen in the human race before the unfortunate introduction of vaccination. In both these instances, the deformity was greatly heightened by a degree of strabismus which seems to constitute a characteristic of this singular malady; and forms a feature so striking, that Virgil's expression 'taurino vultu' would immediately occur to the classical observer, without even referring to the cause, or the descriptions which may have been given of the disease. But the Medical Journalists pronounce it to be a common abscess! Poor men! they are not very classical!"

ART. XXI.—*Rogers on Cow-pox.*

MANY of our readers will recollect that Mr. Cline and Mr. Birch, both surgeons of St. Thomas's hospital, when called upon to give their evidence respecting

cow-pox, before the committee appointed to examine Dr. Jenner's claim, differed considerably as to the probable utility of the new practice; while Mr. Cline gave

it his unqualified approbation, Mr. Birch was one of the very few who spoke doubtfully upon its merits. Mr. Rogers, who was the pupil of the latter gentleman, comes forward to examine the grounds upon which these colleagues formed such different opinions; and endeavours to prove, not only that Mr. Birch had at that period enjoyed superior advantages for acquiring information on this subject, but that subsequent events had completely justified his dissent from the popular doctrine. He then proceeds to state it as his full conviction that the cow-pox has proved fatal. In confirmation of this assertion we do not perceive any new cases

brought forwards, the author conceiving that the public were already in possession of sufficient evidence. It will be seen that he differs from some of the writers whose works we have hitherto examined in respect to his second position; he does not think that vaccination produces scrofula, but new disease. The evidence upon which the author builds this opinion appears to us very slender; and as the result of his observation differs so widely in this particular point, even from that of some of the most zealous opposers of vaccination, we confess, that we think ourselves authorized in doubting its accuracy.

ART. XXII.—*Report of a Medical Committee on the Cases of supposed Small-Pox after Vaccination, which occurred in Fullwood's Rents, Holborn, in August and September, 1804; with an Account of some subsequent Inoculations.* 8vo. pp. 32.

OUR medical readers are no doubt acquainted with the outline of the facts which gave rise to this pamphlet. Two children who were vaccinated at the small-pox hospital, after an interval, one of two and the other of four years, were seized with what was said to be the small-pox; a respectable committee of medical men was accordingly formed, to examine and report upon the circumstances of the cases. The registers from the hospital, giving an account of their inoculation, are inserted, and the committee thought that there could be no doubt of the vaccine disease having gone through its proper course. They were influenced by the following considerations:

“First, the register of their cases, kept, as above, at the small-pox hospital: second, the declaration of Mr. Wachsel, resident inoculator at the hospital, who considers the appearances, and progress of vaccination, in these children, to have been perfectly regular and satisfactory: third, the cicatrices, or marks, remaining on their arms; which marks appear to the members of the committee to be such as are usually left after vaccine inoculation.”

As to the other part of the inquiry, whether the subsequent disease was small-pox, the evidence appears no less direct. The complaint existed in the neighbourhood, and the children were repeatedly exposed to the infection; the one who was first taken ill was not indeed seen by the committee, but in the other at least, there was every reason to conclude that

the symptoms went through their usual course, and matter taken from the pustules communicated the small-pox to others. The committee conclude by fully admitting the fact of the small-pox having been received after vaccination, but they add,

“The above facts are not to be considered as militating against the general practice of vaccination. Some well authenticated, though rare cases, have been stated, in which the natural small-pox occurred twice in the same person. A few other instances are recorded of persons, who, after having undergone the inoculated small-pox, nevertheless took the disease by infection: yet these cases were not deemed conclusive against the advantages of variolous inoculation, nor do they seem to have impeded its progress.

“In every country where European science is diffused, the general preventive power of vaccine inoculation with regard to the small-pox, has been fully ascertained, and cannot now be affected by the result of a few detached cases, which, by future observations and experiments, may be accounted for satisfactorily. The committee, therefore, with one accord, subscribes to the established opinion, that if vaccination were universally adopted, it would afford the means of finally exterminating the small-pox.”

Many of our readers will, no doubt, be disposed to acquiesce in this opinion; but even those who dissent from it cannot but acknowledge that the pamphlet is written with candour, and the facts stated with perfect fairness.

ART. XXIII.—*Observations on some late Attempts to depreciate the Value and Efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation.* By SAMUEL MERRIMAN. 8vo. pp. 35.

A principal object in this pamphlet is to expose the weakness of the reasoning, and the inaccuracy of the facts, brought forwards by Dr. Moseley. Perhaps the word reasoning can scarcely be applied to Dr. Moseley's work, as he appears to have thought the subject undeserving of a serious refutation, and consequently has attached to it only ridicule and sarcasm. It is not, however, by such weapons that a controversy of so much magnitude is to be decided. As to its power in securing the constitution against the small-pox, the author shows, that vaccination stands upon the same footing with the variolous inoculation; there are some few instances, after both the operations, where small-pox seems to have occurred; we must therefore either suppose in these rare instances, that the constitution is not secured, or if we feel reluctant to admit a deviation from so general a law, we must suppose that some irregularity in the conduct of the inoculated disease took place. But in whichever way we determine, the result will not be unfavorable to vaccination.

"At it never has been contended, that

ART. XXIV.—*An Address to the Medical Practitioners of Ireland, on the Subject of Cow-Pock.* By SAMUEL B. LABATT, M. D. Licentiate of the College of Physicians, and Secretary to the Cow-Pock Institution, North Cope-street, Dublin. 8vo. pp. 146.

THE author regrets that, notwithstanding the numerous testimonies in favour of cow-pox, the practice of vaccination is still little known or attended to in Ireland. Being fully persuaded of the benefits likely to accrue from its adoption, but, at the same time, being aware of the nice discrimination which it is sometimes necessary to exercise in judging of the nature of the disease, he is anxious, not only to draw the attention of his countrymen to the subject, but to afford practitioners an accurate view of the phenomena which it exhibits. He begins by an historical sketch of its discovery: it appears to have been known in some other parts of England, as well as in Gloucestershire, likewise in the south of Ireland, in Holstein, Lombardy, and even in America; in all these places there existed some traditinary report of its proving a preservative against small-pox. It was, however, reserved for Dr. Jenner to prove,

the cow-pox was superior to the small-pox in its prophylactic virtues, its strongest advocates will be willing to admit the possibility that vaccination might fail where variolation could not secure from re-infection."

It appears to have been admitted, even in the time of Friend, that in those who have had small-pox, the application of variolous matter can produce pustules, which shall be capable of communicating the disease to others. These cases have not, however, been considered as a second occurrence of a small-pox in the same person, but only as depending upon the local action of the variolous matter, even though attended with some degree of constitutional affection. It is to be expected, that the same circumstance would take place after vaccination, but it would be unfair to denominate such cases instances of small-pox after cow-pox. Upon the whole, this little treatise is written with good-sense and candour, although we do not perceive that it contains any information of which the public were not already in possession.

by precise experiments, the truth of this position; and to show, that the matter might be communicated by inoculation from one human being to another, without having its characteristic property destroyed.

Dr. Labatt candidly acknowledges, that in the infancy of the practice mistakes must occasionally be expected to happen.

"Whoever will take the trouble of looking into the history of small-pox inoculation, will find many more cases of failure recorded than have been attributed to cow-pock: yet we do not find that the efficacy of small-pox inoculation is now called in question. The celebrated Tissot, we are informed, having inoculated a favourite child, was satisfied with the appearances which followed, and therefore objected to a second inoculation; unfortunately, however, the child afterwards took the small-pox in the natural way, and fell a victim to it. In a pamphlet published in the year 1746, by a doctor Pierre Doid, of London, we find two or three remarkable

cases where the small-pox was said to have appeared in the same person twice, viz. after inoculation pustules came out to the number of from sixty to a hundred, they matured and scabbed regularly: however, in two or three years afterwards being exposed to the infection, they again took the disease, and had a copious eruption of pustules, which likewise matured and scabbed regularly.

"Mr. Ring mentions a gentleman who inoculated the inhabitants of two or three villages, with variolous matter, as he supposed, in consequence of which an eruptive fever and a mild form of disease resembling small-pox made its appearance at the usual time: but after these people had been well some months, one half of them nearly took the small-pox by contagion, and some had it very unfavourably. He quotes, from the memoirs of the Medical Society of London, a similar instance of failure. I myself, have met with such cases."

Our author is inclined to attribute these anomalies to some irregularity either in the first or second disease; we acknowledge they militate against a very general law of the constitution, but at the same time, the evidence for them is so direct and powerful, that we do not see how it can be resisted. In whichever way, however, we may decide, it is perfectly fair, to reason in the same manner about the supposed failures of the cow-pox.

The author proposes to arrange his observations under the following heads:

"1. Local appearance and progress of inoculated cow-pock, under its most perfect form.

"2. Remarks on its several stages, and the minute differences which are commonly observed therein.

"3. Varieties frequently observed, but which are not incompatible with the genuine disease.

"4. Deviations of greater magnitude, or suspicious cases.

"5. Distinctive marks of spurious cow-pock, with suggestions of some of its probable causes.

"6. Constitutional symptoms.

"7. Inoculation.—The mode of conducting it, and circumstances to be attended to in the state of the patient, and the medical treatment of the complaint. The best modes of preserving the virus.—And I shall subjoin some remarks on cow-pock, compared with small-pox and other eruptive diseases, and conclude with a few general observations."

We think it unnecessary to follow the author through the details upon which he enters, in considering these different topics; his remarks are judicious, and his account of the disease, although concise,

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appears to contain the most essential circumstances. His experience leads him to conclude, that when a large quantity of matter is taken from the same pustule, it is rendered less active; by irritating or pressing upon the part a serous or purulent secretion seems to be formed, which possesses the specific qualities of the virus in a less degree. The eruptions that have occasionally attended vaccination he supposes are always dependant upon some extraneous cause, and not necessarily connected with the disease, at the same time he acknowledges, that he has 'frequently seen a rash, much like red gum, appear on the arm, and sometimes over the whole body, a few days after inoculation, which, however, was of short duration.'

Among 'the deviations of greater magnitude,' the most important appears to be too early or too great a degree of inflammation; this may be produced by the application of improper matter, or when proper matter is applied, its qualities may be impaired or destroyed, so that it will no longer produce its specific action in securing the constitution. The author very properly observes, that the local pustule may go through its regular stages, and produce the proper secretion, and yet the constitution may not be affected; this also takes place occasionally in small-pox, and it is not unreasonable to conclude, that in the one case, as well as in the other, the subject will not be exempted from future attacks of the small-pox. Dr. Jenner decidedly adopts this opinion, and yet the constitutional affection has been almost entirely overlooked by many of the most zealous advocates for vaccination. It must be confessed, that our knowledge is still defective as to the method of ascertaining when the constitution has been affected. The author properly advises, that wherever there has been the smallest doubt respecting the first inoculation, a second operation should be had recourse to.

It is well known that a local pustule, possessing all the characteristic properties of the disease, may be excited, either in small-pox or in cow-pox, in those persons who have previously gone through the proper constitutional affection. This circumstance has not been sufficiently attended to, in some of the experiments that have been performed upon the effects of the small-pox inoculation after vaccination. It has been deemed a sufficient proof that the constitution was not secured by the cow-pox, if a local pustule

could be excited, and if matter from this was capable of communicating the small-pox to others. The two diseases bear a strong analogy to each other with respect to the existence of what have been called spurious varieties, which may be transmitted by inoculation, but which do not prevent the subsequent recurrence of the genuine disease.

With respect to the effects of vaccination upon the general health, after a fair review of the opinions that have been delivered upon the subject, there is more evidence in favour of its improving than of its injuring the constitution: its salutary effects have been particularly noticed in cutaneous eruptions and in scrofulous affections, the very complaints which its antagonists accuse it of producing; perhaps this contrariety of opinion should induce us to conclude that the cow-pox has

no effect upon the constitution at large either as to inducing or removing disease. We have next some minute but useful observations, upon the proper selection of the vaccine virus, the method of procuring it, and conveying it from place to place. Our attention to these circumstances, though apparently trifling, is of the first importance, for it is demonstrated by much experience, that the specific qualities of the virus are not obtained, if we either take it from the arm at an improper period, or do not use the necessary precautions in our manner of preserving it. We shall conclude our remarks upon this treatise, by observing, that although so much has been written on the subject of cow-pox, we have not met with any work which contains more useful matter in the same compass.

ART. XXV.—Report of the Progress of Vaccination in Bengal. By JOHN SHOOLBRED, *Superintendent-general of Vaccine Inoculation.* 8vo. pp. 93.

THIS pamphlet will afford gratification to the friends of humanity, as well as to those interested in the improvement of medical science, by exhibiting the exertions that have been employed to introduce the vaccine inoculation into India, and the success which has at length attended these exertions. The matter of cow-pox was sent by lord Elgin from Constantinople, by way of Bagdat and Bassora, to Bombay. Many disappointments and failures were experienced before the transmission could be accomplished, in consequence of the difficulty which there is in preserving the virus unimpaired in a temperature so high as that which usually obtains in these places. It arrived at Bombay in June 1802, and after some farther difficulties, was received at Calcutta in the November following. The government immediately set on foot an establishment, where a supply might at all times be found, and subordinate establishments were also formed at different places, for the purpose of dispersing it through the country. These measures appear to have been peculiarly necessary, from the difficulty which was experienced in consequence of the heat of the climate, not only in preserving the matter, but even in communicating the infection from one individual to another. The arrangements appear to have been judicious and successful. The matter was afterwards sent to Prince of Wales's Island, but from some unfortunate circumstance was lost there; it has been also sent to

Sumatra, a country where the small-pox is most peculiarly destructive. The total number of persons vaccinated in this part of the world, at the end of the year 1803, was above 11,000, a number which we apprehend most of our readers will consider as affording an ample proof of the exertions of Mr. Shoolbred and his colleagues. It seems, however, scarcely to have equalled his expectations, and he deems it necessary to state the reasons for its slow progress. Pp. 18 and 19.

The report does not occupy more than one-fourth of the pamphlet; the remainder is occupied with a series of sections, in which we meet with a good deal of information upon the phenomena of the disease, the effects of the climate upon it, the method of transmitting it from place to place, and the supposed antiquity of the practice among the Bramins. After having in the first section satisfactorily proved that the genuine matter has been received in the East Indies, he proceeds in the second to show that its character and specific properties are not lost by its being transmitted from one subject to another, notwithstanding the heat and moisture of the atmosphere of Bengal. He remarks indeed that he has seen very few instances where there were any irregular appearances, and he altogether objects to the term spurious cow-pox.

In this point we must, however, differ from our author: the cow is subject to other eruptive diseases, besides the one which gives a security against the small-

pox; these are certainly entitled to the appellation of vaccine, and may, we think, be very appropriately distinguished from the other species by the term spurious.

As during the hottest part of the year the virus becomes considerably less active, so that frequent failures take place, it becomes a subject of the first importance to ascertain what is the best method of preserving a constant supply of matter in these seasons. Mr. Shoolbred found, contrary to the opinion of some of the first promoters of vaccination, that the disease cannot be excited in those who have already experienced it, or in those who have previously had the small-pox. The same conclusion has been formed by Pearson, so that the expedient which was suggested, of keeping up a supply of matter by inoculating such persons, could not be had recourse to. The author, however, conceived that the necessary supply might be afforded by communicating the disease to the cow: the experiment so far succeeded, that the animal received the dis-

ease, and matter taken from it affected the human subject; but it was found that it could not, with any degree of certainty, be propagated from one cow to another.

Mr. Shoolbred found that the matter was the most certainly conveyed from place to place, by its being between glass plates, secured with the usual precautions. After making an extensive enquiry into the subject, it appears that the disease has never been found among the cows of India; a passage in a Sanscrit MS. which spoke of it as known to the Bramins, has been discovered to be a forgery. The variolous inoculation is now prohibited at Calcutta, and the small-pox has since that time scarcely made its appearance there. The operation was formerly practised at a particular season of every year, and thus an artificial epidemic was produced, which, by its frequent recurrence, probably proved more destructive to the community at large, than if the disease had been permitted to follow its regular progress.

ART. XXVI.—*The Evidence at large, as laid before the Committee of the House of Commons, respecting Dr. Jenner's Discovery of Vaccine Inoculation; together with the Debate which followed; and some Observations on the contravening Evidence, &c. By the Rev. G. C. JENNER. 8vo. pp. 220.*

THE greatest part of the contents of this volume are already pretty well known to the public, yet they are in themselves so valuable, that we fully acquiesce in the propriety of their being published in their present form. The subject to which they refer is of such infinite moment, the body of evidence adduced is so complete, and of such high respectability, and the whole is brought forwards in so impressive a manner, that the public mind cannot be too frequently or too earnestly directed to it. The fairness with which the committee acted, in receiving the testimony of those persons who were known to be adverse to vaccination, certainly tends to increase the effect produced by the perusal of the whole; their objections, when compared with the authority of the opposite opinion, appear doubly insignificant. Even Dr. Moseley himself, when deprived of the opportunity of displaying his low humour and coarse invective, is reduced to the slender hold of hearsay report, and lost his recollection of names and facts just at the very time when it might have been the most successfully exercised.

At the end of the work we have some observations upon the contravening evi-

dence. They relate to some cases of supposed failure of cow-pox, in preserving the system against the small-pox, and to the title which Dr. Jenner claims of being the discoverer of the vaccine inoculation. On the first of these points we have already entered at large in some of the preceding articles; with respect to the second, although we apprehend that there is now but one opinion on the subject, yet it is curious to observe what was brought forwards on the opposite side of the question, however irrelevant or unimportant. It is indeed an undoubted fact, that the prophylactic power of cow-pox was known to some individuals, both in and out of the profession, and that in a few instances, persons had the disease intentionally communicated to them, by handling the teats of the infected cow, or even by being inoculated with matter taken directly from the animal. Beyond this, however, the subject does not appear to have advanced, so that whether we ascribe it to the greater zeal or superior sagacity of Dr. Jenner, we are decidedly of opinion, that to him alone are we indebted for the advantage which the world has derived from the discovery. In our opinion few discoveries have been made in

any age, where the claim to originality has been more clearly ascertained, and the value of the discovery itself more decidedly established.

After delivering these sentiments, we may perhaps be thought somewhat inconsistent or capricious if we, after all, express our doubt about the propriety of voting Dr. Jenner a parliamentary reward. We think it a dangerous precedent, one which may eventually injure the cause of science, and lead to a new source of public profusion. We are fully persuaded that Dr. Jenner himself neither wished, nor expected, any pecuniary emolument, when he prosecuted his experi-

ments on vaccination. By holding up such inducements, we derogate from the dignity and independence of science, and raise up a set of pretenders, who will influence the judgment of the public, not in proportion to their merit, but their assurance. Had the practice of voting pecuniary rewards been confined to Dr. Jenner, these remarks might have appeared unnecessary, but we cannot avoid offering them, when we behold a sum of money presented to a man for practising a process which he did not invent, and the operation of which it appears he did not understand.

ART. XXVII.—*An Answer to Dr. Moseley, containing a Defence of Vaccination.* By JOHN RING, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and of the Medical Societies of London and Paris. 8vo. pp. 300.

DR. MOSELEY's attack upon vaccination has called forth the pen of its zealous and powerful advocate Mr. Ring. In repelling the assaults of his adversary, our author frequently employs the same species of sarcastic humour which we reproached when reviewing Dr. Moseley's treatise; we cannot give it our approbation in the work before us, but we think Mr. Ring is less reprehensible than the original aggressor. We soon, however, come to a more valuable part of the work, when the author very happily points out the resemblance between the hostility which now prevails against the cow-pox, and that which was formerly manifested against the small-pox inoculation when it was first proposed to the public. It appears that sir Richard Blackmore was the champion on that occasion, and that he was aided by Tanner, a surgeon of St. Thomas's hospital, and a clergyman of the name of Massey. Sir Richard considers the idea of inoculation proving a preventative of the natural small-pox as contrary to experience and observation; and brings forward instances of its failure. But the zeal of the knight was far outstript by that of the divine; after endeavouring to prove that the small-pox was the disease with which Job was afflicted, and that he was inoculated by the devil, he remarks that (variolous) inoculation is derived from the country where Job was supposed to have lived.

"He maintains, that diseases are sent by Providence, for the trial of our faith, and the punishment of our sins; and thinks they are hung over our heads in terrorum. To illustrate this point, he reminds his audience, that

some people are honest for fear of a gaol; some are chaste for fear of infection; some are just for fear of shame, and some are religious for fear of going to hell.

"He therefore considers the inoculation of the small-pox, with a view to alleviate or exterminate the disorder, as a diabolical operation. He allows it is one of the fundamental laws of nature, to promote the good of mankind; but he doubts whether life is a good or an evil. If it be a good, he maintains, that it is as little beholden to this practice for its preservation, as to any other invention whatever."

He does not, however, rest his objections solely upon theological arguments: he boldly asserts, "that the confessed miscarriages in this new method are more than have happened in the ordinary way," and he openly accuses those physicians of falsehood and deceit who endeavoured to inculcate the contrary opinion.

These were not the only opposers of the variolous inoculation, nor did all hostility cease at so early a period. About the middle of the last century it was strenuously decried by Dr. Deering of Nottingham, and Dr. Dod, one of the physicians to St. Bartholomew's hospital, upon the principle of its not affording security against the casual disease. The practice experienced a similar opposition in America, as appears from a pamphlet published at Boston in 1722. The author states that many persons have fallen victims to the practice, and observes that in case an action for felony was brought against an inoculator, the testimonies that might be adduced "would be worth his neck in any court of justice." These are curious historical documents, their appli-

cation to the present case is striking, and they should induce those who oppose vaccination to be very sure upon what grounds their opinions are rested.

In Dr. Moseley's treatise a good deal of stress is laid upon a case related by Dr. John Sims, of a person, who having twice had the casual cow-pox, afterwards caught the small-pox. It appears, however, that Dr. Sims did not regard this case as any objection to the practice of vaccination; he conceived it probable that the individual might have been affected with some other of the diseases to which cows are subject, and brings forward his information, not to discourage vaccination, but to make people cautious respecting the nature of the matter which they procure from the cow. Mr. Ring refers to a gentleman who was an early and violent opposer of the cow-pox, and who appears unquestionably to have been influenced by the most sinister motives, and to have used all kinds of arts to accomplish his ends. Our medical readers will probably recollect the circumstances, as well as the melancholy termination of his career. The author has delicately permitted his name to rest in oblivion, we shall follow his example.

Mr. Ring next makes some remarks upon the testimonies which have been received in favour of the vaccine inoculation, from all quarters of the civilized world. He gives an abstract of the evidence presented to the house of commons, and lays before us a plan proposed by the government of France for promoting vaccination in that country. He regrets that no similar measure has been taken by the British government, a sentiment in which we cannot altogether acquiesce with him. We think the less government interfere in such matters the better; they gave their complete sanction to vaccination when they voted the reward to Dr. Jenner. A subsequent transaction has, in our opinion, demonstrated the danger of permitting parliament to employ the public purse in rewarding supposed inventions in medical science. A letter from Dr. Friese of Silesia, giving an account of the estimation in which the cow-pox is held in that country, and the judicious "address from a country clergyman to his parishioners," written by the Rev. Mr. Warren, conclude this part of the subject.

Some valuable remarks next occur upon Mr. Goldson's pamphlet, a subject which has already fallen under our discussion, and upon the supposed failure

of vaccination in the child of Mr. Bowen, a case upon which Dr. Moseley places much of the force of his arguments. This gentleman inoculated the child with small-pox matter after vaccination: a pustule was formed on the inoculated part attended with some degree of fever; it proceeded to maturation, but some other pustules which appeared on different parts of the body did not mature; from the pustule on the arm matter was taken which communicated the disease to other children. Upon these circumstances Mr. Ring remarks,

"It is well known, and has been proved by examples, that a local pustule may be produced by inoculation in those who have had the small-pox, as well as in those who have had the cow-pox; and that constitutional symptoms, together with a rash, or miliary eruption, are also sometimes produced in such a case. As to a single pustule, capable of yielding matter, it may also easily be excited in consequence of the application of virus by the nails of the patients, either immediately after the operation, or at any subsequent time during the continuance of the pustule; and this is no uncommon occurrence, either in variolous or vaccine inoculation.

"When any person is inoculated for the small-pox, who has neither had the small-pox nor the cow-pock, a pustulous eruption takes place in the neighbourhood of the primary pustule; and the whole constitute a cluster of small-pocks, which become more or less confluent. But in the present instance there was only a solitary pustule in the place of inoculation; as in those who are put to the test after they have had the small-pox."

This explanation is, we apprehend, perfectly fair, and indeed it appears to have operated so far upon the mind of Mr. Bowen, that he was himself convinced of the fallacy of his objections, and with true candour retracted his erroneous opinions.

It appears indeed upon reviewing the instances of the supposed failure of the cow-pox, that in all of them, except the case in Fullwood's-rents, there was either some irregularity about the symptoms, or some obscurity about the facts, which fully justify us in withholding our assent to the conclusion, that the constitutional small-pox has occurred after the vaccine disease had gone through its regular process. As one instance of this kind is, however, acknowledged to have occurred, it is natural to inquire, whether the casual small-pox ever occurred twice in the same subject, or whether the disease was ever caught after the variolous inoculation? The occurrence is confessedly so rare, that

some of the most eminent physicians have absolutely denied the possibility of its ever taking place; their opinion appears, however, to have been founded rather upon general grounds, than upon an attention to particular facts; for there are cases of this description upon record, authenticated in the most unexceptionable manner, and where we can scarcely conceive a possibility of deception. At all events the most determined sceptic must acknowledge, that they rest upon the same footing with the cases of small-pox after vaccination.

We shall here close our account of Mr. Ring's spirited and able performance; but before we conclude this article we shall make a few remarks on the present state of the controversy respecting the cow-pox. When we consider for how short a period vaccination has been practised, we cannot be surprised that the subject should still remain imperfectly understood, and that occasional mistakes should still arise. This is unfortunately rendered more probable in consequence of the practice having been so much entrusted to persons not in the profession, who were consequently unable to discriminate between the nice shades which the disease assumes, and to judge what was a genuine, and what only a spurious species. We are farther inclined to suspect that the promoters of vaccination have fallen into a radical error when they trusted to the local complaint alone, and quite disregarded the constitutional symptoms; the analogy of the small-pox inoculation strongly favours this opinion. There is very strong evidence that in some rare instances the small-pox has occurred more than once in the same person; and it is to be expected that the small-pox may also supervene after the cow-pox in a few equally rare instances. With respect to the cases of this kind which have been said

to take place, there is reason to conclude, that in a great majority of them there was some irregularity in the symptoms; where nothing of this kind could be observed we are at liberty to conjecture, either that the constitutional symptoms of cow-pox had not taken place, or that the subject possessed that peculiarity of habit which rendered him liable to repeated attacks of the small-pox.

As to the diseases which are said to be produced by cow-pox, we may observe that those persons who have had it casually, and of course the most violently, have not found any bad effects to result from it. The writers who attribute diseases to the cow-pox do not agree respecting their nature; some describe them as being of a scrofulous kind, some merely cutaneous eruptions, and others of a new and non-descript species. There is, on the other hand, the most respectable evidence to prove that the process of vaccination, so far from producing diseases, actually has appeared to remove former complaints.

The variolous inoculation, at the time when it was introduced, we acknowledge was a prodigious advantage; still, however, it was far from being devoid of danger, the subjects occasionally suffered severely, the constitution was sometimes much injured, blindness has been the consequence of the operation, and even death. That these events have occurred rarely we confess; but so frequently as to produce anxiety in the breast of every parent whose child was under the process of variolation, we confidently assert. Lastly the inoculated small-pox was undoubtedly contagious, and though it secured the lives of those who had recourse to it, it tended to keep alive and disseminate the infection, so that the deaths from small-pox have increased since the variolous inoculation became prevalent.

ART. XXVIII.—*Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, instituted in the Year 1773.*
Vol. VI. 8vo. pp. 622.

IN the course of the last year the London Medical Society have presented the public with a sixth volume of memoirs, of the contents of which we shall proceed to give our readers a pretty copious abstract. In a preface, giving an account of the different transactions of the society, we are informed that the following medals have been conferred on the authors "whose communications have been judged the most meritorious."

"In the year 1801, to Dr. Bouttatz, for his paper on the medicinal effects of phosphorus, the Fothergillian gold medal.

"To Dr. Joseph Adams, for his paper on frambrosia guineaensis, a silver medal.

"1802, to Dr. Falconer of Bath, for his paper on ischias, a silver medal.

"1804, to Dr. Edward Jenner, a gold medal, for his invaluable discovery of vaccine inoculation, made when he was a member of no other literary society.

"1805, to Dr. Bostock, for his paper on diabetes, a silver medal."

The articles are numerous, possessing, as may be imagined, very various degrees of merit: upon the whole, however, there are many of considerable value, and we think the present volume has not degenerated from its predecessors. The first paper is by Dr. Falconer, on the morbus cardiacus of the ancients, what is now generally called the low nervous fever. The principal object of the author is, to point out the similarity which exists between the practice of the oldest medical writers, and that adopted by the physicians of the present day. This coincidence Dr. Falconer fully illustrates by ample quotations, from both the ancients and the moderns, placed in parallel columns. It is interesting to observe that the practice which was found successful by the ancients, after having been discarded in consequence of a false hypothesis, has been again gradually revived, and, with certain modifications, is at present adopted by the most judicious of the modern physicians.

The second article consists of a case of angina pectoris, with the appearances upon dissection, by Dr. Black, of Newry. The disease was first experienced in consequence of a sudden impression of terror; it was relieved by issues, but after a period of thirty-two years, during which it gradually increased in violence and frequency, it at length proved fatal. Upon examining the body after death, the coronary arteries were found completely ossified through their whole extent; this the author imagines to be the primary cause of the disease, and the origin of the other morbid appearances. Dr. Parry, whose essay on syncope anginosa was published since this paper was written, ascribes the complaint to a somewhat similar cause.

The third article gives an account of a case of hydrocephalus internus cured by mercury; a profuse salivation was induced, and at the same time a copious discharge of water took place from the nose.

In the fourth paper is related a case of a boy, who some months after birth became of a blue colour, similar to what has been observed in those instances, where a mal-conformation of the heart has prevented the necessary change from being induced on the blood by the action of the air. After continuing for some time the peculiarity of complexion disappeared. It was probably induced by some mechanical obstruction to the respiration, of the nature of which we can form no conjecture: how it could depend upon a bilious fever, that attacked the mother while she was

giving suck to the child, (the opinion maintained by the author) we are at a loss to conceive.

The fifth article consists of "a case of obstinate hepatic disease," communicated by Dr. Lettsom. The subject, who was himself a medical practitioner, had employed a variety of medicines, among others mercury, without any advantage, when the complaint was removed by a febrile attack, which supervened spontaneously, and apparently removing the obstruction, left him nearly in a state of health.

We have next a remarkable instance of the powers of the constitution in repairing injuries, even of the most serious nature, in a case related by Dr. Lee, of Jamaica. A negro had the operation for strangulated hernia performed, and a part of the intestine being found in a gangrened state, it was removed, and an artificial anus formed at the groin. In this state the patient continued for about a year, evacuating the feces at the new opening, when inflammation came on the part, the wound in the groin healed up, and the contents of the intestines were voided by the natural passage.

With respect to Mr. Smith's case of croup cured by emetics, we shall only remark, that such violent practice, though it may be successful in America, would be totally inadmissible in this country. The same gentleman gives an account of a case of tetanus, which seemed to have been produced by a wound on the tibia, and which was relieved by applying a caustic to the cicatrix, and thus renewing the ulcerative process.

In the ninth article we have a pretty direct testimony in favour of the opinion originally started by Dr. Jenner, that the cow-pox derives its origin from the horse. The author, Dr. Marshall, found a dairy-maid labouring under well-marked cow-pox.

"Upon making a strict inquiry, I found one of the cows had this disease, and that in several of the others, it was also advancing. On farther inquiry, I also found, that the farmer had a horse with sore heels in the stable, which his son always attended, who did not usually milk the cows; but that one morning, this cow being troublesome and restive, he had to relieve the dairy-maid, milked her himself."

The next article on the yaws, written by Dr. Adams, is one of those on which the society have conferred their honorary reward of a medal, and is certainly one of the most valuable in the collection. It

contains the case of a Danish nobleman, who came under the author's care at Madeira; the train of symptoms, and the effects of the different remedies employed, are noted with much accuracy. The throat was considerably ulcerated, assuming an appearance very similar to that of syphilis; the surrounding inflammation, however, was greater and the pain more violent. Dr. Adams gives the following character of the pustules.

"If in the early stage of the pustule you remove the cuticle, you are to expect a ragged but moist slough. In a later stage, if you remove the scab, you will find a fungus, varying in shape, size, and colour, according to the period of the yaw. Where the inflammation is very high, you will neither have scab nor fungus; but when suppuration ceases, the part will skin over, and leave a pit."

In some respects the yaws resemble both small-pox and syphilis; like the former, the constitution after having been once attacked by it loses the susceptibility of the complaint in future; the susceptibility, however, continues for some time after both the fever and eruption have subsided, so as to cause the disease to spread and affect the contiguous parts as in syphilis. There is still considerable doubt about the effects of mercury in this disease: if applied in the earlier stages, it causes a temporary remission of the complaint, which afterwards breaks out as violently as at first. This medicine has, however, been thought to expedite the cure, when the disease has been advanced to a subsequent stage; but the present case seems at least to prove that it is not absolutely necessary, as the quantity of mercury given was too small to affect the constitution. Dr. Adams supposes that the leprosy with which the Jews were affected at the time of the Mosaic dispensation, was in fact the disease of the yaws; but that the leprosy which is afterwards mentioned in the latter periods of the sacred history, was the Arabian leprosy.

The 11th article contains the account of a case of extra-uterine foetus, by Dr. Fothergill, of Bath. The symptoms very much resembled those of dropsy of the ovary, and were at first attributed to this complaint, though from attending more particularly to them, the real disease was confidently predicted for some time before the patient's death. This event was preceded by a profuse diarrhoea of putrid matter, and upon dissection the skeleton of a full-grown child was found

behind the uterus; part of the bones had penetrated the rectum, and the remainder, by their pressure, had rendered the lumbar vertebrae completely carious. The much-agitated question naturally occurs, whether in such cases it be ever advisable to perform the Cæsarian operation? Dr. Fothergill states, what has frequently been before remarked, that in France, where this operation is regarded with less apprehension than in England, it is sometimes successful; a circumstance which no doubt depends upon its being performed at an earlier period. How far this fact ought to influence the practitioners of this country we shall not presume to determine; we do not, however, hesitate to give our assent to the following observations, with which our author concludes his paper.

"Since those unfortunate cases of extra-uterine pregnancy can neither be foreseen nor prevented, much less remedied when known, by any means short of this operation, it becomes an object worthy the serious consideration of our English practitioners, whether the chance this may give of a cure, may not be greatly preferable to that long protracted misery and distress which the unfortunate sufferer inevitably must undergo from her extra-uterine burthen; should she even be successful enough to survive its expulsion piecemeal through the parietes of the abdomen, or by the intestinal canal."

In Mr. Dyson's case of inverted uterus after parturition we may observe, that the return of the part to its natural state was probably much facilitated by his permitting a short time to elapse before he proceeded to replace it, in consequence of which, the after-pains having ceased, the parts had become relaxed. Mr. Carden, of Worcester, relates a case of a man who laboured under violent pectoral complaints, which after continuing for about a year, terminated in anasarca, scantiness of urine, and soreness of the abdomen. The body was examined after death, and a large mass of a white fatty-looking substance was found in the left side of the thorax, which had very much contracted the left lobe of the lungs, had pushed the heart to the right side of the chest, and had forced down the diaphragm. The description is not accurate, but we are inclined to think the tumor must have consisted of the fibrine of the blood. Beneath this substance there was a cyst containing a considerable quantity of serum and coagulated blood, yet the author remarks that "no trace of any rupture of vessels

appeared in any part of the left cavity of the thorax."

The next paper is furnished by Mr. Field, and contains the history of a person who, having suffered much from inanition and bodily hardship, was attacked with symptoms of nausea, irregularity of the bowels, lowness of spirits, and pain, which was always referred to the region of the stomach. Upon examining the body after death, eighteen inches of the lower part of the ileum, where it joins the cæcum, was found in a state of cancerous ulceration. It is worthy of remark, that the patient always referred his pain to the neighbourhood of the stomach; a circumstance which may teach us how difficult it is to ascertain the seat of complaints in the abdomen, merely from the description of the patient's feelings.

The 15th article contains an instance of one of those unfortunate cases, who, like Dr. Sandefort's blue boy, have the heart so formed as to prevent the due arterIALIZATION of the blood. The present subject lived to the age of 17 years, harassed with all those complaints which attend such peculiarities of structure, and exhibiting the usual lividness of complexion. Upon examining the body it was found that both the foramen ovale and the ductus arteriosus were completely open, so that a small quantity of the blood only would pass through the lungs.

In the next paper Mr. Cam relates an instance of a wound of the peroneal artery, where the vessel was so deeply seated between the bones of the leg that it could not be secured. In such cases amputation is in general deemed necessary; but this operation was happily superseded by having a part of the fibula removed, and thus giving access to the divided artery.

The seventeenth article is written by Dr. Marcet, and contains remarks on the medical use of the white oxide of bismuth. We believe this substance has not before been used in medicine in this country, but from the report of the author, it promises to afford a valuable addition to our materia medica. He was first induced to employ the bismuth from the recommendation of Dr. Odier of Geneva, who had found it useful in spasmodic affections of the stomach. The trials made by Dr. Marcet corresponded with the reports which he had received of its virtues, and will no doubt bring it into more general notice. This is altogether a well-written and interesting communication.

Dr. Falconer's paper on the use of the

Bath waters in ischias, which forms the 18th article, is one to which a medal was awarded, and is decidedly the most valuable paper in the collection. After remarking that the disease has hitherto been much neglected by medical writers, and has been confounded with other complaints of a different nature, he proposes,

"First, to give some account of the appearance of this complaint, and of its attendant symptoms, and proceed to speak of its causes, and the method of cure, and conclude with some remarks on what other writers have delivered on the same subject."

He observes that at its first commencement the ischias seldom becomes the object of attention, its symptoms are so inconsiderable and transient, and are generally regarded as depending upon some accidental cause. At length, however, the pain becomes more violent, and the natural shape of the parts are altered: the thigh is found to be wasted, the nates of the diseased side is generally increased in breadth, and the leg lengthened. The usual course of the complaint is for the leg to be lengthened in the first stage; but afterwards to become shorter than natural; sometimes, however, the shortening has taken place without the previous elongation. For a considerable period the state of the general health is little affected.

"But when the disease advances, and the part affected becomes sore and tender to a slight touch, and the pain grows acute, throbbing, and uninterrupted; when the swelling increases, and the skin of the pained part changes to a red or pink colour, with an appearance of slight erysipelatous inflammation, the pulse then is accelerated considerably, the face changes alternately from a lead-coloured paleness to flushing, and the contrary; the skin is mostly covered with a clammy sweat, the tongue grows white, the flesh wastes, the strength declines, and the situation of the sick person becomes, in a good measure, similar to that of one in the advanced state of a pulmonary consumption."

The author imagines that a partial dislocation of the hip joint takes place in this disease, and justly supposes that the various irregularities in the form which the part assumes may all be accounted for, by supposing that in some cases the upper, and in others the lower part of the joint becomes first affected. The application of cold to the part is the cause commonly assigned for the disease, and it appears to be the most frequently produced by lying on the damp ground, when the body has been previously heated.

The Bath waters externally applied have been long celebrated for their utility in this complaint, and the reports of Dr. Falconer must be considered as very strongly confirming this opinion. The water is employed both in the form of the hot-bath, and of what has been called dry pumping, i. e. being poured with a degree of force upon the affected part. In recent cases the good effects are both quickly produced and considerable; sometimes it is necessary to interpose blisters, and when there is external soreness, leeches or scarification. In those cases where there is much pain, unattended with fever, opium is found of service, particularly when given in the form of Dover's powders. The Bath waters are, however, only applicable before suppuration has taken place, after this occurrence their use is no longer admissible. Dr. Falconer presents us with a tabulated view of the termination of all the cases of ischias, which have been in the Bath hospital during a period of 16 years. The whole number is 556: of these 122 were deemed improper subjects for the remedy, as being in too advanced a stage of the disease, and deducting also some that were irregular in their attendance, the number is reduced to 415: of these, 103 received a complete cure, 168 were much better, 111 received material benefit, and 33 only were dismissed without any relief. From this statement it appears that there were

“Cured 1—in 4.1553 nearly.

Much better } 1—in 2.54, or nearly two-fifths.
Better 1—in 3.74.

Proportion of those who received benefit to the whole number as—9.2048—to 10. or above nine-tenths of the whole.”

It appears from the quotations of Dr. Falconer, that the ancients were acquainted with the nature of the disease, and had pretty correct notions respecting the practice to be pursued in it; while the most celebrated among the moderns have confounded it with gout and rheumatism. Dr. Falconer, however, excepts the treatise of Mr. Ford, of which he speaks in terms of commendation.

The next article is by Dr. Smith, an American practitioner, who recommends that in placing the patients for the operation of lithotomy, their hands should not

be bound down to their ankles, as is usually the case. He thinks this position must compress the abdomen, and force down the viscera upon the bladder; the hint appears to us worthy of consideration. The twentieth article, by Dr. Brodbelt, of Jamaica, gives an account of a great enlargement of the scrotum, which took place in a negro, in consequence, as it appears, of a stricture of the urethra producing ulceration in the perinæum. It would seem that in the West Indies the negroes are not unfrequently attacked with swellings of the scrotum from various causes.

The twenty-first article contains an account of two cases of diabetes, written by Dr. Bostock of Liverpool; to this paper was awarded one of the society's medals. The attention of the author appears to have been principally directed to an examination of the chemical nature of the urine, and we believe his analysis is more complete than any which has hitherto appeared. In the first case the disease subsisted in its most exquisite form; the second appears to have been an instance of what has been termed diabetes insipidus.

Nearly the whole of the remaining part of the volume is occupied with an account of the influenza, which was so prevalent in the spring of 1803. The society drew up a set of queries respecting it, which were transmitted to all their corresponding members, from many of whom answers were obtained. These are all printed at full length, and certainly form a body of valuable information, though in its present form, it cannot but be regarded as rather an unwieldy mass. It would not be easy to give an analysis of the whole; we shall remark, however, that debility was the principal circumstance which characterized the disease, as distinct from the common catarrhal or pectoral complaints: on this account bleeding was seldom had recourse to, and when tried, its effects were for the most part unfavourable. Much difference of opinion prevails respecting the contagious nature of the disease: though many of the correspondents thought it not to be so, yet some of the most respectable were decisive in their opinion that it was propagated by contagion; this we confess to have been our opinion.

ART. XXIX.—*Remarks on the Report of M. Chaptal, with an Examination of the Claim of M. Guyon de Morveau to the Discovery of the Power of the Mineral acid Gases on Contagion, &c. &c.* By JAMES CARMICHAEL SMYTH, M. D. 8vo.

ART. XXX.—*Letter to W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. By JAMES CARMICHAEL SMYTH, M. D. containing Remarks on a Pamphlet by John Johnstone, M. D. 8vo.*

ART. XXXI.—*Reply to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, &c. &c. By JOHN JOHNSTONE, M. D. 8vo.*

AS we have already very fully (and we trust candidly) given an account of the discovery of the use of acid vapours in contagion, and of the respective claims of Dr. Johnstone, M. de Morveau, and Dr. Carmichael Smyth, (See Vol. I. p. 813, and Vol. II. p. 794, of this Review,) we can only add in this place that we see no reason to retract in the smallest degree the opinion that we then expressed. The controversy between Drs. Smyth and Johnstone assumes more of a personal form, and has been carried on to the extent of a reply and a rejoinder. With regard to the two points insisted on by Dr. Smyth (the one, the comparatively small reliance which he chooses to suppose Dr. Johnstone senior placed on his own disco-

very, and the other the great superiority of the nitric over the muriatic fumigation) we find it proved by irrefragable evidence that Dr. Johnstone so far from undervaluing the importance of muriatic fumigation, was in the habit of resorting to it and depending on it as his sheet-anchor in cases of the greatest urgency for a considerable number of years; and on the other hand we have from the testimony of Morveau and Dr. John Johnstone a number of facts collected, which render it extremely doubtful to which acid the preference is to be given, and which fully prove that the muriatic fumigation (when performed with proper caution) is equally tolerable to the patient as the nitrous.

ART. XXXII.—*Case of two extraordinary Polypi removed from the Nose, the one by Excision with a new Instrument, the other by improved Forceps, with an Appendix, describing an improved Instrument for the Fistula in Ano, with Observations on that Disease. By THOMAS WHATELY, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. 8vo.*

THE first of these cases was a young man, in whom the polypus had been about three years in forming, which at the time that the operation was undertaken, nearly blocked up the whole of the right nostril and extended into the throat, forming a large tumour behind the palatum molle and uvula. After many very severe and fruitless trials at extirpation with the forceps, ligature, and scissors, Mr. Whately at last cut it through by means of a probe-pointed bistoury guarded with a sheath while passing up the nostril, the exact construction of which is illustrated by a plate.

The hemorrhage was considerable during the operation, but soon stopped by using compression, and never returned.

The second case of polypus was removed by a forceps bent at the edges, which the author had made for the purpose.

In both the above cases a remarkable degree of drowsiness attended the disease, so that the patients would suddenly drop asleep in performing the common employments of their situation.

The above cases are valuable, and likely to afford assistance to the surgeon in this embarrassing operation.

The instrument proposed by the author for the fistula in ano, is a bistoury with a sheath to protect the sinus from being wounded till the moment that the incision is to be made; when the sheath is withdrawn.

ART. XXXIII.—*Tables of the Materia Medica, or a Systematic Arrangement of all the Articles admitted by the Colleges of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, exhibiting a concise View of the most material Circumstances respecting them, together with a Number of original and selected Formulae; to which is subjoined a Table of all the secondary Salts employed in Medicine. By JEREMIAH KERRY, M. D. Member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. 8vo.*

THE ample title-page given to this little work sufficiently explains its use. The different articles of the materia medica are arranged under their known or

supposed medical qualities, and the formulæ are added to each class. Tables of new and old names (now unfortunately become so voluminous) are added.

ART. XXXIV.—*A Manual of Anatomy and Physiology, reduced as much as possible to a tabular Form, for the purpose of facilitating to Students the Acquisition of these Sciences.* By THOMAS LUXMOORE, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. &c. small 8vo.

THE title-page of this work would mislead the student. It is not a manual of physiology, but of anatomy only; the physiological part being confined to very short descriptions of the uses of particular parts, and most of the great functions of the animal economy being altogether omitted.

As a manual of anatomy, it is sufficiently

full for the purpose, contains no superfluous matter, is correct as far as we have examined it, and will doubtless answer all that can be expected from a work of this kind. Indeed, from the thickness of the volume, and closeness of the type, a very large portion of what is useful in anatomy is included.

ART. XXXV.—*Medical Reports, on the Effects of Water, cold and warm, as a Remedy in Fever and other Diseases, whether applied to the Surface of the Body, or used internally.* By JAMES CURRIE, M. D. F. R. S. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. 8vo.

SINCE the publication of our last volume a new edition has appeared of the *Medical Reports*, which, as it contains an additional chapter of considerable value, it will be necessary for us to notice. The new matter principally relates to the treatment of a typhus which broke out among the French prisoners at Stapleton, a fever which occurred in the horse-guards at Canterbury, and the fatal epidemic at Gibraltar. The disease at Stapleton assumed a highly malignant form; the symptoms were,

"Head-ach, dull, and sometimes blood-shot eyes, much disturbance of the functions of the mind, great prostration of strength, and very generally petechiæ. The pulse was not very strong, in frequency it ran from 90 to 120 in the minute; the skin was dry; the heat various in different patients."

"I had not an opportunity," says the author, "of measuring it, but it did not seem immoderate in any, the state of fever considered." The disease commenced on the 10th of January, 1805, and did not cease until the 20th of April.

"The whole number of cases of fever was 815, of these between 3 and 400 were cut short by the cold affusion, many of them in the second, third, and fourth days of the disease. From 4 to 500 ran their course, and of these 41 died."

The fatal cases, we are informed, were chiefly "men advanced in life, and of worn-out constitutions." All things being considered, the treatment of this disease must be regarded as very successful, although less so than of some other epidemics, where the cold affusion was employed, under more favourable circum-

stances. It is to be remembered, that many of the patients at Stapleton were unfavourable subjects for fever; they had suffered from long confinement, poor diet, bad clothing, foul air, and depression of spirits. We entirely agree with our author, that probably no other instance can be found "of 815 prisoners being seized with jail fever, and only 41 falling victims to the disease."

The account of the fever which broke out among the blues at Canterbury was transmitted to the author by Mr. McGregor; besides illustrating the usual good effects of the cold affusion, when applied to those actually labouring under the disease, its preventative operation was peculiarly striking, and in this respect the communication is more especially deserving of attention.

The ravages committed by the epidemic which occurred at Gibraltar, in the latter end of the year 1804, are but too well known; it appears that out of 18,000 inhabitants 12,000 were affected, and of these 6,000 died. Most unfortunately, at the first appearance of the complaint, an idea prevailed that it was not contagious, in consequence of which no means were taken to prevent its spreading, until the evil had increased to the most alarming extent. At length, when its infectious nature became so apparent, as "to convince even the most sceptical," the usual precautions were enforced; but the contagion was already so widely disseminated, as to render them almost inefficient: the disease did not cease until the middle of January, a period at which similar fevers have disappeared, when left to pursue their destructive course without controul. Different practitioners adopted different

methods of treatment, but they were all very unsuccessful; yet strange to relate, neither the cold bath nor the cold affusion appear to have been tried even in a single instance; we can assign no reason for a neglect so fatal and so reprehensible.

The concluding paragraphs of this chapter, which also terminate the body of the work, we shall quote at full length; they contain an account of the motives which directed the author in the conduct of his work, motives which display equal sagacity and benevolence, and leave us unable to determine whether the head or the heart of this celebrated and much lamented character were more worthy of admiration.

"Having had an apparently hazardous, but in my judgment a highly salutary practice to recommend to the world,—a practice contradictory to long established and almost universal prejudices, I reflected beforehand with the utmost seriousness on the duty imposed upon me, to avoid in my manner of presenting it all possible grounds of offence. If my matter was alarming, if my object was bold, I have endeavoured to make my manner calm and temperate. The claims of my contemporaries to merit on this occasion, so far as I was acquainted with them, I have studiously brought forward. I have been

desirous of treating them not merely with justice but generosity; and many series of experiments which I myself have undertaken, and I may say undergone, especially in investigating the effects of perspiration on animal heat, I have suppressed in the detail, and only given in the result. In a word, it has been my endeavour to suppress all personal considerations, and all petulant expressions; where I could employ the authority of others, to do it freely and respectfully; and where I have been led by my subject to controvert opinions before the world, to use the language of civility and candour.

"By these means I have endeavoured to disarm personal opposition, and to avoid controversy—controversy which some philosophers have invoked, but I think unwisely: and which on a science so imperfect, so important and so difficult as that of medicine, seems to me to have almost uniformly involved consequences of an injurious and melancholy nature.

"On the whole my endeavours have been successful. I have encountered little opposition; I know not that I have provoked any man's enmity; while the medical writings of the day, both in Britain and in America, bear evidence that considerable changes have been effected and are effecting on the opinions and conduct of medical men, quietly and insensibly, on points of no mean importance, in physiology, as well as practice."

ART. XXXVI.—*Medical Collections on the Effects of Cold, as a Remedy in certain Diseases, with an Appendix, containing an Account of some Experiments made with a View to ascertain the Effects of cold Water upon the Pulse.* By JOHN EDMONDS STOCK, M. D. Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, London; Member of the Royal Medical and Natural History Societies of Edinburgh:—of the Medical and Chemical Societies of Philadelphia; and Physician in Bristol. 8vo. pp. 200.

IN a short preface the author enters into an explanation of the object of his work, and the motives which induced him to undertake it. He disclaims all pretensions to originality, and professes to aim solely at collecting into a well-digested form the scattered testimonies in favour of the medical employment of cold, and by this means to give to the public mind a degree of confidence respecting a remedy of great efficacy, but hitherto of somewhat doubtful character. To accomplish this object he begins by an attempt to ascertain "the general effects of cold upon the human system." On this subject totally opposite opinions have been adopted: by some writers cold has been considered as a sedative; by others, of equal respectability, it has been regarded as a tonic; while a third class have imagined, that according to circumstances, it might operate in either way, at one time exhibiting a sedative, at another a stimulant operation.

Our author, however, conceives that its effects are uniformly sedative, an opinion which he derives from the following considerations.

"First, from the paleness and contraction of the skin, which succeed the application of cold.—Secondly, from its diminishing or weakening the action of the heart, and arteries.—Thirdly, from the debility and inactivity observable in the inhabitants of cold countries.—Fourthly, from the gradual diminution of the vital powers, which commences with its first application, and which, if its operation be long continued, terminates in their entire extinction, either in particular parts, or in the whole body.—And lastly, from the accumulated excitability which it induces to the stimulus of heat."

We have some facts brought forwards in support of each of these positions; the second, which asserts that the action of the heart and arteries is diminished by cold, is the most liable to be controverted;

in proof of it he alleges the slow pulse of the inhabitants of cold countries, an experiment related by Rush, when the pulse was rendered slower by immersing the feet in cold water, and the experiments of Marcard, which were attended with the same result. The general truth of the position we shall not attempt to disprove; but we must remark, that we conceive it possible so to apply cold, as that the action of the heart and arteries shall not be diminished; and secondly, that a retardation of the pulse is not always a proof of the diminution of the action of the heart. The idea that cold is in certain instances stimulant, has been adopted, among others, by Dr. Currie; and our author could not permit the opinion of so celebrated a writer, when in opposition to his own, to pass by, without attempting to establish the grounds of his dissent. The opinion of Dr. Currie is built upon the *modus operandi* of the cold affusion, in the torpor of convulsion, and in the apoplexy produced by inhaling the fumes of charcoal; Dr. Stock endeavours to show that in both these cases a degree of stimulation had been excited, and that the benefit derived from the cold water must depend upon its sedative effect. Our author goes on to ask,

“Does not the affusion of a bucket of cold water upon the naked body, act from its weight and impetus as a mechanical stimulus, as well as by change of temperature? and would not the sprinkling of a few drops of tepid water, rouse a person in syncope, as rapidly as the same quantity drawn from the coldest spring?”

To these questions we apprehend that only one answer can be returned, and that in the negative. We are indeed of opinion that Dr. Stock has omitted a most important consideration in the view which he takes of the subject; he seems totally to

have overlooked the operation of the nervous system, and according to the plan adopted by the Brunonians, to have considered the animal body as one and indivisible. We are, however, decidedly of opinion, that though cold continued for any length of time may diminish the action of the heart and arteries, yet that its sudden application acts as a powerful stimulus upon the nerves, and in this way produces many of its most important effects. With this view of the subject we must differ from our author in considering the cold affusion as nothing more than a transient way of applying cold; it certainly has its effect simply as abstracting heat, but we consider that its action on the nervous system is often equally powerful, and equally to be held in view in our reasonings upon its effects.

After giving a short historical account of the medical application of cold from the earliest periods to the present time, our author enters upon the consideration of the particular diseases in which this practice has been considered as beneficial, arranging them, for the most part, according to the order of Cullen's nosology. We shall not follow him through this detail: we may remark in general, that he has been successful in the collection of materials from a variety of quarters; but we observe in some places a want of discrimination in the selecting of his authorities. However we may admire the genius of Brown, we should never think of calling in his opinion to decide a practical question; and we cannot but consider Dr. Stock's unqualified assent to the speculations of Dr. Kinglake as rather proving his zeal in the cause which he has undertaken to defend, than manifesting that prudent caution with which every innovation in medicine ought to be received.

CHAPTER XIX.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

ART. I.—*A practical Treatise on Brewing, Distilling, and Rectification, with the genuine Process of making Brandy, Rum, and Hollands Gin, the London Practice of brewing Porter, Ale, and Table Beer, the Method of brewing Country Ales, &c.: with the modern Improvements in Fermentation, or the Doctrine of Attenuation, in which the old and present Mode of Work is improved, with an entire new System much more advantageous: interspersed with practical Observations on each Kind of fermentable Matter, raw and prepared, with Rules for obtaining the greatest Quantity, and of better Quality, from Grain raw or malted, Sugar or Molasses, and the making Wines, Cider, and Vinegar; the Whole fundamentally delineated with Plates: with a copious Appendix on the Culture and Preparation of foreign Wines, Brandies, and Vinegars, previous to Exportation, and the best Method of managing them when imported into these Kingdoms. By R. SHANNON, M. D. 4to. pp. 1007.*

WE decline giving any opinion on the practical advantages of Dr. Shannon's *entire new system* of preparing fermented liquors, as it can only be adequately judged of by actual experiment. The chemical theories by which it is supported, and which are applied to explain the various phenomena of fermentation, are however, for the most part, singularly vague and unfounded as far as they are intelligible.

The leading principle of Dr. Shannon's system is, that the sole difference between barley and malt is, that the saccharine part in the latter is separated, in some degree, from the gluten and mucilage with which it is intimately mixed in the former, and thus is rendered more easy of fermentation: this we apprehend to be an entire mistake. The process of germination, by which barley is converted into malt, actually generates sugar, instead of merely disengaging it from gluten and mucilage: nor do we at all believe that ground barley, by being subjected to a vigorous fermentation, will produce as much alcohol as if it had been previously malted. The distillers indeed mix raw corn with malt, and find their advantage in it; but this is because the saving of the duty on malt more than

counterbalances the diminished produce of spirit.

Dr. Shannon endeavours to shew that the intoxicating quality of malt liquors is not in proportion to their relative quantities of alcohol. From equal quantities of weak porter and strong Burton ale, he procured, by the process of distillation, nearly the same amount of spirit; and as the latter contains a much larger quantity of carbonic acid than the former, he is inclined to attribute much of the intoxicating quality of malt liquors to the carbonic acid with which they abound. This, however, is not a perfectly fair deduction. Alcohol is very soluble in carbonic acid, and therefore the more of this acid a liquor contains, the less alcohol will be condensed in common distillation, except care has been taken, by the addition of lime or caustic alkali, to fix the acid previous to distillation.

It would be a most unprofitable task to discuss the wild speculations of this author, or to point out the grievous defects of his style, and his numerous sins against grammar. The professional distiller, brewer, or wine-merchant, may derive from this volume some useful hints; but, as a work of science, its value is very small indeed.

ART. II.—*A Treatise on the Art of Bread-making: wherein the Mealing-trade, Advice Laws, and every Circumstance connected with the Art, is particularly examined.* By A. EDLIN. 12mo. pp. 216.

WE have been, upon the whole, much pleased with this little work, and should be glad to see all our domestic manufactures illustrated in the same manner.

The first chapter treats, somewhat unnecessarily, of the natural history and cultivation of wheat; but having entered on this part of the subject, it was the business of the author to devote more attention to it than he appears to have done. The scraps of vegetable physiology might well have been spared, together with the extracts from Dryden's *Virgil*, Thomson's *Seasons*, and Darwin's *Botanic Garden*; and the space thus occupied might have been more profitably employed in describing the different varieties of this useful grain, and the peculiar advantages and defects of each. The coarse reed-like Egyptian wheat should have been noticed; also the beautiful gold-coloured Arnaut wheat which the Italians import from the Crimea, and of which they make their best vermicelli: nor ought the wheat of Tripoli to have been passed by in silence, so remarkably hard as to be incapable of being ground by the common mill-stones.

The second chapter, entitled "Observations on the Mealing-trade," relates, in a brief but perspicuous manner, the management of wheat in granaries, the process of grinding, and the proportion of flour, bran, pollard, &c. in English and Bengal wheat.

The analysis of wheat-flour is the subject of the third chapter, which contains several experiments in confirmation and correction of those already made by Parmentier, Vauquelin, and other chemists. Mr. Edlin shows that wheat-flour consists of gluten, fecula or starch, and sugar; and that no two of the ingredients, even when assisted by the usual proportion of yeast, will make good bread, the presence of all three being absolutely necessary. The component parts of 1lb. of the best wheat, according to Mr. Edlin's analysis, appear to be

	oz.	dr.
Bran	-	3 0
Starch	-	10 0
Gluten	-	0 6
Sugar	-	0 2
		<hr/>
		14 0
Loss		2 0
		<hr/>
		16 0.

The fourth chapter is improperly termed "on the Analysis of Yeast." Mr. Edlin shows, indeed, that yeast, by gradual distillation, is separated into carbonic acid, a watery liquor, and a dry extract; but this can hardly, with propriety, be termed an analysis. Neither the distilled water, nor the extract, are capable of exciting fermentation in flour; but the carbonic acid does it very readily, as indeed Mr. Henry had before observed. Even water, strongly impregnated with carbonic acid from chalk, if hastily mixed with flour, appears, from the experiments of this author, to be equally efficacious with yeast in making bread.

The fifth chapter treats slightly and imperfectly of the theory of fermentation in bread. The fecula, as is obvious from the common mode of preparing starch, does not undergo fermentation, unless dissolved in water; neither does the gluten, whether by itself or mixed with yeast, exhibit any change for several hours, and then the fermentation that takes place is of the putrefactive kind. But the saccharine extract of wheat runs speedily into the proper vinous fermentation when assisted by a little yeast; if left to itself, the fermentation is slower and more irregular, and seems to become acetous even before the vinous fermentation is thoroughly established. In both cases carbonic acid is given out; and to the entanglement of this in the gluten of the flour, is no doubt owing the lightness of the bread.

Chapter VI. is entirely practical, and relates to the preparation of bread either unleavened, leavened, or fermented with yeast. Leavened bread has usually more or less of an acidulous taste; but this may be avoided, and the lightness of the bread greatly improved, by dissolving in warm water forty grains of fully carbonated potash for every pound of flour employed, and using this alkaline solution instead of plain water, to moisten the flour with when it is mixed with the leaven.

The seventh chapter shows how to prepare the various substitutes for wheaten bread, and contains many excellent economical receipts for this purpose.

The eighth chapter relates the best methods of preparing and preserving yeast; the ninth explains the structure of a bakehouse, and the implements made use of; and the last chapter explains the

manner in which the assize of bread is regulated, and contains a good summary of the provisions of the various acts of parliament passed for this purpose.

The plan of the author upon the whole is very good, and the execution is much to be commended; but, in the next edition, much valuable matter, both practical

and theoretical, may be added from various quarters. In Dr. Townson's Travels, Mr. Edlin will find a particular account of the Hungarian bread. In the *Journal de Physique* is a valuable paper, by Dr. Guthrie, on the Russian rye-bread, and an elaborate memoir, by Tillet, on the weight which dough loses by being baked.

CHAPTER XX.

FARRIERY AND HORSEMANSHIP.

ART. I.—*An Analysis of Horsemanship; teaching the whole Art of riding in the manege, military, racing, hunting, and travelling System. Together with the Art of breaking Horses for every Purpose to which those noble Animals are adapted. By JOHN ADAMS, Riding-master. 3 vols. 8vo.*

WE have been much pleased with the modesty, good sense, and good temper, by which these volumes are characterized; in nothing do they appear to be either defective or superfluous. The author always keeps his main object in view, and proceeds towards it by the shortest and plainest road without any stop or devia-

tion. Calm and gentle perseverance he shows to be the readiest and most effectual method for the rider to attain and preserve an entire command over his horse, so that the work before us is not less calculated for the comfort of the horse than the safety of his rider.

ART. II.—*A practical Treatise on Farriery: including Remarks on all Diseases incident to Horses, the Symptoms by which they are generally known, and the most approved Mode of Cure. From the Manuscripts of the late EDWARD SHAPE, Farrier to their Majesties and the second Troop of Horse-guards. 4to. pp. 152.*

THIS publication will, we doubt not, be found an useful addition to the library of the veterinary surgeon. It contains a brief account of the leading symptoms of diseases to which horses are subject, together with a full and particular description of the remedies which the author in

his own practice has found to be most successful. The language is plain and perspicuous, and most meritoriously free from that ignorant conceit, the sign of a defective education, for which many of the fashionable farriers seem to have taken out a patent of monopoly.

MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

The disturbed state of the continent has prevented us from receiving the usual supply of mathematical and philosophical works. One fell into our hands but just before this part of our work was going to the press: and we expect from it, since the author is a member of the National Institute, that the philosophers of Paris are meditating a serious attack on the Newtonian philosophy. We shall not feel any alarm on this side of the water; and Mercier's wit will fall harmless, though it may excite enquiries into the use of words employed by many mathematicians. The observations made by Herschel, noticed in our account of the Philosophical Transactions, may be opposed to the flimsy wit of Paris: and the observations of Schroeter in Germany open a field for wide discussion. The three new planets between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, will bring many questions on the philosophy of Newton to a severe investigation; and we shall try it not by the wit of Mercier, but by those calculations which he holds in so much contempt. Here we may find great assistance from the very able work of Mendoza y Itios; a work which does honour to this country; and the more it is known the more will its merit be acknowledged. But if we have not many works to lay before our readers, the dignity of one of the philosophers may, notwithstanding the smallness of his work, give a splendour to our catalogue. A bishop appears among us, and explains Virgil from no small attention to the doctrine of the sphere, and true astronomical principles. His work will deservedly call the attention of the classical scholar to a science which may assist him in many of his difficulties. If a bishop can condescend to enter into questions on the gathering of honey and the sowing of wheat, we trust that many mathematicians will apply their talents to practical objects of still greater importance. The eastern world calls out for assistance; and Mr. Machonochie has projected a plan for the improvement of naval architecture and navigation, which requires all the exertions of the mathematical world. It is well known how little has been contributed by science to the art of ship-building, and how much has been gained by the navigator by the improvements in astronomy and the lunar tables: the success in the latter may justly excite the mathematician to use his exertions for the improvement of naval architecture.

ART. I.—*Lilienthalische beobachtungen der neu entdeckten Planeten von D. J. H. SCHRÖTER. Göttingen. 1805.*

Observations made at Lilienthal on the lately discovered Planets.

ONE of these planets was discovered which Mr. Schröter and his assistants are at Lilienthal, and the other two have been known to possess. Next to Herschel's examined with that skill and diligence his observatory is supplied with better in-

struments than any other in Europe can boast of, and his industry is scarcely inferior to that of the astronomer, which our country has adopted, and may justly call her own. That these two astronomers should not agree in every respect in their observations cannot excite surprise, when we consider the distance and, comparatively speaking, small size of the bodies which they were examining; the determination of the apparent magnitude, and circumstances attending the colour and edges of the planets, are points of great nicety, and it is rather surprising that they should agree in so many particulars than that in certain respects a diversity of opinion should prevail.

These planets were observed by our author chiefly with his thirteen-foot telescope, and a magnifying power of 136 and 288. The observations were made between the eleventh of January and the third of April 1802, and some took place in December 1804. The first time that he saw *Piazzi*, on the eleventh of January, it appeared to have a pale reddish light, the orb was not well defined, but on the twenty-fifth the edge was sharp and the light whiter. In general, however, its aspect was like that of a comet, and resembled very much that which was seen in 1799. On the 26th it was again more nebulous, but on the 28th clearer, and it underwent continual changes of this kind, the extension of its nebula increasing in the proportion which the diminished distance of the earth required. On the 11th of January it appeared to be of the ninth magnitude, but in the middle of March when it was in its perigee, it looked like a star of the seventh magnitude. In *Dolond's* best glasses this nebulous appearance was not observed, and it was not noticed by the astronomers *Zach*, *Olbers*, *Maskelyn*, and others, whose observations were made with refracting telescopes. Strongly illuminated telescopes were requisite to discover it, and such as have lately been brought to a high degree of improvement; with these *Herschel*, *Haker*, *Schröter*, and *Harding*, observed it. As a proof of this difference in the telescopes, *Harding*, with an excellent ten-foot *Dolond*, could not find the least trace of a nebula. Hence it appears that something more is requisite in these observations than the increase of magnifying power; for *Herschel* with his seven-foot telescope and magnifying power of 516 observed some kind of nebula about *Piazzi*, but with a magnifying power of 881, with which he expected a sharper view, saw

neither *Piazzi* nor *Olbers* better defined.

The apparent diameter of *Piazzi* is estimated from a variety of observations taken with great care at $1^{\circ}830$, and with the nebula at $2^{\circ}514$, on the 25th January 1802, the distance from the earth then being 1,9029. On the 6th of March the orb was 2,997, and with the nebula 3.842 the distance from the earth being 1,616. From the changes in the atmosphere in the two planets *Piazzi* and *Olbers*, the rotation round their axes will with difficulty be ascertained.

Olbers was first observed on the 30th March 1802, as a star of the seventh magnitude, pale, nebulous, but better defined than *Piazzi*. These two planets seemed to be twins, and partaking of the nature of a planet and a comet. The day after the first discovery, it was evident that *Olbers* was subject to greater changes in his atmosphere than *Piazzi*; for on the 1st of April its light was clearer, and without a nebula, and it appeared like a fixed star: on the second and third the nebula reappeared, but on the thirteenth it was gone again. From seven measurements made in March and April 1802, the apparent diameter was determined, namely on the 30th of March with the nebula $4^{\circ}635$, without the nebula $3^{\circ}893$, its distance from the earth being 1,377. On the first of April its apparent diameter without a nebula was $3^{\circ}243$, and its distance from the earth 1,389.

Harding was discovered at *Lilienthal*, and we may with reason attribute the discovery of it to the plan laid down at this place in September 1800, when *Zach*, *Endi*, and *Olbers*, paid a visit to it, and there it was determined to pay each particular attention to certain districts in the heaven, with the express view and expectation of discovering new planets. In consequence of this determination, *Harding* was discovered by the astronomer of this name on the first of September 1804. *Harding* on the 6th of September was noticed to have a different aspect from that of the other two planets, the light being soft and white, and the orb like that of a planet without any resemblance to a comet. On the 11th the light was less clear and white, and in three hours after the first observation on that day the light was still paler. On the ninth its apparent diameter was taken at $2^{\circ}611$, on the 14th with a magnifying power of 136 and thirteen-foot telescope it was $2^{\circ}640$, and with a magnifying power of 288 it was taken at $2^{\circ}413$. On the 20th of December, when

Piazzi and Harding were both in the field of the telescope, both round and well-defined, and Piazzi without a nebula, both planets with the magnifying power 130, appeared to have the same magnitude $1''.554$, but with the magnifying power 288, Piazzi was taken at $1''.469$, and Harding at $1''.795$. The distance of Piazzi on that day was 2,686, of Harding 1,730, and between the 9th and 14th of September, according to Gauss's calculation, 1,795.

On the subject of the apparent diameters the German astronomer differs in opinion with Herschel, but he gives very strong reason in support of that which he maintains. Both the author, and his assistant Mr. Harding, have made a vast number of observations, in which they very seldom disagreed to any amount worth mentioning; and besides, in general they agreed with Herschel. That Herschel might be in an error is probable, because he measured Piazzi only thrice, Olbers only once, and his measurements are not consistent. On the 1st of April 1802 he makes the apparent diameter of Piazzi with his seven-foot telescope and magnifying power 370 to be $0''.40$: on the 21st of April with his ten-foot and magnifier 516 to be $0''.38$; and on the 22d of April with the last telescope to be $0''.22$, that is only half as large as it was on the first of April; the apparent diameter on the 22d of April he determines to be $0''.13$. We cannot help uniting with our author in his testimony, in this respect, against Herschel; for such a change in the apparent diameters of Piazzi would at once determine the body to move in a very different orbit from what is assigned to it by Dr. Herschel himself.

The magnifying powers used by Herschel were far too great for the pale light of the two planets, since the finer nebulas of Piazzi and Olbers were not visible, and hence the apparent diameter was made somewhat too small by him. Several other objections are made, whence some important conclusions will hereafter be drawn on the nature of telescopes, of high magnifying powers; and when two persons of such eminence in their profession differ so very materially in their judgments, the cause must evidently soon be discovered.

Our limits will not permit us to enter at present into the discussion, which we doubt not will be brought before us again in another shape; but the management of the contest does great honour to the author.

From observations and calculations the true diameter of Piazzi is 352, of Olbers 455, of Harding 309 geographical miles; and if we take the diameter of the earth at 1719, of Mercury 608, of the moon 468, then the diameter of Piazzi is to that of the earth as 1 to 4.88, to that of Mercury as 1 to 1.73, to that of the moon as 1 to 1.33. The diameter of Olbers is to that of the earth as 1 to 3.77, to that of Mercury as 1 to 1.33, and to that of the moon as 1 to 1.02. The diameter of Harding is to that of the earth as 1 to 5.56, to that of Mercury as 1 to 1.97, and to that of the moon as 1 to 1.51: Olbers is therefore nearly about the same size as our moon, and about one quarter greater in diameter than Piazzi, and Harding is the least of these three bodies.

The height of the atmosphere of Piazzi above the surface of the planet is estimated at 146.62 miles, and of Olbers at 101.62 miles. Harding's atmosphere cannot easily be estimated, but it is denser and higher than that of the old planets. These three new planets are also denser than the old ones; then follows Jupiter, and next the earth. The conjecture of Dr. Olbers that the planet of his name, and Piazzi, are fragments of the same greater planet, is in great measure adopted by our author, and it seems to receive some support from the discovery of Harding: but our author does not conceive that the planets were made by a comet destroying the original; but that at the original creation those materials, which were on the point of forming a planet, were by some convulsion separated from each other, and thus became, according to the direction given by the explosion, each a planet round the sun. Whatever may be the fate of this hypothesis, we cannot give the author too much praise both for his industry in observation, his skill in calculation, his modesty in stating his own pretensions, and the merit of a rival, and above all the union of sound religion with true philosophy.

ART. II.—*Prospectus of a Work, entitled, a Philosophical and Experimental Inquiry into the Laws of Resistance of non-elastic Fluids and Cohesion of fibrous Solids, as far as either is connected with the Theory or Practice of Naval Architecture; also political and commercial Structures on the comparative State of Naval Architecture in Great Britain and India. By A. MACKONOCHE, Esq.*

THE author of this work resides at Baypoor, near Calicut, Malabar, and has

from this prospectus employed himself with great success in experiments on timber, with a view to the perfection of naval architecture. To carry on his views, he very respectfully calls upon the scientific to unite with him in a vast enquiry, by which the law of resistance may be explained. The experiments to be made are divided into classes and orders. The first class contains the case of a body moving with a given velocity, or a fluid moving with a given velocity against a body at rest, to determine the ratio of the distance of the surface. In this class are eighteen orders, presenting different angles to the fluid; and in each order are to be fifty series of experiments.

A similar class with orders contains the case of the surface of a moving body, and its angle of incidence being given, to find the ratio of the resistance to the velocity. Other experiments are proposed on the pressure of fluids, and on the nature of the pyroligneous acids, and from the latter the durability of timber, with the effect of iron and copper upon it, are to be ascertained. A curious fact is here mentioned of the mode of preserving vessels by the fishermen of Malabar, who wrap a piece of sheet copper or lead round the nails, which fasten their little vessels together; and it is suggested that the substitution of oxyd of copper or lead might not be unworthy of the notice of our ship-builders: green, white, or red paint would answer the same purpose, but be more expensive.

To make wood more durable, attention

must be paid to the gases contained in it; these are known to exist from the common experiment of the air-pump, whose receiver on the withdrawing of the air will be filled with gas from the wood. This process is imitated by the author by a steam-vessel, into which, on the admission of the steam, the air will depart from an aperture below, and on the condensation of the steam the gases will rush from the wood to fill the vacuum. Continual immisions and condensations of steam will thus free the wood from all its gases, and when tarred over it will no longer be susceptible of their influence. This process may be applied with great advantage to the timber in the royal navy, as the chips of fir in the yards will supply all the tar that is requisite for the purpose.

By means of his steam-vessel it is proposed also to bring timber to any degree of curvature, and to employ timber thus steamed in the frames of ships. Other improvements are suggested in the structure of the decks, with a view to obviate the effects of the rolling and tossing of ships; and from the ingenuity evident in this prospectus, we cannot doubt that the proposed work is fully entitled to the patronage of the public. Much useful information will be given respecting the management of forests, both in England and in India; and it is with pleasure we learn that we may look to the latter quarter for the supplies of our yards, and the ships of India may hereafter add to the triumphs of the British navy.

ART. III.—*Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne et moderne de J. S. BAILLY, Paris. 1806.*
History of Astronomy, ancient and modern, in which the historical Text of the Original is preserved, and such scientific Details and abstract Calculations are suppressed, as are not interesting to the Generality of Readers.

THIS is a very elegant abridgment of the history of Bailly; a history too well known to the scientific reader to require here any detail. The chief facts are preserved in this work; and as the title observes, it is intended for the general, not the scientific reader. It is amusing as well as instructive; and the plan of retaining the words of the original author make it much more entertaining than those crude abridgments which at times fall into our hands, and betray bad taste under the appearance of great industry. Every one remembers the fate of Bailly;

and his name, connected with the tennis-court in which the famous oath was taken by the French deputies, will live for ever in the history of that country. This celebrity was dearly purchased by a death on the scaffold for an ungrateful nation; but the astronomer will gratefully remember the pains bestowed by the philosophical mayor of Paris on the history of his science, in five large volumes; and the general reader will be no less thankful to the editor of this abridgment, for having confined, in so short a compass, the most material passages in the original work.

ART. IV.—*Commercial Arithmetic, with an Appendix upon Algebraical Questions; being an Introduction to the Elements of Commerce. By C. DUBOST. London. 1805.*

THE design of this book is excellent; the execution of it not deserving so high

an encomium. It is very difficult to explain the simplest things, and the author should have paid greater attention to Locke's chapter on number. We are told first what arithmetic is, namely, the science of numbers: of course what is meant by number must be explained, and the writer very properly gives a definition of his meaning, but introduces the terms units and quantity. Quantity is then explained; but instead of explaining the meaning of unit, we are led to that of unity, a term which depends on the meaning of unit. Allowing for this very common error on such subjects, we read with pleasure the account of the progress of number by multiples and dividers of tens. We were stopped at the account of arithmetical operations, when we were told that, to make an addition, we were to express by one number the aggregate of several. Now we apprehend that, to a learner, the word aggregate wants more explanation than the word addition. In the definition of subtraction we found the term deducted used, which requires just as much explanation as the word subtraction.

The signs $+$ and $-$ are curiously explained: "to denote addition, we make use of the sign $+$, which means plus; and for subtraction the sign $-$, which means minus." Now is the English reader at all instructed by this explanation? for plus and minus are two Latin words, which to him are as unintelligible as any other Latin words, and both require to be translated into his own language, before he can understand the propriety of their use. But $+$ means add, and $-$ means take away; and there is no more reason for applying Latin words to the signs $+$ and $-$, than there is for applying them to the signs \times and \div .

Fractions are first defined to be numbers, by which we express quantities less

than unity; and two pages after we find that a fraction may be less or greater than a unit, or equal to it. The sections on fractions require considerable revision, and the writer will recollect that, according to his own definition, to multiply a number by another, is to repeat the one as often as there are units in the other: how then can he multiply, as he proposes to do, nine by $\frac{1}{2}$, since $\frac{1}{2}$ is less than a unit? The want of demonstration in these sections must be very sensibly felt by a learner.

The difficulties in explaining ratios are well known to every mathematician; they are not removed by this writer. The conversion of a proportion into an equation is frequently very useful, and the instances here given are well chosen. We do not see the difficulty of defining algebra intelligibly to those who have not any idea of the science; for when a person understands what arithmetic is, namely, the science of numbers, he can easily comprehend that algebra is only a part of that science. In common arithmetic all the terms are definite and known: in algebra they are frequently indefinite, and letters stand for numbers; some for those that are known, others for the numbers that are not known. The instance to explain the nature of algebra is well chosen; but we were surprised to read so poor a definition of equation, as that it is an assemblage of several quantities separated by the sign $=$. That such an assemblage constitutes an equation we doubt not; but the propriety and meaning of the term equation remains to be explained. The sections on equations scarcely belong to the subject, and may be removed without detriment to the work, which, with a little attention to the nature of learners, and care to adapt language to their use, may be made a very instructive publication.

ART. V.—The System of Land Surveying at present adopted by Surveyors and Commissioners in old and new Inclosures. By W. STEPHENSON. 8vo.

THE attention of country gentlemen has of late years been very much called to the breeding of cattle, and peers and butchers discuss at Smithfield every improvement on the fattening of oxen. We would not discourage any useful undertaking; yet one of the writers of the Old Testament does not apprehend this to be a kind of knowledge to be very much cultivated by the higher orders of society. It is strange, however, that another kind

of knowledge, which is of so much consequence to the land-proprietor, and enters continually into the discussions of the legislature, should be so much neglected. Geometry is supposed to have taken its rise in Egypt, and the overflowings of the Nile gave importance to mensuration. The continual changes of property in England, by bills of inclosure, render this science no less useful to us; and when we consider how little is required, we

should think it very improbable that any considerable landholder would take the number of his acres upon the mere *ipse dixit* of the surveyor. We knew one young nobleman who was not contented with a process of this kind: he was going through the regular course of study at Cambridge, and, in one of the vacations, employed his summer months in an actual survey of his father's estates in the Highlands; thus improving himself in geometry, at the same time that he enjoyed the picturesque scenery peculiar to that part of Scotland.

We could mention also persons who, on an inclosure taking place, have found that their lands had been very differently measured by the same man, when measured some time before on their own account, and then on the account of the commissioners. Such a loss as was experienced at that time would have been prevented, if the proprietor, on the first measuring of the land, had been capable of examining the surveyor's account; and all the knowledge requisite is merely that of the four first rules in arithmetic, and the easy properties of a triangle. To render this knowledge familiar to the proprietor and to the surveyor, the author of this work

takes an instance of a supposed parish to be inclosed, which is possessed by a certain number of imaginary proprietors, whose various tenures of possession are agreeable to those found in most parishes. Their lands are then respectively measured, the quality ascertained, and the parish is divided into new allotments, agreeably to the value of each person's previous possessions. The instance is well made; and the practice upon it will give the learner complete insight into the business of land-surveying. We cannot expect the country gentleman to take his chains and rods, and flag-staffs; but without that labour, he may by this instance learn to judge of his surveyor's work, when the plan of his own estate is brought to him, and he may with ease ascertain whether the number of acres is properly estimated. The quality and price of land is a subject of great difficulty: as yet much is given to conjecture, and the mode of ascertaining it ought to be laid down in every bill of inclosure. The number of plates accompanying this work will be found very useful to the young land-surveyor, and he should plan them all out upon a different scale.

ART. VI.—*A theoretical and practical Treatise on subterraneous Surveying, and the Magnetic Variation of the Needle.* By J. FENWICK. 8vo.

THE preceding article is of importance to the landholder, whose profits are derived from the surface of the soil; the work now before us will be found equally useful to one whose gains arise from the bowels of the earth. The quality and quantity of each mine depend upon different circumstances; the former can be known only by comparison of coals of different kinds; the latter from the usual modes of mensuration applied to subterraneous passages. Our author begins needlessly with the very first rudiments of geometry; for it must be supposed that no one will apply himself to the practice of subterraneous surveying, who has not previously been instructed in the principles of geometry and trigonometry. Indeed, as numerical figures are very much used throughout the work, there would have been equal propriety in laying down previously the first four rules in arithmetic. But redundancy is better than defect;

and when we come to the survey itself, we accompany the writer with great pleasure through its different modes, and the many instances he has given cannot fail of rendering the whole process very familiar to the learner.

In surveying under ground the magnet is of great importance. Its variations were formerly little observed, or even understood, and of course many old plans are with difficulty followed by those who are not attentive to this circumstance. It is with great propriety, therefore, that this subject is fully discussed in the work before us, and the methods are pointed out of laying down truly the plan of any mine when the variation of the compass is given, as also of discovering the age of a plan by comparing it with present observations. The work will be found very useful to the young practitioner in this art, and deserves the attention of the possessor of subterraneous property.

ART. VII.—*The young Mathematician's Assistant, or Schoolmaster's Guide; being a short and comprehensive System of Arithmetic, &c.* By G. BAGLEY.

THE author of this work has published a grammar in eleven languages; and if a

young man can learn the eleven languages by that grammar, we cannot doubt that

he may be materially assisted in his mathematical studies by this short and comprehensive system. In seventy-two quarto pages, we have arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, logarithms, gauging, astronomy, navigation, nautical astronomy,

geography, dialling, the conic sections, fluxions, and book-keeping. This bill of fare is too cloying for the young mathematician, and the schoolmaster will require more substantial dishes.

ART. VIII.—*The Wonders of the Telescope, or a Display of the Wonders of the Heavens, and of the System of the Universe, written in a familiar and popular Manner, adapted particularly to the Perusal of young Persons, and, especially calculated to promote and simplify the Study of Astronomy among Persons of all Ages, with Twelve Plates, on a Plan never before attempted.* 12mo.

A MOST wonderful wonder never before attempted, must necessarily, in a country-fair, catch a number of country clowns. The title-page seems to be the composition of an adept in the art of puffing: the author of the volume to which it is affixed, we should think had no hand in it; for, by the manner in which he has performed his task, we cannot but conclude that he knows well that there is nothing new in the plan, and that there is nothing in the work which is not to be found in the usual books of astronomy. The work considered, in reference to the title, is wonderfully deficient: in itself it is not without merit, as it collects together several circumstances to attract the curiosity of young persons. The first part of the title is meant to catch the eye, and the wonders of the telescope might have filled this volume very completely, without entering upon the wonders of the heavens, visible without the help of glasses.

What we most wondered at in this wonderful book was, that the telescope, which is the subject of the work, is not itself described till we come to the end, and then the great wonder of its appear-

ing to bring an object nearer to us is not explained. Several of the plates are, however, well designed, and will excite, as they are intended, the wonder of the young observer; but the plate of the constellations is a wretched performance. The many discoveries made by Herschel among the fixed stars might well have occupied some pages, and the writer might have recollected that the proof of the antiquity of the constellations depends on a sorry foundation, when it rests on the English translation of Job in the vulgar Bible, since he will find it difficult to prove that Job ever spoke of "the constellations Orion and the Pleiades." But we would by no means condemn the book on account of the title. The writer, we are persuaded, is able to make the wonders of the telescope an entertaining and instructive publication, and we recompensed him to give a work entirely confined to that subject, and with a modest title than this of the work before us. The title of this work, as we said before, could not come from his pen; and however it may take with the multitude, is not creditable to a literary character.

ART. IX.—*A complete Collection of Tables for Navigation and nautical Astronomy, with simple, concise, and accurate Methods for all the Calculations useful at Sea.* By J. DE MENDOZA RIOS, Esq. &c.

EVERY year's experience adds to the conviction of the necessity of making the mariner more and more a master of science. The East India company is particularly attentive to this subject, and is rendering inestimable services to the nation, by insisting upon its officers being acquainted with the calculations necessary for the use of the nautical almanac. Hence, in the course of this century, if nothing intervenes to destroy our commerce, a body of men will be formed fully competent to all the purposes of navigation; and in our smaller vessels, a lunar observation will be as usual, when opportunity offers, as now is one for the sun's meri-

dional altitudes. This beneficial increase of knowledge would be materially forwarded, if merchants took greater pains to acquaint themselves with the qualifications of those to whom they entrust their property as masters and mates of vessels.

To facilitate the processes of the mariner, the very laborious and skilful author of this publication has contrived a set of tables, which, with the nautical almanac, ought to be in the closet of every cabin of a ship which crosses the Atlantic, or sails two hundred miles out of sight of land. They contain every requisite for shortening the operations in finding the longitude from the lunar tables,

and will be found of continual service in questions of astronomy and navigation. We may judge of the immense labour in this undertaking from the number of quarto pages, no less than 670, occupied with numerical figures, with very few exceptions, completely. They contain tables for correcting the observed altitudes of the sun, moon, and stars, and the observed distances of the moon to the sun or a star: logarithmic tables, and tables to convert parts of the circle into time, and vice versa: tables for computing the latitude by two altitudes of the sun observed at any hour of the day, and by several altitudes near noon: catalogue of right ascension and declination of several stars, amplitudes and variations of amplitudes, lengths of arches on a sphere or spheroid: table of longitude and latitude of places: tables of difference of latitude, and departure for points and quarter-points, and for degrees of meridional parts: tables of proportional parts for the variations which take place in longitude for twelve or twenty-four hours, of great use in computing the sun or moon's place at any point of time from the nautical almanac.

At the end of these tables we find their explanation and use: a part which we could have wished to have been longer, as the author is so well qualified to give a just account of the instruments used in observations, and by a variety of instances to have made more familiar their use to an observer. The problems which follow the explanation are very good; but here also we could have wished for figures and demonstration. When once the subject is made clear to the mariner by demonstration, he is not likely to forget it, and

the application of rules becomes easy to him; but when he works merely by rule, there is always danger of a mistake, which he, in the conclusion, is not able to correct. The author, however, evidently supposes that they who use his tables have made their way to navigation and astronomy by the proper road, namely, through geometry and trigonometry; a road which many teachers endeavour or pretend to shorten, by substituting their own supposed concise plans for the solid and substantial one laid down by Euclid. We have heard many a mariner complain of this fault in his education in early youth; and they who would understand these tables thoroughly, should recollect that a knowledge of trigonometry is indispensably requisite for every seaman.

The commissioners of the board of longitude, and the East India company, have both contributed to the publication of this work, by which means the expence of it to the public is greatly diminished. But we were sorry to observe that, with this great assistance, too great a sacrifice was required on the part of the author; for, to bring the book within moderate terms, he has given up on his part all the profits of authorship. Every one knows how expensive and how troublesome the publication of tables is, and it is not suited to the generosity of the English nation to receive so great a benefit without a compensation. When we recollect the number of places and pensions conferred, on whose propriety so many doubts may be excited, we should trust that one might be found from which this very excellent author might derive an honourable compensation for his labours.

ART. X.—*The Conveniences, Principles, and Method of keeping Accounts with Bankers in the Country and in London, with accurate Tables, adapted to the calculating of Interest Accounts with Ease and Dispatch, and to the discounting of Bills of Exchange, wherein the Table of Interest for one Day is extended to one Million of Pounds, &c. By W. LOWRIE. 8vo.*

THE nature of business respecting money concerns, notes, drafts, &c. is explained in a clear, concise, and satisfactory manner, and the country trader will here find all the processes developed to him in which he may be concerned in his transactions with London. The greater part of the volume, as must naturally be expected, is taken up with the tables of interest, commission, and discount. Each table of interest contains the interest of 100, 200, 300, and so on, by hundreds to a thousand pounds; and of one, two,

three, and so on, to forty-four pounds inclusive. The interest is calculated to farthings, but the decimals of a farthing are not given, of course we do not see how we can be certain by these tables of the interest of nine hundred and seventy-three thousand six hundred and fifty-one pounds; and the title-page promises more than the book can perform. As far, however, as it goes, and we have tried the tables in several instances, they appear to us to be accurate, and the work will be useful to those for whom it is intended.

ART XI.—*The genuine Art of Gauging made easy and familiar, exhibiting all the principal Methods actually practised by the Officers of his Majesty's Revenue of Excise and Customs, with a Variety of Information upon different Points connected with the Subject. By PETER JONAS, late Supervisor of Excise.*

THE work contains a great variety of instances in the practice of gauging, whence the practitioner may derive many useful hints. It does not profess to develop the theory of this very useful art, a theory which requires more attention than is generally given to the subject. The officers of excise and customs are, we believe, contented to follow the prescribed

rules: they learn one from the other, and it is not expected from them to have demonstrated the propositions on which the art depends. In this work the practice is very well laid down; but we should with greater pleasure have perused it, if it had contained the demonstration of every proposition in such a style, as not to be above the capacity of the common exciseman.

ART. XII.—*The Elements of Commerce, or a Treatise on different Calculations, Operations of Exchange, Specie, and Bullion, being a complete System of commercial Calculations. By C. DUBOIS. 2 vols. 8vo.*

WRITING and accounts are necessary to every merchant, but we doubt much whether the merchant will allow them to be ranked among commercial elements. He must be acquainted with the four rules of arithmetic and the rule of three, with the nature of fractions, and this knowledge he applies to tare and tret, commission, brokerage, and interest, which he learns at school, and to exchanges which are not so generally taught there. This book begins with the application of arithmetic to tare and tret, &c., whence it proceeds to exchanges; and three hundred and sixty pages are taken up on these calculations. The whole may be compressed, with great ease, into fifty pages, and then perhaps more instances would be given than the case absolutely requires. The rules for tare and tret, commissions, interest, and discount, are well known, and we do not derive any great advantage from this treatise upon these subjects: upon exchanges which depend on the doctrine of proportion or the rule of three, the questions are brought, by an easy and well

known process, into an equation which is reduced into fewer terms, by striking out those which appear on both sides of the equation; and again into terms of less magnitude, by dividing both sides where possible by a common divisor. This process is exemplified in a vast number of instances, taken from the exchanges of a great variety of nations, the tables of whose specie, in coinage or circulation, are given. A few instances would have taught all this as well as a thousand; and, in a merchant's counting-house, practice would very soon make a young man perfect. We have as yet only the first volume: what may appear in the second volume we cannot tell; but we would recommend to the author not to be sparing of his letterpress. We see too many blank spaces in the pages of this work. A complete system of mercantile calculations is, we believe, to be comprised in a short compass, but the observations on speculations in exchange will be found deserving of notice.

ART. XIII.—*De l'Impossibilité du Systeme Astronomique de Copernic et de Newton. On the Impossibility of the astronomical System of Copernicus and Newton. By S. J. MERCIER.*

THAT mankind has been led away by names, is a truth which all must acknowledge: and it would be just as absurd in the present days to ascribe to the names of Copernicus and Newton an absolute authority, as it was in former times to place implicit faith in the syllogisms of Aristotle, or the decretals of the see of Rome. But there is a great difference between attributing a certain degree of authority to an eminent character, and discarding entirely the use of our own judgment.

Newton was the last person in this world to require this sacrifice of our reason; and it was with the utmost astonishment that we found him stigmatised with the name of *Le Grand Mystificateur*, who, of all men in the world, abhorred the attempt to prevent the researches of others by any appearance of mystery. He might err, for who is not liable to error? but he certainly was not one of those who wished to lead mankind into error.

There are two parts in the philosophy

of Newton to be considered. First his abstract mathematical principles : secondly, the application of them to the establishment of the system of Copernicus. In the first part we allow that he has fallen into error even in his very first lemma of the first section of the Principia, for he talks of modifying equality, which is an absurdity ; and to say of certain quantities, that they are ultimately equal, as the evanescent chord and tangent of an arc, is absurdity : for Euclid has demonstrated that the two last-mentioned quantities can never be equal. But when we define the intended meaning of this term, used by Newton in so improper a manner, all the difficulties cease ; and we may allow equality to be the limit to which the evanescent chord and tangent are approaching. Again, the disciples of Newton fall into perpetual errors, and give rise to absurdities, by their expressions of infinitely great and infinitely small quantities, which they pretend to multiply together, and to produce a finite quantity, or by dividing one by the other to produce nothing. Such expectations naturally excite contempt amongst men of sense, and give rise to the term mystificateurs, which may be justly applied to all men who use such nonsensical language.

In algebra also Newton is not free from blame, and his manner of treating it might almost justify the author of this work in saying that algebra is the précipité de la pensée humaine. When men like Mercier hear of quantities less than nothing, and impossible quantities being multiplied together, and equations having numberless imaginary roots, and that these things are justified even by the authority of Newton, it is natural for them, and very properly so too, to hold such a science in contempt ; and they may be excused for calling out, Ah ! les grands mystificateurs. But we are not obliged to defend Newton or any other person in any error : in sci-

ence we depend upon demonstration alone ; and if the application of a science to philosophy is false, we expect that to be made out to us on just principles of reasoning.

But this author is fonder of the argument called persiflage, than a strict investigation of principles. He brings forward merely the old arguments against the earth's motion : he would make it fixed to no purpose whatever, and he takes advantage of the false notions attributed to attraction, instead of examining it upon the plan adopted by sir I. Newton, who considers only the effects produced in nature, for which he cannot use a better word than attraction. Thus the moon approaches to and recedes from the earth ; and as this resembles a motion, produced by a man drawing a boat to him, the earth is said to attract the moon, whatever may be the real cause of the motion.

We would by no means discourage wit. It may be employed on topics of philosophy as well as philosophers ; and Swift in his voyage to Laputa has done it to great advantage. But true philosophy smiles only at these efforts ; and the third and eighth sections of Newton will not be in the least affected by a witticism. We might just as well turn the forty-seventh of Euclid's first book into a joke ; and when the wit, like the celebrated epigram-writer of Cambridge, has amused himself with his own fancies, the astronomer and the mariner will nevertheless continue, the one his observations on the heavens, and the other his path in the seas, depending entirely upon the well-known truth of this proposition. For the young Cantab, however, who is going into the schools, this book will be very useful, as it will afford him many arguments on the questions, which he is called upon to propose, and he will afterwards smile with at all mystifications.

ART. XIV.—*On Virgil's two Seasons of Honey, and his Season of sowing Wheat, with a new and compendious Method of investigating the Risings and Settings of the fixed Stars. By the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.*

IS a bishop to be confined always to his theology ? Will not an acquaintance with other sciences tend to soften his manners, and take away from the too high consideration which holy men are apt to set on themselves on their supposed spiritual labours ? May not an acquaintance with classical writers and mathematical studies beguile the tedious hours of a father of

the church, and take off from the ennui which even episcopacy cannot cure ? Fastidious men there are who would confine the bishop to his breviary, and his bible, his articles, and his homilies, and the fathers. We are not of that disposition, and have no doubt that a thought now and then on honey and wheat, and the stars, will rather assist than disturb their duties.

contemplations. The bishop of St. Asaph has been well employed in an endeavour to rectify a passage in Virgil; and if he has introduced his comment with a little too much of the appearance of a mighty exploit performed, we must recollect that it is a bishop, not a common man, who condescends to amuse and instruct us.

Virgil in his *Georgics*, Book IV, verse 232, determines two seasons from two different appearances of the Pleiades in the heavens.

"Täygete simul os terris ostendit honestum
Pleias, et oceani spretos pede repulit amnes.
Aut eadem, sidus tugiens ubi Piscis aqua-
Tristior hibernas coelo descendit in undas."

These two appearances are when they rise heliacally, which the poet expresses by the Pleiad washing away the water of the ocean by her feet, in rising and shewing her face to the earth. This took place in Virgil's time and country soon after the middle of May. The second appearance is when she is running away from the constellation of the Pisces, and sinking into the waves; and this appearance takes place, according to the expositors, in the beginning of November, and is termed the cosmical setting of the Pleiad, or the setting of the star at sunrise. To determine whether this exposition is right, we have nothing else to do but to rectify the globe for the latitude of Rome, find the sun's place in the zodiac for May and November, and examine what is the state of the Pleiads during any day in those two months, and see whether it can be made to correspond with Virgil's verses.

In performing this operation we must remember to make allowance for the precession of the equinoxes; and we may then examine the propriety of the bishop's interpretation. One datum then for gathering the honey is, according to his lordship, the chronical rising of the Pleiads, which happened apparently about the middle of September. The other appearance is derived from the setting of the Pleiads in the evening, when the Fishes, or rather δ piscium, rise heliacally in the morning. In that case Virgil's character is supposed to be consistory: namely, that the Pleiad was then running away from the watery fish, and descending into the blustering waves. Now this setting of the Pleiad took place about the 13th of April, styl. Jul.

The conjecture is ingenious, but some difficulties suggest themselves from Pliny's account of the collecting of honey. As

his lordship has condescended to investigate this subject, we could wish, before we resign ourselves completely to this interpretation, to learn the seasons of collecting honey at this time in use in Italy. They differ we dare say very little from the seasons in Virgil's time; and some of his lordship's good friends in that part of the world will, we doubt not, take a pleasure in noticing, not only the times of taking honey, but the appearances of the Pleiads and the fishes; and their communications will be an agreeable confirmation of his lordship's conjecture, as well as point out the difference, if any, in the rising or setting of a star heliacally in those climates, from what takes place in our more ungenial atmosphere.

From the collection of honey we are carried to the sowing of corn; and Virgil is defended against some of the commentators on the following verses:

"Ante tibi Eor Atlantides abscondantur,
Gnossiæque ardentis decedat stella coronæ,
Debita quam sulcis committas semina."

The question upon these lines is, what is meant by the hiding of the Pleiads, and the departure of the gem in the crown. The hiding may be either from the setting of the star, or its disappearance on the dawn of the solar light. The hiding is interpreted by the bishop to mean the cosmical setting, and the precept then is, wait not only till the cosmical setting of the Pleiads is over, but till the bright star in the crown is setting. The words will evidently bear this meaning, but this passage will be set in a clearer light if the time of sowing corn in the present days in Italy is ascertained, and by comparing that time with the appearance of the Pleiads; now we may determine what would be the relation of the season to the appearances of the Pleiads and gemina coronæ in the days of Virgil.

Having interpreted the poet, his lordship enters upon a mathematical problem which is simply this: given the right ascension and declination of a star, to determine its heliacal, cosmical, and achronical risings and settings. To discover these phenomena, a most laborious and troublesome projection is used, and two plates are given us with these tables: *Stereographia lucidæ Pleiadum in plano horizontis urbis Romæ*, An. D. O. Par. Jul. 4713. *Stereographia Stellæ Sirii in plano maximorum qui per verticem urbis Meroc*

primarii, anno ante epocham ære Domini vulgarem 1344. Per. Jul. 3369. No modern astronomer will give himself the trouble of making such a projection, and few perhaps will even examine with any degree of attention the plates; for any one tolerably versed in the solution of spherical triangles will much sooner solve the problem by a common diagram made with his pen, and the usual calculations, than he can understand this episcopal projection. It discovers indeed a certain degree of ingenuity, but the time is mispent upon it, and the labour unprofitable.

The selection of Sirius, and the latitude of Meroe, as an instance of the projection, was made upon grounds which are highly satisfactory. Meroe has been fixed upon by Mr. Bruce as the seat of the early astronomers. We have no writings from Meroe to determine this point, but antient authors do speak of certain risings of the stars from which we may determine the latitudes of the observers. The year 1344 B. C. was chosen, because in that year the first of Aries rose heliacally at the time the sun passed the vernal equinox. Wri-

ters mention Procyon as the precursor of Sirius, and Pliny mentions the time to have been such that if Procyon rose in the morning on one day, Sirius did the same on the next day. Now as this could not take place in Italy or in Egypt, he must have received it from some other writers who lived in former times, and much to the south of him; and as it appears by calculation, that in the year before Christ 1344, the parallel of the simultaneous risings of the two stars lay in latitude 11° , $41'$, $52''$, the latitude in which Procyon rose only the day before must have been between the 13th and 14th degrees of north latitude, to which latitude we must assign a degree of astronomical observation and culture, very different from what it has possessed for the last two thousand years. This is a very curious subject, and the learned world is much obliged to the bishop for starting it. The history of astronomy will in consequence be better investigated, and we may discover the first authors of our zodiac in a country which we now deem almost unsuited to the existence of rational beings.

ART. XV.—*Evening Amusements, or the Beauty of the Heavens displayed, in which several striking Appearances to be observed on various Evenings in the Heavens during the Year 1806 are described, and several Means are pointed out, by which the Time of young Persons may be innocently, agreeably, and profitably employed within Doors.* By WILLIAM FRENCH, Esq. &c.

THE Evening Amusements for this year are conducted upon the same plan as those for the two last, and cannot fail of communicating the knowledge of astronomy in the easiest manner, to those who have not yet paid any attention to it, as well as of confirming and increasing the knowledge of those who have made some progress in this delightful science. Each month contains three parts; the progress of the moon and planets in the zodiac, by which every star of note is pointed out in its course; the development of a subject, which forms the amusement within as well as without for this year; and statements of the apparent diameters of the sun and moon, with a table for pointing out the positions of the stars at any hour of the night. The subject for this year is the making of maps, which is shewn from the first and simplest principles, and the learner is properly recommended to map a portion of the heavens by the eye, and then compare it with the map made

by rule. Some instances are given at the end of the book, on which the reader is expected to practise: he is expected to make the map from the rules, and the declination and right ascension of certain stars given, and then to find out by ocular demonstration what part of the heavens he has been mapping. This very useful and ingenious exercise, we hope Mr. French will continue in his next year's volume. Twelve positions are given of the stars, which take place within two hours of each other, and these are pointed out by tables at the end of each month, so that whatever remarkable star has been observed at any time of night, the observer may find it by reference to these positions. At the end of the volume tables are given of the magnitudes of the principal stars, and this course of amusements, as it grows upon us, increases in interest. We cannot help observing how much the volume is increased in size without any addition to its price.

ART. XVI.—*Tangible Arithmetic, or the Art of Numbering made easy by means of an arithmetical Toy, which will express any Number up to 16,666,665, and with which by*

moving a few Balls, a great Variety of Operations in Arithmetic may be performed. By W. FRIEND, Esq. London.

THIS volume is designed for mothers, who are very much obliged to Mr. Friend for this present to them, by which they may amuse, and at the same time instruct their children: The basis of it is an arithmetical toy, similar to the Chinese board for numbering; and from the making of a mark to signify one, and setting the first lesson, one and one makes two, the author proceeds, by a variety of simple instances and amusing games, to teach the four first rules of arithmetic. We can assure mothers that, if they persevere in the plan pointed out in this work, accustoming the child to read every day the instances in

this book, work them on the toy and with counters, and write out completely the tables at the end, they will have prepared their children very completely for future instruction at school. We are sorry to find that Mr. Friend should have employed his pen so much for the benefit of others, and so little for his own, as the greater part of the first edition was destroyed by fire. The announcing in this edition his intended first book in arithmetic for learners, will be received with pleasure by all teachers, as a work of this kind has been very much wanted.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL SCIENCE.

THE only original publications belonging to this chapter are the annual volume of the Philosophical Transactions, and a fasciculus of the Edinburgh Transactions. The new volume of Dr. Rees's Cyclopaedia will not be found to be inferior in merit to the preceding parts of that highly respectable work.

ART. I.—*Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London for the Year 1805.* 4to. pp. 350.

IT would be superfluous to give any opinion of the collective merit of the vo-

lume before us, as we are about to notice each paper separately.

1. *The Croonian Lecture on Muscular Motion.* By ANTHONY CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S.

This memoir consists, for the most part, of general observations on the composition and properties of muscular substance, and its connection with the vascular respiratory and nervous systems: the drift of the author is not very obvious, nor are his desultory remarks and experiments capable of analysis.

2. *Experiments for ascertaining how far Telescopes will enable us to determine very small Angles, and to distinguish the real from the spurious Diameters of Celestial and Terrestrial Objects, with an Application of the Result of these Experiments to a Series of Observations on the Nature and Magnitude of Mr. Harding's lately discovered Star.* By W. HERSCHEL, LL. D. F. R. S. &c.

Our knowledge of the heavens, from the increased number and care of observers, increases daily, and our own country asserts its claim to a share in the triumphs to be obtained by better arts than those of the sword. The writer of this paper is distinguished by having given his name to a new planet: Olbers and Piazzi have enriched the heavens by their discoveries of two wandering bodies, which also bear their names, and another

wandering body has lately been discovered, which we trust, will bear, as it ought, the name of Harding. A foolish affectation attempts to preserve the heathen mythology, and ridiculously enough will impose on this small wandering orb the name of Juno, the queen of heaven, the wife and sister of Jupiter: but we shall not readily consent that the discoverer shall be thus deprived of his rights, and whether Harding is to be called a planet or an asteroid, whether he is to take his seat in the house of lords or the house of commons of heavens, in one of them he shall be placed, and the name of Harding shall grace the celestial catalogue.

The observations made upon Harding in this paper are very curious, and will be eagerly perused by practical astronomers. The writer received an account of this new celestial object on the 24th of September. Harding was then in the constellation of the fishes, nearly in the line between 29 and 33; and, compared with the very small stars near to it on the 29th, was estimated to be similar to a star of the ninth magnitude, and it is concluded that Harding is less than Olbers. Its motion was retrograde. On the 5th October it had approached near to the fishes, and on the 8th every opportunity was given, from the clearness of the night and situation of

the object to make an excellent observation. The writer concludes that Piazzi, Olbers, and Harding, are bodies of the same kind.

The appearance of the new object has been productive of several very valuable experiments, which do great credit to the writer, and promise to bring posterity to a better arrangement of the stars with respect to their apparent magnitude. These experiments were made with heads of pins, globules of sealing-wax, globules of silver, of pitch, bees'-wax, and brimstone; these objects were placed at various distances, sometimes illuminated and sometimes not. Their magnitudes were also various; of the pins' heads, 1375, .0803, .0821, .0602, .0425 of an inch; of others much smaller: of sealing-wax, from .0406 to .00763: of silver, from .03956 to .00556, and there was one of brimstone as low as .0015625. The experiments began with the pins' heads, placed in a regular order on a post, 2407, 85 inches from the centre of the object of a ten-foot reflecting telescope, when the smallest of them appeared with an eyeglass of four inches to be a round body, and shewed, therefore, the necessity of using globules more minute. The effect of different powers upon these different globules is explained with great accuracy, but we must copy the whole paper to give the reader a true idea of the value of its contents. From experiments like these we shall come to a better discrimination between the real and spurious diameters of celestial objects, and probably they will lead to judicious conjectures on the belts of Jupiter, and the spots in the sun. If we can reason only from what we know, it seems to be not an unsuitable method in our progress to knowledge, to place objects on earth in various points of view, till we make them resemble as nearly as possible those in the heavens, and the illuminating of these objects on earth, as performed by the writer of this paper, will assist very much the practical astronomer in his researches.

3. *An Essay on the Cohesion of Fluids*, by T. YOUNG, F. R. S. &c.

The cohesion of fluids is a subject of a very difficult nature, and little has been done of late years to explain it satisfactorily. This paper is a specimen of what we may expect from the writer in a larger work, which he is preparing for the public. He considers the form, which the surface of a fluid takes, when at rest, and

this surface is examined on mathematical principles, from the nature of tension, and its convex or concave form is thus very ingeniously explained. It leads to complex expressions and fluxional equations, on which our limits will not permit us here to dilate. The heights to which fluids rise, the apparent attractions and repulsions of two floating bodies, the physical foundation of the law of superficial cohesion, the cohesive attraction of solids and fluids, form subjects of enquiry. On all of these the writer could, in so short a paper, only lay his ideas before the Royal Society in the shortest possible compass, and of course a considerable degree of obscurity envelopes the whole. This we hope will be dispelled in the approaching publication, which we recommend to be delayed till the president and council are perfectly masters of its contents.

4. *Concerning the State in which the true Sap of Trees is deposited during Winter. In a Letter from Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. to the Right Hon. Joseph Banks, K. B. F. R. S. &c.*

Two kinds of sap are found in trees, namely, the common aqueous sap and the peculiar juice, suc propre, or true sap. This latter, according to some experiments of Mr. Knight, detailed in the Transactions for 1801, appears to be elaborated from the common sap, by means of the leaves, and the object of the present paper is to show 'that this fluid in an inspissated state, or some concrete matter deposited by it, exists during the winter in the albumen; and that from this fluid or substance dissolved in the ascending aqueous sap, is derived the matter which enters into the composition of the new leaves in the spring, and thus furnishes those organs which were not wanted during winter, but which are essential to the further progress of vegetation.' If this theory be true, it will follow that timber, felled in winter before the ascent of the sap, will be more compact, of greater specific gravity, and will afford a larger quantity of extractive matter, than timber similar in every other circumstance, except in having been felled in the summer: it may also be expected that the common aqueous sap, as it ascends towards the extremities of the tree, should be sweeter and of greater specific gravity than when it is discharged from the roots into the trunk of the tree. In pursuance of this train of reasoning, Mr. Knight made in-

cisions in various sycamore-trees early in the spring, and found that in all of them the sap extracted from the bottom of the trunk, on a level with the ground, was $= 1.004$, whereas that which flowed from an incision in the same tree, at the height of seven feet, was $= 1.008$; and in one instance at twelve feet from the ground, he obtained a very sweet fluid of the specific gravity of 1.012 . This point being ascertained, Mr. Knight imagined that if the increased specific gravity of the sap was owing to the solution of matter previously existing in the alburnum, some diminution in the gravity of the sap would take place when it had continued to flow several days from the same incision, the soluble matter of the alburnum being in this case nearly exhausted. This was verified by experiment; an incision being made in a sycamore-tree close to the ground, gave a liquor at first of the specific gravity of 1.004 , but after a few days running it had diminished to 1.002 .

For ascertaining the differences in the specific gravity of the alburnum itself, poles were selected from an oak coppice, of equal age, and as similar as possible in other respects; of these some were cut on the last day of December, and the rest on the 15th of May following. The summer-felled wood was, before drying, the heaviest, but when both had been exposed for an equal time to the same temperature, and were become perfectly dry, the specific gravity of the winter-felled wood was ascertained to be $= 0.679$, while that of the summer-felled wood was only $= 0.609$, after each had been immersed in water for five minutes. In the same manner equal weights of the two woods, being digested for the same time in boiling water, it was found that the colour of the infusion was deeper, and its specific gravity greater, in that where winter-felled wood had been employed than in the former.

In the remainder of this interesting paper Mr. Knight proceeds to show that the expansion and growth of leaves is owing to the passage of sap in them, and that these, in return, elaborate the watery sap into the proper sap of the tree, which then passes by appropriate vessels out of the leaf into the alburnum: hence it is distributed during the summer to the various buds and leaves, but in the autumn is accumulated in the alburnum, for the supply of the first leaves in the ensuing spring.

From this it appears that Mr. Knight, in opposition to most vegetable physiologists, believes in the proper circulation of the sap.

5. *On the Action of Platina and Mercury upon each other*; by RICHARD CHENEVIX, Esq. F. R. S. M. R. I. A. &c.

It cannot be unknown to any of our chemical readers, that a paper by Mr. Chenevix was published two years ago in the Philosophical Transactions, the object of which was to shew that mercury and platina were capable of entering into very intimate union with each other, and that the substance called palladium was the result of this combination. Several of the continental chemists have complained that Mr. Chenevix's experiments have totally failed in their hands, on which account they are induced to question the accuracy of this able chemist. The first part of this memoir is devoted to answering these objections; by showing, that in some instances his opponents have materially varied from his directions in making their experiments, and that in other cases they have not been repeated sufficiently often; for Mr. C. in his original paper, expressly says, that his failures were much more frequent than the instances in which he was successful; and in that now before us he says:

"The course of experiments which I had made, as well before as after reading my paper to the society, took me up more than two months, and employed me from twelve to sixteen hours almost every day. I had frequently seven or eight operations in the forge to perform daily, and I do not exaggerate the number of attempts I made during this time, as well in the dry as in the humid way, in stating them to have been one thousand. Amongst these I had four successful operations. I persevered, because even in my failures I saw sufficient to convince me that I should quit the road to truth if I desisted. After all my labour and fatigue I cannot say that I had come nearer to my object, of obtaining more certainty in my processes. Their success was still a hazard on the dice, against which there were many chances; but till others had thrown as often as I had done, they had no solid right to deny the existence of such a combination."

After some reasoning from analogy, to show that a successful experiment, unexceptionably conducted, is not to be set aside by any number of failures, Mr. C. quits the subject of palladium, and gives a new example of the fixation of mercury by

platina, the result of which, however, was an alloy very different from palladium. When muriat of platina, and green sulphat of iron, are mixed together, no precipitation or any other sensible change ensues, but if to this compound solution, the nitrat of silver or of mercury is added, a very copious precipitate of platina and the other metal in the reguline state falls down; none of the salts of any other metal produce the same effect. 'It is therefore fair to conclude that when a solution of platina is precipitated in a metallic state, by a solution of green sulphat of iron, either silver or mercury is present.'

Now if a solution of nitrat of mercury, at a minimum of oxydation, is added to muriat of platina, a mercurial muriat of platina will be precipitated. This being washed and exposed to a sufficient heat with borax, is reduced to a metallic button, which, when afterwards dissolved in nitro-muriatic acid, and mixed with green sulphat of iron, affords a precipitate.

Again, if a current of sulphuretted hydrogen gas be sent through a mixed solution of platina and mercury, and the precipitate which ensues be collected, the alloy may be reduced by heat, and by means of borax may be melted into a button, which will not contain any sulphur. If this is then dissolved in nitro-muriatic acid, and green sulphat of iron poured into the solution, a precipitate will take place.

Hence Mr. Chenevix concludes that the metal in both these instances is an alloy of platina and mercury, and consequently that the latter metal may be thus fixed, that is, enabled to bear a high heat without volatilization.

6. An Investigation of all the Changes of the variable star in Sobieski's Shield, from five Years Observations, exhibiting its proportional illuminated Parts, and its Irregularities of Rotation, with Conjectures respecting unlightened heavenly Bodies. By E. PIGERS, Esq.

Some account of this star has been already published in the Transactions, and the writer gives us in this paper his observations from 1796 to 1801, dating the first part from Bath in 1802, and the latter part from Fontainebleau in 1803. In the former part are given various tables of the days of greatest and least brightness, middle of greatest and least brightness, rotation calculated from observations of greatest and least brightness; from which it is calculated, that the star has a rotation in sixty-two days, that the mean duration of

maximum brightness is nine days and a half, and of its minimum brightness nine days. From these observations the writer concludes that the bodies of the stars are dark and solid, their real rotations on the axis regular, that the surrounding medium generates and absorbs its luminous particles in the manner conjectured by Herschel with respect to the solar atmosphere, and in the star of Sobieski these luminous particles are very sparingly diffused, that they are in patches upon the star, and the relative situation of these patches may be conjectured from observations on the increase and decrease in the star's brightness.

On the last subject the writer has followed a similar plan to that which Herschel used in his observations on the planet Harding, and which cannot be too much recommended. He placed small white spots on a dark sphere, by whose revolution he attempted to describe the changes as perceived in the star. The scheme seemed to answer very well, but we must leave to many more years observations the verification of the conjectures formed either by Herschel or this writer. We could not but smile, however, at the writer's admiration of the happiness enjoyed by the inhabitants of the planet on which we live, above that of the persons who derive their light from the star in Sobieski. How far more enviable seems our situation! Lest we might pride ourselves too much upon it, he corrects himself on our happiness, for who knows but our sun may hereafter be as scantily provided with luminous particles as the star in Sobieski? 'But such conjectural flights cannot too soon be dropped,' and we commend the observations more than the philosophy: the former we recommend to every practical astronomer, the latter we would wish to be reserved for a distant generation, or a period of greater certainty.

7. An Account of some analytical Experiments on a Mineral Production from Devonshire, consisting principally of Alumine and Water. By HUMPHRY DAVY, Esq. F. R. S. Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution.

This mineral was found by Dr. Wavel near Barnstaple, filling the cavities and veins of a soft argillaceous schistus. It occurs generally in small hemispherical groups of filamentous crystals, radiating from a common centre, or forming small veins. Its colour is greyish or greenish

or yellowish-white. It is more or less translucent, has a silky lustre, is brittle, but its small fragments are sufficiently hard to scratch agate. Sp. gr. about 2.7.

Before the blowpipe it becomes opaque, but does not melt: at the highest heat of a forge it loses above a fourth of its weight, but continues infusible. It is soluble in sulphuric acid, with which, by the addition of potash, it forms alum. It is not acted on by carbonate of ammonia, and is perfectly soluble in caustic fixed alkali.

From some experiments made on it by Mr. Stocker of Guy's hospital, it appeared to consist almost entirely of alumine, and its component parts upon a regular analysis of it by Mr. Davy, turned out to be

70	Alumine,
26.2	Water slightly empyreumatic,
1.4	Lime,
27.6	
2.4	Loss.
100.0	

8. Experiments on Wootz, by Mr. DAVID MUSHET. Communicated by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, K. B. P. R. S. &c.

Wootz is a variety of iron that is prepared in India, where it is in much request for its hardness and toughness, but is remarkably difficult to work. From its form, which is that of a rounded cake, and other circumstances, it appears evidently to have been in a fluid state. It is more or less porous, and often contains in its cells a brilliant black magnetic powder, which is part of the ore in an un-reduced state. It contains veins of malleable iron, and in fact appears to be a variable mixture of iron and highly carburetted steel. In some cakes the proportion of carbon approaches nearly to that which is contained in cast iron, which circumstance, added to its porous texture, sufficiently accounts for its extreme refractoriness. It appears however to contain nothing in its composition which should prevent it from being manufactured into excellent steel: Mr. Mushet appears to be unacquainted with the ore from which this iron is prepared: specimens have lately come under our inspection, and are evidently nothing else than the magnetic iron sand, found so abundantly in various parts of the East and in Virginia. From the smallness of the cakes the reduction must be performed

in a very simple way, and there is no doubt that all the bad qualities of wootz would speedily disappear under European treatment. There appears to be a striking resemblance between wootz and the tough hard iron, described by Agricola, which in his time was in great request for helmets.

9. Abstract of Observations on a diurnal Variation of the Barometer, between the Tropics; by J. HERSBURGH, Esq.

From observations of the barometer placed thirteen feet above the level of the sea, it is found that in settled weather, in the Indian seas, the mercury is generally stationary, and at its greatest height from eight in the morning till noon, from which time it falls till four in the afternoon, when it is at its lowest point: it then rises till between nine and ten at night, when it is at its greatest height again, at which it continues stationary till midnight; it then falls till four in the morning, after which it rises to its greatest height between seven and eight in the morning: thus, in twenty-four hours, the mercury experiences a double elevation and depression; but the phenomenon differs on shore, and this double depression and elevation being confined chiefly to the tropical regions, they are called equatorial motions. This singular circumstance of the difference on land and sea was first observed at Bombay, where on land, probably from the vicinity to the sea, a small tendency only to these motions was perceived, and in ten days this tendency was very seldom perceptible; and the same was observed at shore at Canton, where, during the months of October and November, a very little degree of tendency was at any time observed. Frequent observations, in different voyages on sea and on shore, seem to confirm this position, that in the tropical regions the air is subject to something similar to the tides, but the effect of this property of the air is counteracted on land by some cause which future philosophers must discover.

10. Concerning the Differences in the Magnetic Needle on Board the Investigator, arising from an Alteration in the Ship's Head; by M. FLINDERS, Esq. Commander.

This difference is shewn in tables drawn up with great care, when the ship's head was directed to different points, and will, we presume, lead the commanders of our

ships of war to pay particular attention to a circumstance which may be of so much importance to them in navigation. That large masses of iron in a ship should have an effect upon the compass is naturally to be expected, and the inferences from the observations and conjectures upon them by this writer, place the subject in the clearest light. He infers; 1st, that there was a difference in the direction of the magnetic needle on board his ship, when the ship's head was pointed to the east and when to the west, being easterly when the ship's head was west, and vice versâ; but when the ship's head was north or south, the variation was the same as on shore. In other cases the error in variation was nearly proportionate to the number of points, which the ship's head was from the north or south. To account for these variations an attractive power is supposed to be collected into something like a focal point, or centre of gravity, which in ships of war is near the centre of the ship, from the greater quantity of iron being collected in that quarter. This point is endued with the same kind of attraction as the pole of the hemisphere, where the ship is, and of course in New Holland, where these observations were made, the south end of the needle would be attracted and the north end repelled; and the attractive power of this point is sufficiently strong in a ship of war to interfere with the action of the magnetic poles, upon a compass placed in or near the binnacle. A fact of this kind may be easily verified, and it will be a reflection on our navy, if with so many ships of war, whose situation is changed twice every twenty-four hours, it remains to be a matter of conjecture: an order from the admiralty that this circumstance should be attended to in our ships in the Downs, at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and in the Thames, would in three months place the subject out of the power of contradiction.

11. *The Physiology of the Stapes, one of the Bones of the Organ of hearing: deduced from a comparative View of its Structure and Uses in different Animals.*
By ANTHONY CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S.

The stapes is so called from its form, which in man, and most other of the mammalia, resembles the foot of a stirrup. In the brittleness and closeness of its texture, it bears a striking analogy to the bone of which the teeth are composed, and like these organs also ceases to grow after

its ossification is completed, which takes place soon after birth. Motion is communicated to the stapes by the stapedeus muscle, and its peculiar use appears to be to press on the fluid contained in the labyrinth, and thus produce an increased tension of the membrane that closes the fenestra cochleæ. The stapes is on the whole very similar in form in all the land mammalia, except that in the marmot and guinea-pig an osseous bolt passes through the arch of the stapes so as to rivet it in its place, the peculiar use of which contrivance does not at present appear. Those mammalia that inhabit the waters, as the seal, walrus, and whale tribes, have the stapes more massive; the arch is more irregular in form; and in some species, as the porpoise, is reduced to a small round perforation.

In birds the stapes is wanting, together with the malleus and incus, but its place is supplied by a differently shaped organ called columella, which also is found in the cold-blooded amphibia, and in those extraordinary quadrupeds the ornythorhynchus paradoxus and O. hystrix.

12. *On an artificial Substance which possesses the principal characteristic Properties of Tannin.* By CHARLES HATCHETT, Esq. F. R. S.

21. *Additional Experiments and Remarks, &c.* By CHARLES HATCHETT, Esq. F. R. S.

These two memoirs are the best in the whole volume, and are in every way worthy of their excellent author. Mr. Hatchett having observed in his researches on lac, that by the long and powerful action of nitric acid on this substance, and some of the resins, a yellow solution was obtained, which by evaporation afforded a matter soluble both in water and alcohol, was induced to subject the bitumens to a similar process. In these he observed that the first effect of nitric acid was to separate a deep yellow mass, which, by subsequent digestion in the same acid and evaporation, yielded a substance extremely similar to that which he had obtained by the same means from the resins. But he observed, that besides the deep yellow mass in question, there was also formed a dark brown solution, which he attributed to the action of the acid on the uncombined carbon of the bitumen. This hypothesis was proved to be true by subjecting charcoal in like manner to strong

nitric acid; in this case no yellow matter was separated, but the whole of the charcoal was dissolved by digestion, and formed a reddish brown fluid, as in the former instances: by evaporation of the solution, a brown glossy substance with a resinous fracture was obtained, which presented the following properties: it was soluble in cold water and alcohol, had a highly astringent flavour, afforded a bulky coal when heated, when dissolved in water reddened litmus-paper, precipitated metallic salts, of a chocolate brown colour, except muriat of gold, from which it threw down the metal in a reguline state. It also precipitated the earthy salts, and with glue or isinglass gave a copious sediment insoluble in cold or hot water: so that in fact, in all its essential properties, it agreed with *tannin*, except in not being accompanied by mucilage and gallic acid. Not only vegetable but mineral coal, such as charred skin or isinglass, by a similar treatment, afforded the same substance. Wood, in its natural state, gave with nitric acid a yellow viscid mass, but none of this matter resembling *tannin*, yet the same kind of wood when charred afforded *tannin*, but no yellow matter. Turpentine and sulphuric acid also yielded a small quantity of this *tannin*, when by the action of the latter the former had become quite black, but afforded none till this change of colour had taken place. But though wood must be charred in order to produce with nitric acid the substance in question, yet this is not absolutely necessary with every kind of vegetable matter. Indigo, for example, by simple digestion with nitric acid, affords this tan-like substance in abundance, as also will most of the resins and balsams by repeated abstractions with this menstruum, but none of the gums or saccharine mucilages will afford the smallest quantity of it. Camphor when digested with sulphuric acid, and afterwards distilled, gives among other products a backish-brown resinous substance, which appears almost wholly to consist of *tannin*.

One of the most remarkable differences between this and the natural *tannin*, is their habitude with nitric acid: the latter being wholly destroyed by it, while the former is produced by its agency, and when produced appears indestructible even by repeated distillation with this powerful acid. Even when combined with isinglass, and then exposed to the action of nitric acid, it is found that the isinglass, indeed, is destroyed, but the *tannin*

continues unchanged. The component parts of this artificial *tannin* are oxygen, carbon, and azot: when placed on a hot iron it emits an odour like that of burnt feathers, and by dry distillation at a low red-heat, it yields a large quantity of ammoniacal gas, and carbonic acid.

13. *The Case of a full-grown Woman in whom the Ovaria were deficient.* By Mr. CHARLES PEARS, F. L. S. Communicated by the Right Hon. Sir JOSEPH BANKS, K. B. P. R. S.

The subject of this paper died in her 29th year. At ten years old she ceased to grow, and ever after retained the appearance of a child. Her stomach was incapable of receiving more than a very small quantity of food at a time. She never menstruated, nor exhibited any other signs of puberty. On dissection, only the rudiments of ovaria were found, and the other parts composing the uterine system, though perfect in organization, had never increased beyond their size in the infant state.

14. *A Description of Malformation in the Heart of an Infant.* By Mr. HUGH CHUDLEIGH STANDERT. Communicated by ANTHONY CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S.

The child died at the age of ten days, and during life its respiration, temperature, and muscular action, presented nothing remarkable, except that the skin exhibited the blue colour that characterizes an imperfect pulmonary circulation. On dissection the heart was found to bear a strong resemblance to that organ in the amphibia, having only a single auricle and ventricle, and the pulmonary artery being wholly wanting.

15. *On a Method of analyzing Stones containing fixed Alkali, by Means of the Boracic Acid.* By HUMPHRY DAVY, Esq. F. R. S. Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution.

The mineral to be examined is to be fused with twice its weight of boracic acid, the result of which is a glass soluble in nitric acid, and from which the earths and oxyds that it contains are to be separated by carbonated ammonia: the clear liquor being acidulated by nitric acid, the boracic acid is to be separated by evaporation, and the residual fluid, containing nitrat of ammonia and of the fixed alkali, contained originally in the stone, is to be evaporated to dryness: a temperature of

450° Fahr. will then decompose the ammoniacal salt, and the other nitrat will be left behind.

We are inclined to suspect that this method is not so accurate as Klaproth's, in which caustic barytes is used as the original solvent of the mineral to be examined. Beaumé has rendered it probable that boracic acid prepared by precipitation retains a portion of borax undecomposed, which, if true, will entirely vitiate the results of any analysis in which it is employed for the detection of an alkali.

16. *On the Direction and Velocity of the Motion of the Sun and Solar System.* By W. HERSCHEL, F. R. S. &c.

The moment the system of gravitation is allowed, the impossibility of the rest of any body in nature is evident. Every material object must be in motion: the planets round the sun, or rather both sun and planets round a common centre of gravity; this system will move round the nearest fixed star or similar system; in the same manner a variety of similar systems will have a common centre of gravity, and this collection of systems will be connected with another collection of systems, and so on *ad infinitum*; for from the little we can collect from the small system in which we live, we can know little of the extent of the universe. We are limited at present to a system, whose remotest object is not farther from us than a distance which a body with the velocity of a ray of light would pass over in two millions of years: this system makes only one of innumerable similar systems, all affected by the same principle of gravity, and their motions with each other will afford sufficient employment for future philosophers. At present, it is an object of curiosity to ascertain the direction of the centre of gravity of the small diminutive system in which our sun is the greatest object, and our earth forms so very inconsiderable a portion. The writer of this paper, so late as the year 1783, gave it as his opinion that our planetary system had a motion, and this notion is more strengthened by additional arguments. In 1783 the writer conjectured that this motion was directed towards δ Herculis, not affirming that the situation of that star was the exact point to which the motion was directed, as in a subject of such difficulty more observations were requisite to obtain complete satisfaction.

Since that time the apparent motions of several stars, by vulgar acceptance

called fixed stars, have been ascertained. These motions may arise either from a real motion in the stars themselves, our solar system being at rest, or a real motion of the solar system the star being at rest, or the motion may result from the real motion both of the star and the solar system. The apparent motions of thirty-six stars in Dr. Maskelyne's catalogue have laid the basis for our writer's deductions, from which, in a very ingenious manner, he endeavours to find out the point to which the solar motion is directed. The principle is simple, depending on the composition and resolution of motion; but where objects are at such distance from us, and a small error will be attended with such fatal consequences, we cannot with great confidence rely upon the present calculations: they carry with them, however, a very great appearance of truth, and well deserve the particular attention of astronomers. δ Herculis has lost his prerogative; and the point to which we and the inhabitants of the sun and planets are travelling in the immensity of space, is fixed in right ascension $245^{\circ} 52' 30''$ and north polar distance $40^{\circ} 22'$. Farther observations will probably deprive this new point of its honour; but however future ages may improve in the investigation of the question, they will remember that the first attempt to solve it was made by Herschel.

17. *On the Reproduction of Buds.* By THOMAS ANDREW KNIGHT, Esq. F. R. S.

Every tree in the ordinary course of its growth generates in each season those buds which expand in the succeeding spring; but if these buds be destroyed in the winter, or during the early part of the spring, other buds are generated which perform the office of their predecessors, except that they never produce blossoms. These secondary buds, according to Duhamel, spring from pre-organized germs, but the existence of which has never been proved. From some experiments detailed in this paper (which, however, do not appear to us to be entirely conclusive), Mr. Knight supposes these buds to arise from the lateral vessels of the albumen.

18. *Some Account of two Mummies of the Egyptian Ibis, one of which was in a remarkably perfect State.* By JOHN PRARSON, Esq. F. R. S.

This paper does not admit of abridge-

ment, and we only notice it to suggest to Mr. Pearson, that a much safer and more effectual method of removing the bitumen with which the most perfect of these specimens was enveloped, would be by digestion in warm alcohol, or oil of turpentine, rather than having recourse to the knife or scissars.

19. *Observations on the singular Figure of the Planet Saturn.* By W. HERSCHEL, F. R. S. &c.

Saturn has been hitherto conceived to be distinguished from the other planets only by its ring and the number of its moons: the researches of this writer, assisted by the excellence of his instruments, has discovered another very singular quality in this remarkable body. In 1789 he measured the equatorial and polar diameters, and being prepossessed that the planet was spheroidal, he was not then attentive to the circumstances, which afterwards very forcibly struck his attention. In this paper are given many curious observations made since April 12, 1805, and the flattening at the poles was soon discovered to be far greater than in the planet Jupiter. Repeated observations destroyed its spheroidal figure, for the planet is flattened at the poles, and the spheroid that would have arisen from the diminution of the polar diameter is modified by some other cause, which the writer attributes to the attraction of the ring. The flattening resembles a parallelogram, one of whose sides is the equatorial, the other the polar diameter, with the four corners rounded off so as to leave both the equatorial and polar regions flatter, than they would be in a regular spheroidal figure. On May 30 it was concluded, that the points of the greatest curvature were nearly in latitude 45 degrees, and on different nights various diameters were measured, whose dimensions in proportional parts are given as follows:

The diameter of the greatest curvature	-	-	-	36
The equatorial diameter	-	-	-	35
The polar diameter	-	-	-	32
Latitude of the largest diameter	43°	20'		

These observations will lead to new enquiries into the nature of the ring, and the opposite influence of two centripetal and two centrifugal forces.

20. *On the Magnetic Attraction of Oxys of Iron.* By TIMOTHY LANE, Esq. F. R. S.

In this paper we find nothing original

or worthy of notice, except a mistake. Mr. Lane affirms that mere oxys of iron are not magnetic, but that they acquire a susceptibility of being acted on by the magnet when chemically combined with inflammable matter. Surely, in the present state of chemical and mineralogical science, no one who attends to these subjects, except Mr. Lane, can be ignorant of the existence of native magnetic oxyd of iron, or supposes that the action of inflammable matter on the magnetic oxyd, as far as is necessary to render it magnetic, is any other than the simple abstraction of a part or the whole of its oxygen.

22. *On the Discovery of Palladium: Observations on other Substances found with Platina,* by WILLIAM HYDE WOLASTON, M. D. Sec. R. S.

The first section of this paper relates to the new metal called iridium. The ore of this metal is almost always mixed with common platina: it is in the form of metallic grains of a lamellar texture, perfectly unmalleable, harder than platina, and of greater specific gravity, amounting to 19.5, while that of crude platina does not exceed 17.7, and contains osmium as well as iridium.

The method by which Dr. W. originally procured palladium from crude platina was the following. Having dissolved the ore in nitro-muriatic acid, he threw down a yellow precipitate by sal ammoniac. This precipitate being re-dissolved in the same menstruum, sal ammoniac was again employed for its precipitation. The yellow powder thus procured being separated, a bar of iron was placed in the clear liquor, which soon threw down a black powder that had escaped the action of the ammoniacal salt. From this precipitate lead, iron, and a little copper, were extracted by means of muriatic acid, and the residue by digestion in nitric acid afforded a deep brownish-red solution. A small quantity of mercury was now added, and shaken (the liquor being previously warmed) till it acquired the consistence of an amalgam. This amalgam, after exposure to a red heat, left behind a white metallic button, infusible before the blow-pipe, and forming a red solution with nitric acid, from which it was not precipitable by nitre or sal ammoniac; hence it was presumed to be a peculiar metal, and was named palladium. A much more expeditious method, however, of procuring this metallic substance has since been discovered by Dr. W.

"To a solution of crude platina, whether

rendered neutral by evaporation of redundant acid, or saturated by addition of potash, of soda, or ammonia, by lime or magnesia, by mercury, by copper, or by iron, and also whether the platina has or has not been precipitated from the solution by sal ammonia, it is necessary to find a solution of prussiate of mercury, for the precipitation of the palladium. Generally for a few seconds, and sometimes for a few minutes, there will be no appearance of any precipitate; but in a short time the whole solution becomes slightly turbid, and a flocculent precipitate is gradually formed, of a pale yellowish-white colour. This precipitate consists wholly of prussiate of palladium, and when heated will be found to yield that metal in a pure state, amounting to about 4 or 5 tenths per cent. upon the quantity of ore dissolved."

This valuable paper concludes with some interesting remarks on the properties by which platina and palladium on the one hand resemble, and on the other differ from each other.

23. Experiments on a mineral Substance formerly supposed to be Zeolite; with some Remarks on two Species of Uran-glimmer. By the Rev. W. GREGOR. Communicated by CHARLES HATCHETT, Esq. F. R. S.

The first of these substances is raised in the urine called stenna gwyn, in Cornwall, and appears to be the same as the Barn-

staple mineral described in Art. 7. by Mr. Davy. It occurs here in minute capillary crystals upon quartz, or in mamillary protuberances of the size of small peas, in the cavities and fissures of compact granite. The general result of Mr. Gregor's analysis of it agrees very satisfactorily with Mr. Davy's; but the watery empyreumatic fluid which it contains was subjected to particular examination. When the crystals of this substance are distilled in a glass retort, a fluid passes over, and a white crust forms in the arch of the retort. The watery liquid has a peculiar empyreumatic odour, changes litmus paper to a faint reddish hue, gives no precipitate with nitrat of silver, and a scarcely perceptible one with nitrat of mercury. The sublimed crust contained lead, and appeared to be nothing more than the substance of the retort corroded by an acid, for it reddened litmus-paper; but this acid in its characters appears materially to differ both from the fluoric and phosphoric.

The latter part of this paper contains some well-selected and apparently accurate experiments on some yellow and green crystals that accompany the preceding mineral: the quantity of them was too small for a regular analysis, but they were found to contain, beside oxyd of uranium, lime, silex, and oxyd of lead.

ART. II.—Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, (being the Continuation of Part II. together with Part III. of the 5th Volume.) &c.

THE publication of the first fasciculus of this volume preceded the commencement of our annual labours: in our first volume will be found an account of the second fasciculus, and at an interval of three years the third and last of the fifth volume comes under our notice.

13. Disquisitions on the Origin and radical Sense of the Greek Prepositions. By JAMES BONAR, F. R. S. Edin.

So much light has been thrown on grammar in general, and on the structure of the English language in particular, by the ingenious theory first fully developed by Mr. Horne Tooke, that the application of the same principles to other languages, especially those radically different from our own, has become an object peculiarly desirable. The origin of the ancient tongue's is, however, enveloped in so much obscurity, that an approximation to the truth, not destitute of probability, is perhaps all that can be hoped for by the

most sanguine. This Mr. Bonar, building on the foundation of Mr. Lennep, has attempted with respect to the Greek prepositions, which he treats in alphabetical order.

The principles which Mr. Bonar lays down as postulates are the following: that to every preposition one primary radical idea was originally affixed; that this idea was for the most part taken from sensible objects; and that from this radical sense all the secondary applications may either immediately or circuitously be traced. He further supposes,

"That all of them were originally either nouns or participles, most of them verbal adjectives, at first usually joined with some common substantive to complete the sense; which substantive, by use, came at length to be dropped, as unnecessary to be expressed, being immediately implied and understood. From this it will likewise follow, that in the junction of these words with other nouns, the primitive rule of construction by which they were joined in sentences, was that which is

termed the geintive or ablative absolute; a construction of sentences, which though stigmatized, and perhaps not unjustly, by Lord Monboddo, as lame and gaping, yet was probably of extensive use in the early stages of human speech, when bare co-existence of phenomena or events, (the precise idea denoted by this mode of construction), was more attended to than that mutual relation, and dependance, the gradual discovery of which afterwards gave rise to more compact and connected forms of expression."

We shall mention the radical idea which Mr. Bonar attributes to each of the prepositions: our limits will not permit us to attend him through the detail of the application.

Ἀμφί, with the related words *ἄμφω* and *ἀμφίς*, is derived from a supposed obsolete primitive, *αἰω*, to embrace or grasp. *Ἀμφί*, therefore, with a substantive understood, means place or object grasped or comprehended. The Greek primitive is supposed to be preserved, in a metaphorical sense, in the Latin *ambo*.

The analysis of the particle *ἀνα* is acknowledged to be difficult. The radical idea is supposed by Dr. Moor and Mr. Bonar to be, back, backward, reversed, traced back. Hence the secondary meanings of direction upward, iteration, passage through, i. e. backward and forward, sursum et deorsum. These explications certainly suit a great number of passages in which the word occurs; but what shall we say as to the power of this preposition in the word analogy, or its use in such phrases as the following, *πασαν ἀν' ὀρθῆν, ἀναχρονον πεπλάσμενον*? The early state of language is however so obscure, that, as Mr. Bonar justly remarks, "under every root we need not be surprized to find blanks in the analogy, which no ingenuity or conjecture can now possibly supply."*

Ἀντι, by Lennep, Scheidins, and our author, is supposed to be a case of an absolute noun, *αντις*, a face or front. This explication, we believe, may suit all the uses of which this preposition is susceptible, and is confirmed by the correspondence which, in some instances, it possesses with the Latin *ante*.

Ἀπὸ is considered as the fragment of an

obsolete adjective, meaning, with its substantive understood, a distant point—point of departure—point of origin. This word is well illustrated by a comparison with the English *from*, Scotch and Saxon *fra*, Gothic *fairra*, the root of the English *far*, and of the old English and German *fremde*, a foreigner. The English word *off* or *aff*, far or remote, is probably cognate with *απο*.

Δια, from *διω*, whose radical meaning is supposed by Mr. Bonar to have been, to bore or pierce. Hence the senses of *διε*, through, across, between, distance or interval as applied to time, through, after. It is also used to express causation, instrumental, formal, material, and final.

Εἰς, supposed to be a participle from *ἔω*, the root of *ἔμιμι*, to sit.

Εκ, from *ἐκω*, the parent of *εἰκω*, to yield.

Εν, from *εω*, or *εννυω*, to clothe. Hence the sense of being included or comprehended.

Ἐπι, from *επω*, supposed to mean, to touch closely; whence *ἐπομιμι*, I adjoin myself, I follow.

* "Ἐω, the root, having this radical meaning, its cognate and derivative *ἐπι*, must express the same idea; and as *ἐπι* appears to be a mutilated verbal adjective, with its substantive understood, it is properly and literally object pressed, adjoined to, or object touched closely; and this signification it retains whether applied to place, time, or relation.

"1. As applied to place.

"Ἡ σφαῖρα καλῶνεται ἐπὶ τῇ τράπεζῃ, "the ball rolls upon the table,"—"the ball rolls,—object pressed by it, or adhered to in so doing,—the table." Ὁ λίθος πίπτει ἐπὶ τῷ γῆνι, "the stone falls upon the ground,"—"the stone falls,—object pressed or adhered to by its fall,—the ground."

"Ὅλοισι δὲ πολλοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖς. HOMER.

"to destroy many of the Greeks at or beside the ships,"—"to destroy many,—place or objects close touched in doing so,—the ships." Καθίζονται ἐπὶ τῇ ἑστῇ, "to sit down at or beside the hearth."—to sit down,—place touched, or closely adhered to in sitting,—the hearth." Εὐθεία ἐστὶν ὁδὸς οὐρανοῦ, EUCLID, "a straight line standing upon a straight line,"—"a straight line standing,—place or object adhered to, pressed, or close touched in its standing,—another straight line." Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ῥέει,† (THUCYD.), "to flow towards Egypt,"—"to flow,—place adhered to, pressed, or touched in its flowing,—Egypt."

* "The continuity of meaning may perhaps be tolerably preserved by the following genealogy on or over, *χρῆται ἀνα σποντῆς, πασαν ἀν' Ἑλλάδα*, up, upward, backward. The sense of agreement sometimes included in *ἀνα*, is to be referred to the first of these meanings. The English *as*, and the German *als*, are perhaps allied to the Greek *ἀνα*."

† "This example is directly against Dr. Moore's hypothesis, that *ἐπι* with the genitive denotes, motion upon, and with the accusative, motion directed upon; here it has the latter signification with the genitive. The same thing holds in many other instances, in the best and most accurate Greek writers."

"2. As applied to time.

"Τὴν πρώτην; τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ μετὰ; EURIP.

"who first, and who next after the first?" "who first,—and who adhering to, pressing, or close-touching the first,"—"just after the first?"

"Ὁ χρόνος ἐπὶ ἔχρη γηράσκει. HOMER.

"pear grows old after pear,"—"pear grows old,—event close-touched in point of time,—the growing old of another pear."

"ὅσον ἀμὰς ἐπὶ τρίτον ἡμᾶς ἀνίσσῃ.

DION. GREG.

"As much as a ship of burden would pass in three days,"—"would pass,—period adhered to, touched or reached in this passage,—the third day."

"As applied to relation, possession, or occupation.

"Τὰ ὅντα τὰ μὲν εἰν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, (EPIC.), "Of things some are in our power, others not,"—"some are so constituted, that the object adhered to, pressed, or close-touched by them, is the line of our power, or the line of our reach." "Ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονυμένοις καλῶς φρεῖν," "to be displeased in consequence of what has taken place,"—"to be displeased,—point or object which the displeasure touches, or adheres to,—the things that have happened." "Ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων λόγους," "the officer over the public accounts,"—"the person so occupied,—that the public accounts are the object touched or adhered to in his occupation."*

"Ὀφείτω ἕμους ἐπὶ μὲν θαλάσῃ,

Ἐπὶ τ' εὐκλείῃ, καὶ παρὰ δύνουσι,

Εὐρύτου.

EURIPID.

"Who invented songs as an accompaniment at festivals, at convivial entertainments, and at feasting,"—"songs,—object or event which they are made to adhere to, touch, or closely accompany,—festivals and entertainments."

The etymology given of *κατά* is ingenious, but dubious. *Κεω*, the absolute primitive of *καίμαι*, must have meant, to lay down. From the analogical system, it is inferred that *καω* had the same signification; whence it is supposed that *κατά*, place of laying or lying, has been derived.

Μετα is derived by Mr. Bonar from the obsolete *μεω*, to go, preserved in the Latin, and is explained as denoting the object by which motion is directed. Hence the significations of with, among, and after. The last sense is very well explained in the hypothesis of Mr. Bonar; that of mere accompaniment is not equally well adapted to it. In this sense the Greek word seems to have an affinity with the German *mit* and *mitte*.

Παρα is supposed to be an old substantive noun, signifying side or flank, to which *παρεῖα* and *par* are conjectured to be of analogous import and derivation.

* "Perhaps, in this and similar phrases, there is a reference to the secondary sense of *ἐπι*, "to handle or work upon,—hence to manage;—the same seems to hold in such expressions as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως*, "the governor of the city,"—"he who is so placed—that the object handled or managed by him is the city."

The idea is at least ingenious, and is well illustrated by the English preposition *beside*.

Περί is conjectured to be merely a contracted dative of *περας*, a boundary.

With respect to the preposition *πρὸ*, Mr. Bonar adopts the supposition of Scheidius, that it is a part of *προς* contracted, denoting object in front. The formation of the English preposition *for* is, on this occasion, very plausibly accounted for.

"I may add here, that our English preposition *for*, appears to have a similar origin with the Greek *εφδ*. In the *Ἑννα Πιτρουρα*, indeed, a different source is assigned to the English *for*; it is said to be an abbreviation of the Saxon *farinc*, a cause. Had lord Monboddo or Mr. Harris ascribed to it such a genealogy, how would Horne Tooke and Dr. Beddoes have ridiculed the fancy of originating a preposition from the abstract and metaphysical idea of causation. In fact, this derivation is far-fetched, and it evidently required no small straining to twist some of the applications of *for* into the line of cause and effect. Without going so far, a plain and obvious origin of it may be found in the word *fore*; and upon examination I think it will be found, that *for* in English, and *εφδ* in Greek, and *pro* in Latin, as well as the *vor* or *für*, means, in its radical sense, position before; with this difference only, that in Latin, English, and German, the word denoting the fore object generally follows the preposition, but in Greek precedes it. In English, therefore, the preposition *for* may be always taken as meaning simply object. Substitute object in all the phrases in which the author of the *Divisions of Purley* has put *cause* as the meaning of *for*, and it is easy to observe how naturally and exactly the sentences may be resolved."

Προς, as well as *περί*, is deduced from *περας*, a termination.

Συν is traced to *συνω*, preserved in the Latin, to sew or join together. No difficulty occurs in the common usage of the word.

Τεπ is supposed to be a descendant of the comparative form of an obsolete adjective *υπος*, high, from which *υψηλος* and *υπατος* remain. Similar to this, it is remarked, is the analogy of the English preposition *over*. The words, up and upper, seem also to present a conformity with the Greek.

Τρο, the preposition of contrary meaning to *υπερ*, is singularly supposed to be derived from the same root, thus, *υπ' ιδυος*, under the mud, i. e. the mud being the higher object.

The appendix to this paper contains some remarks on the system of Greek

analogy as developed by Hemsterhusius and his disciples. Of the general truth of this system, as explained by Valckenaër in his treatise, entitled "*Observationes Academicæ, quibus via munitur, ad origines Græcas investigandas*;" namely, that the Greek language, like the oriental dialects, is reducible to rests of simple forms, commonly denoting qualities or actions, little doubt, we think, can be entertained by those who have carefully examined its tendencies. The way is not perhaps yet cleared for the successful pursuit of the subject any further. With the view of arriving at that great desideratum, the development of the ultimate structure of language, Mr. Bonar proposes a few considerations, which however he does not profess to consider as more than imperfect hints. The radical force he supposes to reside in the consonant, and accordingly he gives a table of the various modifications of force which seem to him to be denoted by the consonants of the Greek alphabet. It however unfortunately happens that the alphabet adopted by him is not the primitive one of the Greeks, but one containing, with the exception of the theta, all their most recent improvements and alterations.

On the whole, the perusal of this paper has afforded us much pleasure. It is at once ingenious, learned, and temperate. It must at the same time be remembered that the utmost which can, in most cases, be conceded to speculations of this nature, is probability; and it is a circumstance in the memoir of Mr. Bonar, which we consider as very favourable, that in most instances he seems to claim no more.

14. *Experiments and Observations upon the Contraction of Water by Heat at low Temperatures.* By THOMAS CHARLES HOPE, M. D. F. R. S. Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh.

The experiments by which that remarkable anomaly (namely the expansion of water as its temperature is lowered from about 40° Fahr. to the point of its congelation) has been proved by Crowne, Deluc, and Blagden, were made in thermometer-shaped vessels. On this account it has most absurdly been objected,

"That the dimensions and capacity of the instrument undergo so much change, from variation of temperature, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine how much of the apparent anomaly ought to be imputed to such changes, and that it is not improbable that the whole of it may be ascribed to them."

To justify us in calling this an absurd objection, it is sufficient to observe, that if the apparent enlargement of bulk in water as it is cooling below 40°, were caused by a contraction of the vessel, the same effect ought to take place when the thermometer-tube is filled with mercury or alcohol; in which case the fluid in all the common thermometers, instead of sinking uniformly from 40° to 32°, as the temperature diminishes, ought on the contrary to ascend.

The experiments, therefore, of Dr. Hope, contained in this paper, cannot be considered as of any very great importance, since they only confirm results of which there was good reason to doubt: they are entitled, however, to the praise of neatness and precision. A glass jar was filled with water at 32°, and two thermometers were suspended in it, the one half an inch from the bottom, the other an equal distance from the top of the water: the jar was then exposed to the air at the temperature of 60°, and it appeared that the coldest water occupied the upper part of the vessel till the temperature of the whole was brought to 38°: from this point up to 54°, when the experiment was terminated, a contrary arrangement took place, the coldest water occupying the bottom of the vessel. The next experiment was the converse of the preceding. The jar was filled with water at 53° and placed in a cooling medium, and till the temperature of the whole mass was reduced to 40°, the lower thermometer indicated a smaller degree of heat than the upper one; but from 40° to 34°, the temperature of the whole at the conclusion of the experiment, the upper part of the column of water was uniformly colder than the lower part. In another experiment heat was applied to the middle of a column of ice-cold water; and the lower thermometer, till the temperature rose to 39°, constantly indicated a higher degree of heat than the upper one: above this temperature the contrary took place. The converse of this experiment then was tried with a corresponding result. Hence it appears that the contraction of water while it is heating, from 32° to 40°, is real, and not dependant on the expansion of the vessel in which it is contained.

The remainder of the volume is occupied by the history of the society, and contains an excellent biographical memoir of Dr. Hutton, by professor Playfair, and a very meagre unsatisfactory one of Dr. Black, by Dr. Ferguson.

ART. III.—*The New Cyclopædia, or universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. By ABRAHAM REES, D. D. F. R. S. with the Assistance of eminent professional Gentlemen. Vol. IV. 4to.*

TO our opinion formerly expressed of the general merits of this highly respectable publication we have little to add. We perceive with pleasure, however, that the biographical, geographical, and historical articles, which appeared in the former volumes to occupy a disproportionate space, are in the present very judiciously restrained within narrower limits, to the manifest advantage of these articles themselves, as well as of the work at large. It appears also from the annexed list of contributors, that the editor has succeeded in adding to the number of his former associates, some very able men in various departments, from whom the Cyclopædia cannot fail of deriving much credit and advantage. It may perhaps be acceptable to our readers to have some of the leading articles in the present volume pointed out to their notice.

The first article of importance that occurs is *Battle*: this, however, unhappily for human nature, is a subject of such magnitude as only to admit of being treated in a summary manner in a work like the present: it will be found, nevertheless, to contain some curious and interesting historical matter.

Several very good biographical memoirs occur in the course of the volume. The pious and acute *Richard Baxter* is commemorated in a manner worthy of his high merit. *Cardinal Becket's* character is estimated with much good-sense and impartiality, not depreciating his splendid abilities, nor denying that he applied them but too often to the accomplishment of very pernicious designs.

Bishop Berkley is the subject of a very interesting article, which, however, will be reckoned imperfect, as not containing a short summary of the arguments by which his ingenious system of metaphysics is supported: The account of *Bononcini*, the celebrated opera-composer, will also be read with much pleasure.

The subject of *Beards*, and the reverence or intolerance which this emblem of manhood has experienced in different ages and various countries, gives occasion to the display of extensive reading, and affords much curious information. The common error that the North American Indians are naturally beardless is very properly noticed, and shown to be a mere mistake.

The article *Bell* is valuable for the his-

torical and antiquarian information that it communicates, but would be more perfect if it contained besides something of the musical history of bells.

Of the geographical and historical articles, *Bengal* and the *Birman* empire will be esteemed, perhaps, as the most interesting: they are ably treated of without being diffuse, are full but not tedious, and entertaining but not superficial.

The proportion of chemistry and mineralogy contained in this volume is but small: *Benzoic acid*, *Bile*, *Bismuth*, and *Bone*, are the only articles of much importance: these, however, are treated sufficiently at length to afford a clear and satisfactory view of the present state of our knowledge concerning these substances.

Two extremely important papers on the construction and history of *Blast furnaces* for the smelting of iron, and of *Blowing machines*, both of them, we presume, from the pen of Mr. Musket, deserve to be especially pointed out, for the accuracy of their details, and their high practical utility.

The comparative anatomy of *Birds* is treated of at length: but few, except professional men, will be able to judge of the merit of the communication. To the merchant and man of business we may recommend the perusal of the articles *Bill* and *Bond*, as containing a very satisfactory summary of the legal enactments on these important subjects.

In ecclesiastical history there occurs the article *Bishop*, which cannot fail of obtaining the praise of impartiality and research from moderate men of all parties. But the longest, most laboured, and most excellent article in the whole volume is *Bible*. It chiefly relates to the literary history of the sacred book, and from the researches of Kennicott, Lowth, and other distinguished critics, is collected a mass of extremely interesting information with regard to the Hebrew Bible, and its most valued editions, the Greek Bible or Septuagint, the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic and Sahidic versions of the Old and New Testament, the Ethiopic, Armenian, and Persic versions, and all the principal English translations of this most important of all books, from Wickliffe's, in the year 1270, to king James's, in 1603.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

ALL the original researches on the various subjects of Experimental Philosophy which the last year has produced, are contained in the Philosophical Transactions noticed in the preceding chapter. The essays of the late Dr. Irvine will be perused with curiosity, if not with satisfaction, by all who recollect the share which this philosopher had in those early investigations on the subject of caloric, which led to our present knowledge of this important agent. The "Conversations on Chemistry" by a lady, form by far the best companion to the lecture-room that we have seen, and may safely be recommended to the confidence and careful perusal of the young student.

ART. I.—*Essays, chiefly on Chemical Subjects. By the late WILLIAM IRVINE, M. D. F. R. S. Ed. Lecturer in Materia Medica and Chemistry in the University of Glasgow: and by his Son, WILLIAM IRVINE, M. D.* 8vo. pp. 90.

THE name of Dr. Irvine must be familiar to all our philosophical readers, as one intimately connected with the discoveries that were made about forty years ago on the subject of heat. His ideas were novel and ingenious, and have in some measure served as a basis for the hypothesis of the present day. His situation as a public lecturer afforded him an opportunity of making his peculiar opinions known to his pupils, but he never gave them to the world in any other form; and we learn from his son, the editor of the present volume, that the MSS. which he left behind him are in so imperfect a state, that the deficiency cannot now be supplied. We certainly think it a subject of regret, that a man possessed of so much originality and justness of conception should have been deterred by timidity, indifference, indolence, or whatever may have been the motive, from promulgating his opinions through the medium of the press; a plan which is no less favourable for the diffusion of knowledge, than for the reputation of the individual. Under these circumstances, the present Dr. Irvine, anxious to vindicate the fame

of his father, and to set forth his opinions and hypotheses in their true point of view, resolved to draw up some essays, in which he has endeavoured to give an account of the speculations of his father upon the subject of heat, to explain the doctrine of capacities, and to subjoin an answer to such objections as have been made to it: these form the first part of this volume. The second part consists of a number of miscellaneous essays, written at different times by the elder Mr. Irvine for a literary society at Glasgow: the third is composed of some original essays by the editor.

The preface concludes with some remarks upon the black oxid of manganese: the metallic nature of this substance was first announced by Scheele in the year 1774; but it appears from Dr. Irvine's MSS. that he was acquainted with its metallic properties before this period, and had stated his opinions in his lectures. Mr. Watt had also performed some experiments which led him to the same conclusion. The editor properly observes, that as the experiments to which he refers are acknowledged not to have been published, he cannot be considered as attempting

to deprive the Swedish chemist of any share of his merit. It is, however, a fact in this history of chemistry which deserves to be recorded.

The first essay, which is on the nature of heat, must rather be considered as an introduction to what follows, than as itself containing much new information, or giving much insight into the opinions of Dr. Irvine. The principal hypotheses that have been proposed on this subject are brought under review, and the principal arguments are briefly stated that have been urged for and against each of them. The author touches upon the theory of Scheele, which is now acknowledged to be without foundation, and afterwards dwells somewhat more at large upon one attributed to Dr. Gibbes, which supposes that caloric is compounded of the negative and positive electricities. We deem it quite superfluous to enter upon a refutation of an opinion, built entirely upon the obscure phenomena of Galvanism, which unwarrantably assumes some important data, and which after all appears to be without any recommendation, except merely that of explaining the action of the Galvanic trough. We think it one of the most abortive attempts at theory that has ever encountered our criticism. Some persons, as is well known, conceive heat to be identical with the electric fluid, others with light; it shews analogies to each of these, but the author points out in each case circumstances which demonstrate their dissimilarity.

As a decisive proof that heat is a material substance, and not merely a quality of bodies, the experiment is brought forward, in which it is shown to be transmissible through the Torricellian vacuum. If a perfect vacuum could be formed, the argument would be decisive; but as the author properly remarks, although the air be excluded, light, electricity, and perhaps other substances may remain in it. He then adverts to the experiments of Dr. Herschel on radiant heat, which have been considered by many philosophers as decisive in proving that heat is a distinct body from light. Objections have, however, been raised against these experiments by Mr. Leslie, objections which, though not demonstrative of the fallacy of the experiments, must render us less positive in the inferences which we draw from them. Our author considers the deoxidating rays on the violet side of the spectrum as unfavourable to Dr. Herschel's opinion, but we do not perceive on what

this sentiment is grounded. After fully considering the subject, he forms the following conclusion:

"Upon the whole, the hypothesis of the materiality of heat, which can be supported by many ingenious arguments, and which is highly convenient for the explanation of various chemical phenomena, yet seems to want somewhat of the clearness of complete proof."

The other leading theory respecting heat, that it consists merely in motion, formerly numbered among its advocates the brightest ornaments of science, and has still some respectable adherents. It is, however, difficult to form a clear conception of the kind of motion required, and we know that all motion does not produce heat. After these remarks upon the nature of heat, the author offers some observations upon the temperature at which bodies become luminous. He gives an account of some experiments which his father performed upon boiling mercury, and concludes from them that Newton fixed the point too low. The essay finishes with some observations upon the equilibrium of temperature, and particularly upon the theory of radiation as proposed by Pictet: this he inclines to as the most probable; but the circumstance of a body cooling more slowly in vacuo, seems to prove that the conducting power of the air has also an influence in this process.

The second essay is "on some of the principal discoveries made by help of the thermometer." After a few general observations on the advantages derived from the use of this instrument, the author gives a sketch of Dr. Black's experiments, by which he was led to the discovery of latent heat, and was enabled to establish the proposition, "that all bodies require for their fusion and evaporation an immense, and formerly unsuspected, quantity of caloric." The property which different bodies possess, of being unequally heated by the addition of the same quantity of heat, is next discussed; to that we are informed that Dr. Black and Dr. Irvine, both about the same time, for their capacity for heat. Every one must be sensible of the value of these discoveries: our author observes,

"All who have followed the footsteps of Dr. Black, in adding further to the facts or the theories concerning caloric, have begun by acknowledging the truth and the importance of his discoveries. As far as

I know, no person has attempted to invalidate his observations, which are indeed so clear, and supported by experiments so simple and decisive, that they enforce belief. Whatever additional facts may have been discovered, or whatever variation of theory may have been advanced, his merits cannot be thereby affected."

Dr. Irvine, however, though proceeding upon the same basis of facts, was disposed to differ from Dr. Black in his method of reasoning upon them. The portion of heat which absorbs in order to become water, was called by this latter philosopher its latent heat, and by its union with the ice, he conceived that the fusion of this substance was effected. Dr. Irvine took a somewhat different view of the same phenomena. He imagined that the ice by being melted had its capacity for heat increased, and that this increase of capacity was the cause of its absorbing what has been called its latent heat. In order to prove this point, he endeavoured to show, by independent experiments, that the capacity of water for heat is really greater than that of ice. He imagined them to be to each other in the proportion of 10 to 8; in his experiments he used sand, iron filings, and pounded glass, as the media of comparison between ice and water; he also extended his experiments to other substances, and drew from them the general conclusion, "that the capacity of all solids for heat is increased by fusion, and that of all fluids by vaporisation." It is observed that Dr. Irvine's theory should not be regarded as opposing that of Dr. Black, but rather as forming an appendage to it. "Both theories admit alike, as the groundwork of their superstructure, the entrance of a large quantity of caloric during fusion. Dr. Irvine's hypothesis differs only in offering an explanation of the newly discovered fact, the enlargement of the specific heat of the fusing bodies, and in denying any peculiar or unusual combination of caloric in these circumstances." We shall not enter farther into the controversy, but we may remark with respect to this essay, that it exhibits, as far as we can judge, a candid and perspicuous view of both sides of the question.

The third essay is "on the capacity of bodies for heat." After explaining the meaning of the term capacity, and describing the phenomena which are designated by it, the author observes that "the cause of the various capacities of bodies

for heat does not seem to be satisfactorily accounted for. The capacity does not follow the ratio of the specific gravity or of any other property of bodies, as far as can be determined. It appears, that every body has a peculiar power of attracting or admitting a quantity of caloric, which is as peculiar to itself as its weight or its chemical qualities. It would certainly tend to simplify the theory of heat very much if any account could be given of this property of bodies, which could be referred to a more general view of the subject." This leads him to notice the different hypotheses that have been suggested, particularly the one brought forward by Dr. Thomson, which supposes that it depends upon the affinity of bodies for heat, that it varies in degree like other chemical affinities, and thus accounts for the differences which exist in the capacities of bodies. He farther conjectures, that the power of conducting heat is dependant upon the same principle, and that the conducting power of bodies is inversely as their affinity for heat; proceeding upon this supposition, he performed a few experiments, the results of which are placed in the form of a table, to prove that the conducting of water, mercury, and linseed-oil, are inversely as their specific heat; but the extreme inaccuracy of the table is so clearly pointed out by our author, that we cannot but consider this circumstance alone, as a powerful argument against Dr. Thomson's hypothesis. We have next an account of the method employed by Dr. Irvine to determine the capacities of bodies for heat; water was made the standard to which the others were referred, and when the substance to be examined exercised any chemical action upon water, a third body, viz. pounded glass, was employed, which served as a medium of comparison between water and the other substance.

In order to establish the accuracy of this process, it was necessary to show that the capacities of bodies are permanent as long as their state is not changed: our author remarks, that this is found to be the case as far as experiments have been made, so that we may infer with probability, that bodies contain caloric in proportion to their specific heat.

It is upon this proposition that the speculations of the following essay depend, in which our author institutes an inquiry into "the lowest degree of heat." The determination of what has been called the natural zero, has always been considered

as one of Dr. Irvine's most ingenious attempts. Many philosophers have acquiesced in the truth of his theory, and have aimed only at correcting his process; but there are others of great eminence who have altogether objected to the principles upon which the operation is founded. The objections that have been raised are of two kinds: the first set have been derived from the great diversity in the results of the different experiments that have been made to ascertain the zero, which obviously must be in all cases the same point. This difference in the results our author contends may be accounted for, from the inaccuracy to which such experiments are almost necessarily exposed, more particularly when the calorimeter is employed, and he satisfactorily demonstrates that a small degree of inaccuracy only in the experiments must produce a very great variation in the results deduced from them. In speaking of the experiments of the French chemists, the author makes the following observations on those of M. Lavoisier; similar reflections have perhaps occurred occasionally to most of our chemical readers.

"One cannot help remarking here the extreme and extraordinary accuracy of M. Lavoisier's results. He never seems to suffer any loss in his experiments, or at least only some evanescent fraction of a grain. That philosopher's high merits in every respect would alone protect him from any reflection of inaccuracy. Yet the mind is involuntarily struck with a combustion of hydrogen and oxygen, where six pounds ten ounces five gros and twenty-four grains of the gases are used, and six pounds ten ounces five gros and twenty-four grains of water produced.

If this experiment would bear repetition with the same accuracy, it would afford the best possible argument against the gravity of caloric."

The author afterwards attempts to repel the objections that have been urged against the principle of his father's experiments by Prof. Robison (called by mistake throughout the work Robinson), M. Seguin, and Dr. Thomson. Our limits will not permit us to follow him through his reasonings; we may, however, add, that they appear forcibly stated; and notwithstanding his zeal for the honour of his father's memory, he seldom permits his feelings to carry him beyond the limits of candour and moderation.

We now come to the essays written by Dr. Irvine senior: their subjects are perfectly miscellaneous, embracing a variety of topics in chemistry, meteorology, natural history, and the arts. Most of them were written many years ago; and none of them, it appears, were ever intended for publication. Under these circumstances, we have some doubt how far the reputation of their author was consulted in thus laying them before the public. We may forgive the partiality of a son, who admires the works of a deceased parent, but the world at large will judge under other impressions. The essays are, however, not devoid of merit; and probably at the time when they were written, would have appeared interesting and ingenious. The first is perhaps the most valuable, as it appears to contain the germ of Dr. Irvine's future hypothesis respecting capacities; the imperfect manner in which the opinion is stated affords a strong proof of its originality.

ART. II.—*A general Dictionary of Chemistry, containing the leading Principles of the Science, in regard to Facts, Experiments, and Nomenclature. For the Use of Students.* By WILLIAM NISBET, M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Edinburgh, Member of the different Medical Societies, &c. 12mo. pp. 420.

THE articles in this dictionary are arranged according to two separate alphabets. The first, which is alone the work of Dr. Nisbet, occupies a little more than half the volume; the other, which is anonymous, was added to supply the defects of the former. By this contrivance, however, the trouble of the reader is somewhat increased, since he has two alphabets to consult instead of one. It is impossible that a small 12mo. volume, such as the present, should contain more than a bare outline of a science, so vast and compre-

hensive as modern chemistry; but we have a right to expect that a judicious selection of facts should be made, and that no gross errors should be allowed to intrude. How far these conditions are fulfilled, a few words will enable the reader to judge.

In the article *alum* no notice whatever is taken of the potash or ammonia which is essential to this salt. This omission is not supplied in the appendix.

The article *alumine* occupies five lines, of which the following incomprehensible
3 L

sentence forms a part. "With the sulphuric acid it makes alum: but its crystallisation is difficult, both the nitric and muriatic. Intense heat softens it, or it is capable of fusion with phosphate or borate of soda, with equal ease as lime and magnesia."

The account of *antimony* commences in the following manner: "Antimony, or rather sulphuret or regulus of mercury. It has the name of regulus, because it is extracted from a compound which contains it."

In the article *beryles* the method of obtaining this substance in a pure state is entirely omitted, and a similar remark may be extended to almost all the other substances mentioned in this volume.

The following quotation from the article *silver* shows the prodigious and scarcely credible ignorance of the author.

"The chemists would have combined it with the muriatic acid, had they known the way of recovering it without loss. There is

no method of having it so pure as by making it into a luna cornea, and recovering it by capellation; a minute quantity of copper, however, is left, which the lead has not power to scorify, being defended by the silver; but when precipitated from aquafortis by means of muriatic acid, if there be copper in the solution, it remains dissolved; only the silver is precipitated: but to recover the silver by cupellation is attended with great loss, in consequence of the volatility and penetrating nature of these substances."

The important subject of *eudiometry* is wholly omitted, notwithstanding it is referred to from *eudiometer*, an article of three lines.

The articles *acidulum*, *copal*, and *columbium*, are omitted.

Such are the errors and omissions that occurred to us on a very cursory inspection: a more detailed examination would probably point out many more. Evidence enough, however, has we trust been produced to justify a sentence of condemnation.

ART. III.—*Important Discoveries and Experiments elucidated, on Ice, Heat, and Cold.*
By the Rev. JAMES HALL, A. M. 8vo. pp. 74.

WONDERFUL and important indeed are the discoveries which have been made by this reverend master of arts. He has found out that the ice of sea-water contains no salt: he has further ascertained that water in the state of ice is not susceptible of putrefying, and that meat while frozen may be preserved without the use of salt. Now, it being well known that ice when excluded from the atmosphere, by being put into a box or a flannel bag, may be kept under the torrid zone without melting; it follows, that if a few cargoes of ice were brought from the north-sea and inclosed in boxes, the crews of all his majesty's ships in the East and West Indies might have a lump of ice given them at every meal, and being supplied with frozen instead of salted beef, would suffer much less from the scurvy than they now do. If any sceptic should doubt the possibility of keeping ice unmelted in a flannel bag, let him read this reverend gentleman's demonstration, and confess himself convinced.

"With regard to the durability of ice, it is well known that, in Spain, where it is taxed, and pays a considerable revenue to government, ice, by being covered with chaff, straw, reeds, or any thing, is often carried in carts at noon, under a burning sun, from cellar to cellar, from city to city, as any other commodity for hundreds of miles, without losing

any of its weight; or even a single drop falling from it. At Constantinople too, Arabia, and other parts of the East, nothing is more common than ice being sold in the market; which, having been brought from the mountains in flannel bags, generally by poor people, upon asses, often continues whole days under a burning sun without even the bags that contain it being moist; the whole of their art in preserving it consisting in keeping the mouths of the bags shut as much as possible.

"Need I, as a proof of the durability of ice, mention that, near two hundred years ago, it was carried from Europe to the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, in the East, to convince the great men there that water, by the action of the air is often turned into a body so solid, that men, horses, carts, coaches, and cannon, may be all, at the same time, seen running on its surface? Need I shew that logs and planks of wood, after they have been for weeks at Jamaica and months in the torrid zone, have been found frozen and sticking together? But, to one who reflects, there is no mystery in this. These having been frozen together, in the holds of the ships, before they left the shores of America; and other logs and planks happening to have been laid upon them in that state, this circumstance prevented the open air from affecting them, when they came to warm latitudes; and, it is probable they would, at least in the lower part of the ship, have continued sticking together for years, even in that warm climate, had not the logs and planks above been removed; and, consequently, a circulation of warm air admitted. The truth is, if you exclude the

open air from ice; or any thing impregnated with it, even by so thin a body as gauze-paper, if not porous, the ice or frozen object

will continue in that state for a long time; perhaps for years."

ART. IV.—*Conversations on Chemistry, in which the Elements of that Science are familiarly explained and illustrated by Experiments.* 2 vols. 8vo.

OF this very excellent work it is not easy to speak in terms of exaggeration. Elementary books of chemistry have hitherto been for the most part carelessly composed; their authors either attempting too much have contracted and confused the proper elementary and fundamental parts; or coming to the undertaking very scantily provided with the requisite knowledge, have kept aloof from all particulars, confining themselves to so very general a view of the subject, as at best can only stimulate the curiosity of their readers, and lead them to suppose that to be the simplest and easiest of the sciences, which in fact and practice from its vast extent, and the intricate nature of many of its parts, requires much closer attention than those who know nothing of it are willing to believe.

In the work before us (and we find from the preface that it comes from a female pen) is eminently displayed an intimate acquaintance with the subject, and both good sense and good taste in selecting and dilating upon those topics in which it is more particularly requisite that the student should be thoroughly grounded. A caviller would perhaps object to the dialogue form, and sturdily maintain that no science can in reality be taught by question and answer: he might also observe that the two young ladies, who, with their mother or governess, are the interlocutors, both urge and answer objections with an acuteness, of which it would be in vain to look for examples in real life. This is true; but in return it must

surely be conceded, that as the dialogue recedes from nature, the objection to the form becomes proportionably weaker.

The first volume is devoted to the consideration of the simple bodies. Caloric heads the list, and furnishes a subject for three conversations, in which almost all that is known of this most important agent is explained with considerable detail, and the utmost clearness. Oxygen and nitrogen, hydrogen, sulphur and phosphorus, carbone, the metals and metallic oxyds, the alkalies, and the earths, follow in succession to the end of the volume. The compound bodies are the subject of the second volume; but between the two classes of substances is interposed a dialogue on chemical affinity, which we should object to as not sufficiently particular, if we did not recollect how little qualified the young student in chemistry can be justly to appreciate a topic which comprehends the whole philosophy of chemistry properly so called. The seven last conversations relate to vegetable and animal chemistry, including not merely the products of these two varieties of organization, but containing besides a very elegant and accurate sketch of vegetable and animal physiology, as far as chemical agency is concerned.

A work of such superior merit deserves more than cold approbation: nor shall we scruple to claim the thanks of our readers for thus pointing out to them the very best introduction to the science of chemistry that the English language affords.

CHAPTER XXIV.

C O M M E R C E.

ART. I.—*Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce.* By ADAM ANDERSON. 4 Vols. 4to.

ANDERSON's History of Commerce rather resembles the lump of indigest materials industriously provided by a man of letters for the purpose of drawing up a book from them, than a work already prepared for the public eye. A great deal of civil history, as well as of commercial history, is introduced; much more of political event is narrated, than had any influence on the fortunes or pursuits of trade. Facts are not sifted from the sources where they were found, but are stated for the most part in the form of extracts, as occurring in the different works consulted. Thus every thing wants its proper bearing and point of view, and seems related for some other purpose than that for which it is adduced. These countless heterogeneous transcripts are broken into incoherent pieces, and are arranged in annals; so that the regular rise and progress of any specific branch of commerce is no where to be found in connexion, but must be laboriously sought, by means of the index, in a dozen places. Some important, sound, fundamental authorities, such as Fischer's History of German Commerce, and Beckman's History of Inventions, are wholly neglected; but much useless antiquarian micrology is employed by the author to fill, and stretch, and swell, and spread the heavy width of his two thousand pages. He seems intent, like a haberdasher, on displaying the variety of his petty wares, and on cramming his shop-windows with every portion of his stock; not, like a wholesale dealer, on moving much in close package, and on confining his attention to leading articles. Anderson's history was fitter to re-make than to reprint: it might without detriment have been abridged and reduced one half; and a new arrangement

by order of matter, a methodical distribution of the contents, should have been undertaken.

To this task of amelioration and regeneration the continuators have not condescended. They deliver their three first volumes in the words of Anderson, whose history extended only to the year 1763; and they continue the chronicle with similar diffuseness, yet with less detail, to the end of the year 1789, at which period this book was first offered to the public, nearly in its present form. A transposition of the preface from the last to the first volume, and a title-page or two new-dated, is all the show of improvement we can perceive in the present edition. We suppose that a fifth volume is in contemplation, which is to extend from 1790 to 1800, and that a decennial quarto on these topics is in future to be brought forth. More facts might easily be collected; fewer public papers require to be reprinted entire: the gestation of the elephant is long, it should produce an elephant.

There are several questions respecting which the enquiries of Anderson have been negligent, or confined; such is the history of commercial guilds, which is glanced at under the year 1090, but without any addition to the information of Madox. When it is considered that these commercial companies laid the groundwork of our internal industry and prosperity, applied for the charters of almost all our incorporated towns, and have thus been the principal causes both of our trade and of our liberty, a more extended research into their origin was desirable and due. It is not known whether they are the residues of purse-clubs instituted during the commercial age of the ancient

Roman world, or whether they are of native northern growth. In the capitularies of Charlemagne, in the Florentine history, in the English and in the German annals, they make their appearance about the same time ; but one sees not whence they originate.

Under the year 1290 some account is given of the expulsion of the Jews from Great Britain. The great injury done to commerce by the intolerance of the middle ages against the Jews, deserved a more extensive and elaborate investigation. They were the most opulent, civilized, learned, and travelled class of society in that age, and were barbarously persecuted by the rapacity and envy of the feudal country-gentlemen. What the interior of Europe preserved of the arts of antiquity was preserved by the Jews.

Under the year 1492 the Portuguese settlements in Africa are described as having struck root, as abounding with churches and clergy, who have converted the natives to christianity. Such over-statements may occur in the journals of the missionaries ; but if this had ever been the state of Portuguese Africa, we should find more remains there of the agricultural and commercial arts.

Under the year 1595 occurs a very brief account of sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Guiana. Now that the districts he visited, the island of Trinidad and the coast of Demerary, are passing under our protection, one wishes for minuter details of an expedition which confers, on this nation, a title from discovery to provinces, which have since accepted our protection for the sake of its utility.

The declension of Portuguese power in Asia is justly ascribed to their undertaking too large a basis of territory for them to supply adequately with the means of protection and defence. The most expedient settlements for a trading country are those islands or deltas at the mouth of great rivers. Such small patches of territory drain the metropolitan population for but a small civil and military establishment ; but they are necessarily the seats of a vast barter of exterior for interior produce. Soldiers and governors are a heavy percentage on the profits of industry : the smaller the proportion they bear to the amount of the commercial returns the better. A settlement which consumes more than the profits of its commerce in patronizing the unproductive classes, such as lawyers, clergy, and magistrates, ought immediately to be presented with its independence ; it is be-

come a burden, not an advantage, to the parent state. Let treaties of alliance connect them still ; but let European troops be paid for by a subsidy, and European navies by a proportionate advance of capital.

Under the year 1625 the settlement of St. Christopher's is narrated, which was undertaken conjointly, and with an equal number of colonists, by the English and by the French ; but the orderly, domestic, and industrious habits of the English soon rendered their district the more flourishing. In Guienne, in Louisiana, in Surinam, in Canada, in Senegal, and at Pondicherry, the French have tried colonization ; but they never make such establishments succeed, their national habits are not favourable to patient industry. Instead of binding out their lads apprentices at fifteen, they drill them all for soldiers ; of course courage and idleness, the love of variety, and the love of pleasure, become the characteristics of the numerous classes of their people.

Under the year 1731, the profit derived yearly from our American colonies, insular and continental, is computed at one million sterling, and the sailors employed at eighteen thousand. How swiftly commerce pullulates ! In two generations how vast the increase !

The abridgment of Busching's geography, which fills the latter half of the third volume, might wholly have been omitted with advantage to the unity and consistency of the entire work. We now go to Pinkerton for our geography ; and no longer want the minutious, stale, arrear intelligence of Busching. He was a kindred mind of Anderson's, and is no doubt fraternally reprinted by his side. Both collected and collected, like county-antiquarians, myriads of barley-corns of information, careless about the quality, so they but compiled quantity. The maritime treatise by sir Philip Medowes is good ; but what has it to do here ? One might as well reprint, in a history of commerce, the whole controversy between Selden and Grotius.

The continuation, which occupies the whole fourth volume, contains a copious collection of public and state-papers, many of which are so exclusively political, that we wonder to see them in a chronicle professedly commercial. The rise and progress of the American war is very well detailed ; much more is related concerning it than had any obvious influence on trade.

Under the year 1776 a proclamation of the Spanish king, issued during peace, is preserved, which concedes to the ships of the American colonists a liberty of admission into any ports of his dominions, while they conformed to the laws of the country. The author of War in Disguise affects to doubt the prescriptive right of the North Americans to trade with the Spanish colonies; and is for founding our right of seizure on the supposed novelty of the course of neutral commerce.

The history of the armed neutrality, which begins under the year 1780, forms an interesting and convenient part of the narrative, and is copiously interspersed with state-papers. Under the same year is given a copy of the treaty between North America and Holland, in which it is expressly stipulated that enemy's property may be shipped without being seizable on board the ships of either party.

Under the following year are given the orders inserted in the London Gazette on the 21st of April 1781, prohibiting ships of war, or vessels having letters of marque and reprisal, from taking prizes in the Baltic. This sea was thus first consecrated to perpetual commercial peace: we trust that in due time armed vessels will be suffered to assail only one another, and that a perpetual commercial peace will overspread every sea.

Under the year 1783 more criticism is wasted on the then made treaty of peace than strictly concerns its commercial merit. The Ohio should if possible have been made the back line of boundary: it may yet be worth while to offer an exchange of the Bahama islands for an additional strip of continent in Upper Canada. The cession of West Florida is to be regretted. Even the yielding up Senegal and Goree is a dereliction of right which in favourable circumstances ought to be revoked. Under the year 1783 Mr. Fox's India bill is introduced: one is surprised how a regulation so natural; so little different in any thing, but in its tendency to throw open the trade of the India company to the whole commercial world, from the regulation eventually adopted, can have excited much ferment, or much displeasure.

An important public paper is given under the year 1784, which is a petition of the proprietors of landed estates in the sugar-colonies, and which makes many allegations of grievance, still true, and still unredressed.

Under the year 1784 an *Arret du Conseil*

d'Etat of the French king is given, which opens various ports of the West Indies to the ships of the North Americans. Such documents are become important, because they prove a prescriptive right in neutrals to trade with the French colonies; and that we ought to have protested against such permissions, if we are authorized to capture the neutrals who avail themselves of them. The more the piratical proposal of the author of War in Disguise is investigated, the more contrary it will appear to the recognized law of nations.

Under the year 1787 the commercial treaty with France is discussed, and extravagantly praised. There was perfidy in subsequently lowering the duties on port-wines, so as to disappoint the French of that sale of wine in Great Britain, which they had been taught to rely on in concluding the treaty, and which was their principal motive for consent. There was want of prudence in so constructing the treaty, that the one party was likely to sell more than the other; it became consequently the interest of the French to dissolve the treaty, and for that purpose to break the peace. When sales approach equality, both parties have an equal interest in respecting private property: when they are unequal, the indebted country has an interest in making confiscation a part of its policy in the event of war. When sales approach equality, the change continues in that state, which favours reciprocal demand; when they are unequal, the exchange fluctuates so as to check regular demand, and leans toward a par injurious to the selling party. All commercial treaties ought to keep in view a balance of trade, not a preponderance of sale on either side. Precisely in as much as the French were overreached was the treaty unwise.

Under the year 1788, a treaty made with Prussia is printed in full length, which does not contain one single commercial provision; but these continuators are wondrously fond of state-papers; their text is made of shreds and patches from Debreit, and the Annual Register: Schloetzer's *Staats anzeigen* would have supplied a more curious, and a more appropriate set.

Throughout the four volumes, of foreign authorities and foreign commerce little knowledge is displayed: the work at most contains materials for manufacturing a history of English trade. Annals of British commerce would have been the

title most descriptive of its real contents. It may deserve a place on the shelves of statistical readers, rather for purposes of reference than perusal; but its best destination is to serve as literary wash, whence a future writer may distil a single volume of the spirit.

Among the most valuable histories of commerce, and of those which throw light on its obscurest periods, are the *Memorias historicas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*; por Don Antonio de Capmany, 1779. It proves that Constantinople had become

the depository of the commercial arts and usages of the ancients; and that from Constantinople they passed to Barcelona, and were thence distributed and taught to the modern world. Nor was Barcelona merely the cradle of modern commerce, but of all the refinements which every where accompany commerce: the first vernacular poetry of the moderns, known by the name of the Provençal school, was chiefly composed at Barcelona, at the court of the Berengari, who, much more than the Medici, have been the founders of modern culture.

ART. II.—*The Merchant's Assistant.* By CHRISTOPHER DUBOIST. 8vo. pp. 250.

HAYES' *Negociator's Magazine*, and *Beawer's Tables of Exchange*, were formerly used by the commercial world for the purposes which this arithmetical book is adapted to answer; but as revolutions in the system of coinage and measurement of several continental states have caused the par of exchange to oscillate between new limits, and brought fresh quantities into currency, it was desirable to new-make such books, to repeat the old processes with variations, and to familiarize these calculations, which are now become the more usual. This task has been accomplished with information, with conciseness, and with exactness, by the author of the volume before us. In our opinion books of instruction should be drawn up for the dull, not merely for the quick: we doubt if there is enough of explanation in this treatise to make it a sufficient substitute for personal tuition. To a second edition the author would do well to add tables ready calculated for every amount from 1*l.* to 1000*l.*, at the probable rates of exchange between London and the other European seats of commercial negotiation.

Books of this kind are convenient not merely to merchants and to travellers, but to those statistical speculators who read books of travels, and project treatises of commerce, and harangue and dissert on the utility of an industrious intercourse, which is usually best accommodated by escaping the very notice of the statesman.

We should have hoped the Levant trade was not so wholly unknown in London as to justify the entire omission of Smyrna, in the list of places, whose monies, weights, and measures, were to be recorded for the use of the British merchant.

There is a practical exchange subsisting between London and North America: the dollar is sometimes received at more, and sometimes at less: this sweep of intercourse is overlooked. In the British settlements of the East Indies, there is a currency which differs from our own, and which it would have been useful to notice and explain.

A future edition may be rendered far more complete.

CHAPTER XXV.

MINERALOGY.

ART. I.—*Werneria; or, Short Characters of Earths: with Notes according to the Improvements of Klaproth, Vauquelin, and Haüy.* By TERRÆ FILIUS. 12mo. pp. 105.

OF the success with which this author has turned Mr. Kirwan's mineralogy into verse, and the advantages accruing from it, our readers may judge from the following specimen:

"Soft is the selenite, and freely bears
Th' impression of the nail, and when it's pure
Boils with no acid, save sulphuric, which,
When concentrated by heat, will solve it.

In many parts this limy compound's found,
(And yet no primitive) and owes its birth
At times to dissolution of pyrite,
There, where the carbonate of lime abounds,
On Shotover's known hill. — — —

We have not often witnessed so miserable a misapplication of time and paper.

ART. II.—*A Proposal for destroying the Fire and Choak-damp of Coal-mines, and the Production explained on the Principles of Modern Chemistry, addressed to the Owners and Agents of Coal-works.* By THOMAS TROTTER, M. D. late Physician to his Majesty's Fleet, &c. 8vo. pp. 47.

DR. TROTTER, after comparing a coal-mine to the hold of a ship, introduces, with no small parade, his notable proposal, which is no less than to get rid of the fire-damp by fumigation with oxymuriatic acid, and to dissolve the carbonic acid by throwing into it from a forcing-pump the requisite quantity of water. This fluid at the temperature which usually prevails in coal-mines, will not, as the doctor properly observes, take up more than about two-thirds of its bulk of carbonic acid; the prodigious quantity of water therefore

that would be required may easily be imagined by any one who knows any thing of the structure and extent of a coal-mine; and as the great difficulty in all these works is to keep them tolerably free from the water, which naturally flows into them, it was incumbent on the proposer to show by what means this additional quantity of water is to be got rid of: but the author does not condescend to give us any information on this head, remarking that 'to throw the water out of the mine is the business of mechanics!'

ART. III.—*A Treatise on the external Characters of Fossils, translated from the German of Abraham Gottlob Werner, Counsellor of Mines, &c.* By THOMAS WEAVER. 8vo. pp. 312.

THE Wernerian nomenclature has been so barbarously done out of German (we cannot say put into English), in a recent work on mineralogy, that Mr. Weaver has conferred a serious benefit on English mineralogists and the English language, in translating this key to the terms unemployed, and the method followed, by the illustrious Werner and his disciples, in the description of minerals. To a few of the terms we have some objections, which we shall here offer to the consideration of the author.

Seladongrün ought to be rendered Celandine-green, this being the English name of the plant alluded to.

For Morgen-roth the corresponding technical term is Aurora-red, not morning-red. The word Taubenhälsig exactly corresponds to the French gorge de pigeon, and to the English pigeon's-neck, for which Mr. Weaver's term Columbine is an improper substitution, more especially as it may be confounded with Kolumbin-roth, which is very properly rendered Columbine-red.

Ruinenförmig is not ruinous, but ruinlike
Rundlike is very barbarously translated
arundated instead of rounded.

Capilliform, stalactitiform, tubuliform,
fistuliform and botriform, are less proper
than the received English terms, capillary,
stalactitic, tubular, fistulous, and botryoi-
dal.

Mandelförmig should be translated
amygdaloidal, not amygdaloid, this latter
being appropriated to the mineral, man-
delstein.

Quadrangular is a barbarous compound,
and should be altered to tetragonal, or
quadrilateral.

For plumiformly and retiformly it would
be more proper to say plumularly and re-
ticularly.

Elongated-round is egg-shaped.

Thonig-geruch we should translate not
a clayey smell, but an argillaceous odour,
as it is more prevalent in argillaceous
schistus and other analogous minerals than
in clays.

With the above exceptions the adapted
nomenclature has our entire approbation,
and we hope that it will be univer-
sally admitted by the English mineralo-
gists.

ART. IV.—*A Mineralogical description of the County of Dumfries; by ROBERT JAMESON, Regius Professor of Natural History, and keeper of the Museum in the University of Edinburgh, &c. 8vo. pp. 185.*

THE most ancient rocks in this county,
and which occupy the upper or northern
part, belong to the class of transition
rocks, and consist of grauwakke, both in
mass and slaty; of siliceous and aluminous
schistus and transition greenstone. The
only metallic veins that have been found
in the county occur in this formation:
they consist of galena, mixed with most
of the other lead ores; with calamine and
manganese-ochre. A vein of radiated
grey antimony was opened a few years
ago, but has since been abandoned.

The surface and hollows of the transi-
tion rocks are, in many places, covered
with what Mr. Jameson labours, and in
our opinion not without success, to prove
is the independent coal-formation. The
prevailing rock in this formation is reddish-
brown sandstone, not greatly differing in
appearance from the old red sandstone, on
the opposite coast of Cumberland. There
also occurs slate with vegetable impres-
sions, limestone, clay iron stone, limestone
conglomerate or rubble stone, a variety of

coal between slate and pitch coal, mineral
charcoal, a new variety of glance coal,
(named by Mr. J. columnar bituminous
coal) shale, and clay.

Several of the transition rocks, and
those belonging to the independent coal
formation, are covered by the newest
floetz-trap, consisting for the most part of
porphyritic greenstone, and amygdaloid,
inclosing blackish pitchstone.

The bottoms of the valleys, and lower
parts of the county, are covered with two
distinct alluvial formations, in the older of
which are contained particles of gold,
which at various times have been extract-
ed by washing, but apparently without any
remarkable success.

On account of the intrinsic merit of
this work, we are disposed to overlook a
large alloy of affectation and barbarism;
but if the author is capable of writing a
little more idiomatically, and of submitting
to the trammels of grammar, he is really
not doing justice to himself in acting thus
'unconformably wise' to established rules.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

ART. I.—*Designs for Cottages, Cottage Farms, and other rural Buildings, including Entrance Gates and Lodges.* By JOSEPH GANDY, Architect; A. R. A. &c.

ART. II.—*The rural Architect, consisting of various Designs for Country Buildings, accompanied with Ground-plans, Estimates, and Descriptions.* By JOSEPH GANDY, Architect, A. R. A. &c.

MR. GANDY is well known to the public as an exquisite painter of architectural subjects; and we who have often admired his works in the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy, opened these volumes with considerable expectations, which were still further excited by the preface, wherein the author deals his censures liberally upon existing examples, and offers his own nostrum for the cure of public bad taste and absurdity.

"If we look round the country, and except the seats of a few of the nobility and gentry, who have acquired a taste for the fine arts, we shall find but little to admire in the civil architecture of Great Britain. Should we observe any thing pleasing in the houses of farmers, and the cottagers' dwellings, upon reflection we shall discover, that they owe it principally to their age, colours, situation, accompanying objects, or to variety of forms, which accident, and not premeditated design, has produced.

"The towns and villages of England, with a few exceptions, exhibit meanness and filth, with a variety of clumsy and rude forms, which are exceedingly odious to the eye of refined taste, and must give strangers and travellers an unfavourable impression with respect to the state of the arts in this country. Our consequence and pride as a nation call aloud for a redress of this public grievance.

"What can be more frightful than the black and white daubings to successively projecting stories in some market-towns, as if they wished to shew all the deformities of the timbers, and exhibit the skeleton of a house," &c. &c.

"The advancement of public taste requires that we should combine convenience of arrangement with elegance in the external appearance; a point of much consequence to the general appearance of the country. Artists, whose business it is to study this branch

of design, are particularly called upon to lend their assistance in accomplishing this national object, and that is precisely the intention of the following work; the designs in which, if the artist has been able to execute his own intentions, will be found to unite *convenience and taste* in a greater degree than has hitherto prevailed in this class of buildings," &c.

But if great were our expectations, no less was our disappointment. Cottage architecture, if it may be so called, is a subject in itself trivial and ungrateful, and has been exhausted by innumerable publications. Were we to give a list of the books of designs for cottages and rural buildings it would surprize the reader; but this would be a task as tedious as unnecessary: however, it may be supposed that, by this time, a subject so much attended to must be tolerably understood, treated with a competent portion of skill, and a reasonable number of combinations of neatness and convenience invented. At this period the designer, who is determined to produce something new under the sun, must be content to commit propriety for singularity, and simplicity for extravagance.

This is what Mr. Gandy has done. In a wild pursuit of novelty, he has adopted a style of frigid extravagance, disregarding the requisites of climate, manners, and convenience, and with a singular dereliction, or rather inversion, of usual proportions.

Till very lately the designers of the smaller buildings of this country, villas, cottages, &c. considered uniformity as the first essential of architectural beauty; but at present what is called the picturesque style, that enemy of regularity and sym-

metry, is gaining ground. Now it is acknowledged on all hands, that the best examples in this manner are the fortuitous result of circumstances, that have no connexion with the design of pleasing. The painter prefers to represent the ancient tenement weather-stained and dilapidated, with all the incoherencies that successive alterations have produced, rather than the neat and elegant villa.

The picturesque style of building, therefore, would certainly seem to have this advantage, that it can never be necessary to sacrifice internal convenience to external appearance, since the process of building merely for convenience has produced the best specimen of this style. The formal designer of the old school being obliged to make "one half the villa just reflect the other," must, notwithstanding

all his recourses of blank windows and sham facades, sometimes neglect the interests of the inside for the outside. But the picturesque architect, unfettered by rules, with every variety of form waiting his selection, can surely feel none of these restraints. Mr. Gandy, however, a pupil of this school, seems as much embarrassed by his whimsical elevations, as by the most rigid symmetry, and has neglected, to a strange excess, the adaptation of his plans to domestic convenience. Full little would the farmer or labourer praise the taste that should lodge him in those picturesque hovels.

There are, undoubtedly, parts of these designs which possess taste and beauty: we could even recommend two or three entire elevations; but, generally speaking, the author has fairly merited our censure.

ART. III.—*Practical Perspective exemplified on Landscapes.* By THOMAS NOBLE, Professor of Perspective. 4to. pp. 36.

THE pupils of Mr. Noble may undoubtedly find some advantage in this little work, as a manual of the instructions they may have received, though it is much

too slight and imperfect to teach the art of perspective alone. This, however, cannot be expected to be the object of a professor of perspective.

ART. IV.—*Cottage Architecture, including Perspective Views and Plans of Labourers' Cottages and small Farm Houses, with Observations on the different Materials used for building them, and producing picturesque Effect.* By WILLIAM ATKINSON, Architect. 4to.

FOUR-and-twenty pages of slight and trivial observations form this essay; to which are added, a few views of cottages, said to be selected from a collection of drawings taken in different parts of England. This we can readily believe, for they have perfectly the air of realities, with all their accustomed irregularities and deformities. Doubtless the original

builders of these valuable specimens of cottage architecture would feel no small surprize on seeing their works exhibited for admiration and imitation in a genteel hot-pressed quarto, price one guinea. In a word, we must think that these "hints for the improvement of village scenery" are very unnecessary, and do no credit to the taste of Mr. Atkinson.

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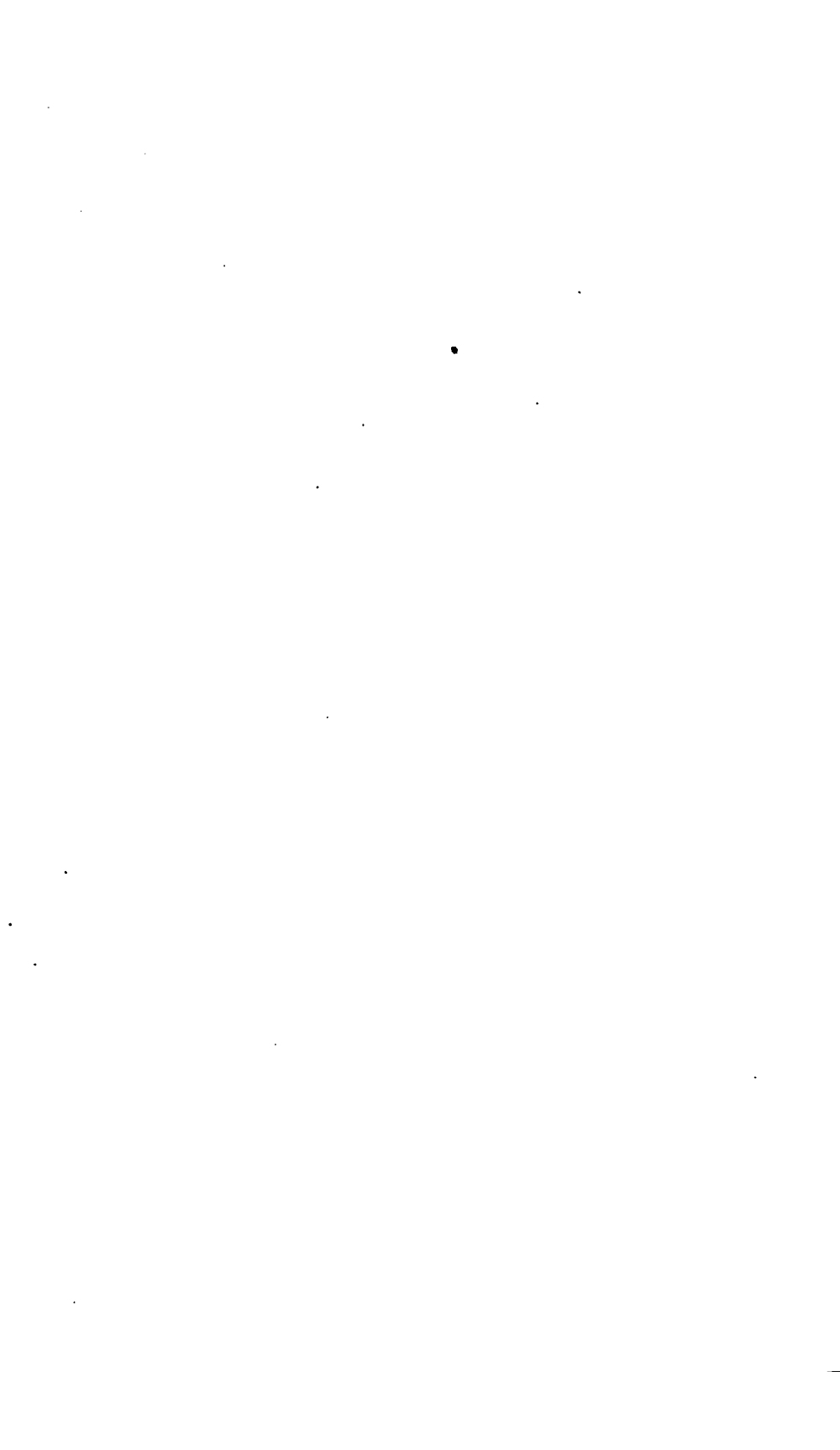
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